THE WORKES OF LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA, Both Morrall and Naturall.

CONTAINING,

1. *His Bookes of Benefites.*
2. *His Epistles.*
3. *His Booke of Prouidence.*
4. *Three Bookes of Anger.*
5. *Two Bookes of Clemencie.*
6. *His Booke of a Blessed Life.*
7. *His Booke of the Tranquilitie of the minde.*
8. *His Booke of the Constancie of a Wiseman.*
9. *His Booke of the Shortnesse of Life.*
10. *Two Bookes of Consolation to* MARTIA.
11. *Three Bookes of Consolation to* HELVIA.
12. *His Booke of Consolation to* POLIBIVS.
13. *His seuen Bookes of Naturall Questions.*

Translated by THO. LODGE, *D. in Physicke.*

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby.* 1614.

ILLVSTRISSIMO HEROI, AC DOMINO SVO OBSERVANDISSIMO, D. THOMÆ EGERTONO, DOMINO DE ELLISMERE, SVMMO ANGLIÆ CANCELLARIO, MAIESTATIS REGIÆ à Secretioribus Concilijs omni virtutum genere ac Doctrina Clarissimo, Almæ Academiæ OXONIENSIS Cancellario, bonorumq; studiorum omnium *Mæcenati præstantissimo,*

THOMAS LODGE Doctor Medicus, *Salutem.*

Vi potius liber iste dicari velit, vel ego debeam dedicare quam Honori tuo (vir omnibus nominibus Honorande) deliberanti diu & multum cogitanti, plane non occurrebat. Etenim cum Philosophia ipsa inculta prorsus sit, & ab omnibus neglecta fere, tum si à pleriſq; vt horrida conspuatur, non est sane mirandum: Quo magis veteri quidem debet, ne temere

temere cuivis sese offerat, ne forte in eos incidisse videatur, qui cuticulam curantes ipsi, nihil admirantur vltra cutem; quorum oculis nihil placet, nisi quod externa specie, & lineamentorum harmonia se commendet; quorum aures omnia respuunt, nisi quæ cum voluptate quadam influunt: quod si contingat, quomodo non contemptui apud omnes esset liber is, qui apud eum ipsum quem patronum sibi delegit potissimum, sordescat? Quod si ioculare quiddam & molliusculum in publicum proferendum statuerem, quod voluptate nescio qua, mentes hominum titillaret tantum,

Introrsum turpe & speciosum pelle decora,

(Vt inquit Poeta) non deesset hercle, qui

Fautor vtroq; meum laudaret pollice ludum,

Nec certe

——— Nauibus atq;
Quadrigis peterem.———

Mihi patronum aliquem

Quoi donem lepidum nouum libellum.

Opprimerer eorum multitudine credo, qui occurrerent mihi nænijs hisce patrocinaturi: Cum autem res serias tantum tractet author hic noster, idq; serio; quæ tantum ijs arridenr, quibus leuiora illa arridenr minus; tum eos qui subtiliori quodam oculo, & mentis acie, venustatem Philosophiæ illam intueri possunt, (quæ si corporeis oculis cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret sui) nescio quod fatum contraxit in compendium. Et certe quamuis eorum numerus tantus esset atq; talis, quorum in sinum hic noster posset tuto Conuolare, vt delectus ipse delectum fere tolleret, nescio tamen an cuiquam ex omnibus deberi se magis

magis agnoscerer, quàm Honori tuo, qui cum in eam opinionem iam diu veneris, vt inter prudentissimos, & virtute quam maxime excultos, principatum quendam tenere videaris; tum etiam ita ad certam authoris huius normam vitam direxisse, & momenta officiorum ea perpendisse videris omnia, quæ ab ipso in sapiente requiruntur; vt si in eadem tempora incidisses, ille ne præcepta ad exemplum tuum, an tu vitam ad ipsius præcepta conformâris, esset vehementer dubitandum. Quâ de causa quidem, in spem maximam venit, aditum ipsi apud te patere; quòd ea afferat potissimum, quæ si tibi placeant, (quod non desperat) nemini quidem à tuæ vitæ ratione non alienissimo, poterint displicere.

Quid quod & eum sibi Patronum deligendum censet, qui ipsa authoritate possit eam ab aliorum iniurijs vindicare! quod cum ita sit, nullius quidem iniurijs in eo locus erit, quamdiu totus ipsi apud te fuerit, cuius potentia, & authoritas, cum sit maxima, talem tamen intuemur, vt maiorem indies & auctiorem fieri velimus omnes, qui videmus.

Inter *Ajacem*, & *Vlyssem*, litem nonnullam apud Poetas legimus interiectam de *Achillis* armatura quondam, vter indueretur ipsa; de facto non disputo. Poetarum mens ea fuit, vt cum prudentia polleret alter & concilio; lacertis alter atq; robore; apud quem tandem armorum eorum ius resideret, eumne qui prudentissime ijs vti posset, an qui robustissime eluceret: quod si ex iure manu consertum vocaret authoritas sapientiam, & sapientia authoritatem, ad quem tandem *Senecæ* nostri patrocinium æquius pertineret, haud esset difficile quidem ad iudicandum. Tu vero vir Honorande

norande cum tanta sis sapientia, vt ab authoritate quantumuis maxima vinci non possit, & authoritatem tantam nactus es, vt ne sapientiæ tuæ quamuis eximiæ & illustri velit loco cedere, facilè controuersiam hanc omnem dirimes; in quo cum vtræq; summæ de paritate contendant ad quem patronum potius accurret, quam ad te, qui & propter sapientiam singularem optimè consultum voles libro non insipientissimo, & propter egregiam authoritatem effectum dabis, libro malè ne consulatur (dico confidenter) egregio.

Ad me vero quod attinet (Illustrissime Mœcen.) cum multa alia perpulerint, vt te potissimum seligerem sub cuius nomine prodeat hic labor in *Seneca* transferendo meus, tum ista inprimis quæ dicturus sum. Nempe vt ad senem ille de senectute senex, & amicissimus, scripsit ad amicum de amicitia, ita & ego (illud sileo quod quam vellem vt possem attexere) Philosophiæ libros hos (quam sapientiam dixere veteres) ad te sapientissimum & Philosophorum Oxonij studentium omnium Patronum primarium inprimis statui dedicandum. Quo quidem in loco non possum illius non meminisse, (quod prætermitti sine scelere nefario non potest) quodq; grauissimi est instar argumenti, cur tibi vel soli, vel certe potissimum omnium nostrûm qui Oxonienses audimus in gratæ mentis testimonium, labores & studia inseruiant; quòd per te effectum est fere, vt studijs nostris ibi locus sit, vbi cum floruere maxime, tum maxime eiecta inde voluissent ij, qui minime debuissent: per te vero iam effectum id videmus, vt qui fontes illos limpidissimos conturbarunt, quo minus hausius inde puriores essent, iam tandem aduersum Musarum Alumnos vtcumque coaxant

coaxant fortasse, tantum tamen coaxare possint.

De hoc autem ni grati simus omnes, omnium erimus ingratissimi. Quin quod magis me ipsum spectat, illud Cardinale quiddam est, quod cum beneuolentiæ erga me tuę vestigia semper vidi non leuiter impressa, mihi nunquam satisfacio ipsi, priusquam tibi (non dicam satisfaciam de animo erga me tuo) at agnoscam certe quantis nominibus obstrictum me & obæratum sentiam: quin attexo, ideo tibi lubens dico, quod cum mihi beneuolus semper extiteris, tunc etiam & ab ijs qui ex me emanârunt vtcumque, animo esse non poteris alieno.

Hac spe fretus (Honorande *Mæcenas*) hosce meos labores, quales, quales tibi trado in manus, quos æqui fi consulas, conditione haudquaquam iniqua susceptos existimauero: Deumque rogabo Opt. Max. vt tamdiu nobis te conseruatum volet, quam-diu te virtutum tuarum minime pœnitebit.

Dignitatis tuæ,

Obseruantiss.

THO. LODG. *D. M. P.*

REVERENDISSIMIS DOCTORIBVS, CÆTERISQVE IN STADIO LITERARIO OPTIME EXERCITATIS LECTORIBVS,

THO. LODGE D. Medicus Phisicus. Salutem.

CVm nulli magis opprobrijs alios conscindunt, & lacerant maledictis, quam ij qui in opprobrium ipsi facillime incurrunt; tum plerumq; id euenit, vt exilis cuiusdam ingenij ipsi sibi conscij, nihil sapere videri se credant aliis, nisi plane desipere se probent; dum ea carpunt omnino, quæ non Capiunt. Ex quo euenit, vt nihil egregium ita & excellens in publicum emanarit vnquam, in quod dentes isti mordaces non impegerint. A quo hominum genere cum ego me facile vindicare nesciam, apud vos (Viri Doctores doctoresq; præstantissimi, politioris literaturæ alumnos, qui quales erga vos ipsa velitis alios esse, tales estis erga omnes) præfatione vti nonnulla haud absonum fore existimaui, vt rationem consilij de Seneca *in nostrum sermonem transmittendo mei, vobis explicem.*

Video autem multis id displicere quidem, idq; vehementer, quod authores ita Latini transferantur, & in sermonem nostrum migrent Anglicum: cum multa alia tum illud inculcantes, iniuriam literis insignem inuehi, quod ea quæ literatorum deberent esse propria, nunc denuo prostituantur & omnibus contrectandā prouulgentur: Qui cum id agunt quid aliud agunt, quam vt nostri ad vnum omnes, a virtutum scientia vt profani quidam arceantur, velut a Dianę *sacris? De quibus illud est Calimachi* [illegible]. *Hi dum a se scientias omnes velut a Chaldæis dies postulari volunt, quid aliud agunt quam quæ ipsi vident vt cæteris omnibus inuideant? Quæ si mens eorum fuisset qui ista primo literis mandauerunt, quomodo tandem egregia illa ingenij eorum monumenta ad nostra hæc tempora permanare potuissent? Nec vero nios ille priscis inoleuit, vt cogitata illa sua præclara cæteris inuiderent, qui per se minus acie valerent & ingenio, & ex omnibus certe vix paucos reperias qui vel Græci Latine, vel Romani Græce scripserint, quo minus suis innotescerent ea quæ libri sui præclara continerent: ex quo effectum, id est vt quantum bruta intellectu cæteri, tantum ipsi ingenio cæteros anteceserint. Neq; vero non laudare possum Sapientissimum illum apud Laertium, qui cum de tribus Diis ageret gratias, quod homo esset natus, non brutum; quod vir, non fœmina, tertium id erat quod Atheniensis esset, non Barbarus; non quod solus inter eos sapere visus est, sed quod ex infinitis vnus esset, qui non nihil sapere didicisset: Et recte ad Amicum scribens* M. Tullius *monet, vt vbiuis esse malit, quam vbi sit, propterea quod multo rectius illic viuendum sit vbi aliquo numeroso set, quam illic vbi solus sapere videatur. Et sane si æqui rerum æstimatores velimus esse, facile quidem inueniemus excultiores multo nostros, & limatiores quam antea*

tea extitisse, ex quo doctrina illa veterum, & historia Romanorum vernacula ipsos alloquente lingua perpoliri cæperunt. Quo in curriculo labores mei cum non nihil defudarint, tum facti mei tamdiu me non pœnitebit, quamdiu publicæ vtilitati & honori patriæ inseruire intellexero: & quanquam omnes reclamantes videro Comici, tamen illo me facile consolabor & recreabo, quod nihil in animo magis habeam, quam vt pluribus prosim.

Quin illud fortasse non recte quod [illegible] *occurrunt Senecæ nonnulla, quæ celari multo possunt honestius, quam in apricum protrudi, lucem non ferentia; & male locatā operam eam omnem clamabunt omnes, quæ in re non bona. Habet etiam* [illegible] *quā plurima, quæ si recte ediscantur nihil illa nocebunt: quanquam quid egi? Aut in quo euigilauere curæ & cogitationes meæ, nisi vt lectorem pro virili prænonerem, & ad scopulos eos digitum intenderem, ad quos si adhæserit fortasse, naufragium illico facturus sit?*

Nec vero defuerint ij, qui id vitio mihi vertendum senserint, quod in omnibus non verbum verbo respondeat, quin infidus interpres sit ille necesse est, & vbi fide est opus vel maxime, fideliam adhibebit, qui ita interpretem agere edidicit. Quin ille rectissime

Non verbum verbo curabit reddere fidus
Interpres

Ne poterit quidem, quod tum eo res deducetur, vt dum in verbis se torquebit nimis, sensus interim elabatur omnis. Quis autem ita inscius erit, vt illud non intelligat in omni sermone, idiomata loquendi quædam apparere, & flores elegantiarum, quæ si verbis alienis efferantur, illico pro ridiculis habeantur? Longum esset huc omnia conuertere quæ falsissime a Latinis dicta, a nostris enuntiata verbis ipsis

dem,

dem, appareant insulsa. Quò facilius adducor, vt eius omnia sic interpreter, vt quæ proprijs verbis enuntiari non possunt, enuntientur quibus possunt aptissimis: Hic ego, si reprehensionem incurro iustam, exemplo me consolabor eorum, qui cum in hoc genere palmam ferant, crimen commune mecum sustinebunt, nec nostrorũ solum, sed & eorum etiam omnium qui in Hispania, Gallia, Italia communem mecum in eo genere nauarunt operam. Agnosco vero libentissime errata huc irrepsisse nonnulla, quæ vt homini cuiuis in summo otio non vigilantissimo, facile possunt obrepere quædam, ita si mihi in hoc opere frequentiora visum est quã erat æquum, facile ignoscet, qui rem ipsam vt acciderit cognoscet prius. Cum enim primo statuerem ita in hoc opere meam operam posuisse, vt nequid per incuriam elapsum mihi videri possit, in medio operis a me suscepti nescio quomodo in medium rerum omnium certamen incidi; Præterquã enim illud quod fratre charissimo pientissimoq; essem orbatus, ita vt studijs nullus in me locus esset relictus, quem dolor vniuersum occuparat, accidebat id etiam, vt turbis ijs forensibus, & molestijs vndiq; circumfrementibus opprimerer ita, vt dum illius omnia (iam cum beatis illis incolis agente æuum) cõponere studeo, ne subcisiuas horas certe mihi relinquo vllas, quibus huic operi iam inchoato supremam manũ imponam.

Interim ista dum aguntur annus fere integer elapsus est, &, adhuc tamen.

——pendent opera interrupta minęq;
Murorum ingentes.——

Vt Poetæ verbis vtar. Interea fremere Typographus, & de prælo tantum non prælia mouere, quæ nactus est typis excudenda curare sed citra curã: hoc modo ad imprimendum solum licentiã fortasse nactus, qui me premit semper nec pensi quid habet, quid imprimat. Quin tandẽ vt molestijs hisce me euoluo,

euoluo, colligo me vt possum ex magna iactatione, & domidiũ Senecæ alterum quod imperfectum reliquerã, quanta possum absoluo celeritate, nec typographo satisfacio tamen inhianti suo semper luero, quin quæ manus prima coniecit in chartulas, subinde arripit ipsa impressione peiora facta emissurus, quæ prius acceperat omnino non optima, quippe quibus ipsius festinatio præpropera, ad ornanda se melius ne minimum quidem indulsit temporis. Ita fit vt quod mensium nonnullorum opus esse debuerit, diebus haud ita multis absolutum prodierit, atq; vtinam absolutũ. Quod si minus conceditur, non despero tamen quin per meum deinc otium quæ rudia iam excidere, limentur accuratius, & quæ obscuritate nonnulla videbuntur laborare, fiant etiam illustriora cum proxime emanabunt.

Obijcient alij (qui reprehensionis ansam vndiq; arripiẽt:) quod versus eius quosdam, vna cum Apocolocynthesi, & Epistolis quibusdã ad Diuum Paulum exaratis (vt non nemo retulit e Patribus) omnino prætermiserim. Sed parcent mihi facile spero, qui prius norint, quibus rationibus adductus, huic ego labori pepercerim: Primo quidem de Apocolocynthesi cum liber is totus dicterijs in mortem Claudii Cæsaris sit refertus ne alienus a se noster Seneca videretur, qui vbiq; seuerus & grauis, & ab hoc genere quã maxime videtur abhorrens, inutili labore potius supersedendum statui, quã ea attexenda, quæ labẽ nonnullam operi toti possent africare. De reliquis autem id tantum dico, quod cum authoris huius an sint a multis in dubium vocari video, tum an a me sint interpretanda vehementer dubito.

Habetis iam tandem (Doctores & lectores beneuoli) quæ ego dicenda habeo, quæ si vobis candidioribus arridere perspicero, tum vt iis placeant quibus omnia displicent, vehementer non contendo. Valete.

To the Courteous Reader.

IT was well donne by Nature (gentle Reader) to giue time, but ill donne by men not to apprehend the same: How much thou haſt loſt in life in begetting vanities and nouriſhing them, in applauding follies, and intending them, read heare; and begin now to apprehend this, that it is but loſt life, that men liue in entertaining vaine things, & that no time is better ſpent, thē in ſtudying how to liue, and how to die wel. This ſhalt thou learne in our *Seneca*, whoſe diuine ſentences, wholſome counſailes, ſerious exclamations againſt vices, in being but a Heathen, may make vs aſhamed being Chriſtians; when wee conſider how backward a courſe wee haue runne from the right ſcope, by being buried in vaine readings, beſotted with ſelfe opinion, by apprehending vertue no more, but in a ſhadow, which ſerues for a vaile to couer many vices. It

is

is loſt labour in moſt men now-a-dayes whatſoeuer they haue ſtudied, except their actions teſtifie that readings haue amended the ruines of their ſicke and intemperate thoughts: and too pregnant a proofe is it, of an age and time ill ſpent, when as after a man hath ſummed vp the account of his dayes that are paſt, hee findeth the remainder of his profites, hee ſhould haue gotten in life, to be eyther ambition vnſatisfied, or diſſolution attended by pouerty, or vaine vnderſtanding boulſtered by pride, or irkſome age called on by ſurfet; I muſt confeſſe that (had I effected it) I could haue pickt out eyther an author more curious, or a ſubiect more pleaſing for common Eares, to allure and content them. But ſeeing the worlds Lithargie ſo farre growne, that it is benummed wholly with falſe appearance, I made choice of this author, whoſe life was a pattern of continence, whoſe doctrine a detection and correction of vanities, and whoſe death a certaine inſtance of conſtancy. VVould God Chriſtians would endeuour to practiſe his good precepts, to reform their owne in ſeeing his errours; and perceiuing ſo great light of learning from a Pagans pen, ayme at the true light of deuotion and pietie, which becommeth Chriſtians. Learne in him theſe good leſſons, and commit them to memory, That to be truely vertuous is to be happy, to ſubdue paſsion is to be truely a man, to contemne fortune is to conquer her, to foreſee and vnmaske miſeries in their greateſt terrors is to leſſen them, to liue well is to be vertuous, and to die well is the way to eternitie. This as often as I thinke vpon, I finde an alteration in my reſolution, which heretofore hath too long time ſurfeited vpon time-pleaſing;

I

I am armed againſt all worldly contempts, wherwith Enuie may pretend to loade mee. My ſoule and conſcience bearing me witneſſe that my intent and ſcope was only to draw men to amendment of life, & to root out vain cuſtomes, that are too much ingrafted in this age; VVhat care I for detraction? which rather barketh for cuſtome ſake, then baiteth at mee for fierceneſſe. No Souldier is counted valiant, that affronteth not his enemie; no Philoſopher conſtant, that contemneth not Fortune; nor writer vnderſtanding, that ſcornes not detraction; I had rather bee condemned for confirming men in goodneſſe, then flattering the world in follie. Gentle Reader for thee I laboured, for thy good haue I made this admirable Roman ſpeake Engliſh, if it profit thee I haue my wiſh, if it diſpleaſe thee, it is thy want of iudgment.

Farewell.

In

In Momum.

Si tamen vſq; iuuat quæ ſunt bona carpere, Mome,
Carpe hæc, vt morſu ſint meliora tuo.
Quæ liber iſte tenet forte ignorare videris,
Quin lege, mox fies forſitam ipſe bonus.
Non in bicipiti quæ vidit ſomnia narrat,
Parnaſſo, aut vanis ludit imaginibus:
Nec prius vſq; nouem niſi quæ docuere ſorores
Caſtalis vnda tuæ, nil docet iſte liber
Vera ſed hic rectæ promit dictamina vitæ,
Et ſapiens narrat quæ bene dixit anus.
Si malus iſta leges, poterunt non iſta placere
Nec non iſta probes, qui legis, ipſe bonus:
Vel non ergo legas quæ ſunt benedicta, pudendis
Nec lacera verbis, quæ minus ipſe capis,
Vel lege, nec carpas; vt non male prodita: dentes
Iamq; tibi gratulor Mome perire tuos.

THE LIFE OF LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA, DESCRIBED BY IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

CHAP. I.

Of his Countrey and Parents.

IT hath beene an olde custome to publish the liues of worthy men, and those whose wisedomes, writings and actions we admire. It doth not a little content vs to know such other things as concerned or appertained vnto them. I will therefore speake of *Seneca* as farre as may be, and will collect and dispose all those things that concerne this matter, both out of himselfe and diuers other writers. It appeareth that he was borne in Corduba, an olde and flourishing Colony in Andalouzill in Spaine, and besides that, the chiefest in those Regions. This doth *Strabo* testifie in these wordes: *Amongst all other Cities of Hispania, Batica, or Andalouzie, Corduba is enlarged both in glorie and power by* Marcellus *meanes: as also the Citie of Gaditana, the one by reason of Nauigations, and the societies of the Romanes: the other, because of the goodnesse and greatnesse of the country, the riuer Bætis likewise conferring much hereunto.* They praise it, and therewithall proue it to be auncient, because it was *Marcellus* worke, which of them, was it his that was Prætor, or the other that was Consull? For *Marcus Marcellus* the Prætor gouerned Spaine, as *Pliny* testifi-

Lib. 3.

Lib. 43.

eth in the yeare of the Citie DLXXXV. although, as it seemeth, in peace and quietnesse; by which means the rather this Colony of his countrimen was drawne thither, and happily the Citie both increased and adorned. For that it was not built anew, it appeares by *Silius*, who euen in *Hanibals* time called it Corduba. I had rather therefore ascribe it to him, then to the Consul *Marcellus*, who in the yeare DCI. gouerned the hither part of Spain, as it appeares in the Epitome, and thou mayest gather out of *Appian*; and hauing worthily executed his charge in that place, triumphed Celtiberes. He had therefore at that time nothing to do with Bætica, or our Corduba, which is in the farther part of Spaine. But *Strabo* addeth more; The most chosen Romanes and Spaniards inhabited this Corduba from the beginning, and into these places did the Romanes send their first Colonie. Note this word Chosen; for it was so indeed: and thereupon afterwards, as I suppose, it obtained this priuiledge, that it was called *Colonia Patricia*. *Pliny* testifieth it most plainly; Corduba (saith hee) named the Patrician Colonie, and in *Augustus* stampe of money, *Permissu Cæsaris Augusti*, with his head on the one side, and then on the other side, *Colonia Patricia*. The cause of which title, in my opinion, is, because that being both a faire and a rich Citie, it supplied the Romane Common-wealth with Fathers and Senators. For now in *Augustus* age they made choice of men out of euery Prouince, to make vp the Senate. Furthermore, *Strabo* saith, That the first Colonie was sent thither, which reade thou with circumspection. For Carteia in the same countrey of Bætica, before this time had a colonie planted in it by *Lucius Canuleius* Prætor: but because they were not of the better sort, it was called *Colonia Libertinorum*, or the colonie of the Libertines. Thou shalt reade it in *Liny*, in the beginning of his 43. booke: yet mayest thou, and happily oughtest thou to defend *Strabo*, that those inhabitants were not sent from Rome or Italie, but that they were begotten by the Romane souldiers vpon the Spanish women; and by the permission of the Senate the Bastards had their libertie giuen them and were planted in a colonie. But *Strabo* expresly writeth, that a colonie was sent thither. Enough of Corduba, and this was his countrie; but who were his parents? It appeareth that they were of the Annæan race, whose name seemeth to be giuen them in way of good fortune, *ab Annis*. The firname of *Seneca* likewise was fortunate. For the first, in my iudgment, had this name giuen him, although

Lib. 3. cap. 1.

Isidore

Isidore thinke, that hee who was at first so called, was borne grey headed. Vndoubtedly *Senèca*, or as the Auncients write, *Senica*: (for *Senecis* is deriued à *Sene*) signified γεροντικὸν, as *Senecio* doth. Let *Nonius* be seene in *Senica*. Hereunto I adde that in another kindred also I finde this firname; as in Accia in an ancient stone *M. Accio Seneca*. *Manlio Planta vt. virg. Quinq.* But whether those of the race of *Annæa* were of the Spanish race, or were sent out of Italie in a Colony, I dare not affirme; this onely I say, that they were of the order of Knights; for so *Seneca* himselfe speaketh of himselfe in *Tacitus*. Am I he that sprung from the order of knight, and in a prouinciall place, numbred amongst the chiefest Peers of the Citie? Can it be amongst the Nobles, that boast themselues of their long worthinesse and antiquitie, that my nouelrie should shine? his father therefore, and happily his grandsather were Knights, and not aboue. For he presently maketh mention of his nouelrie; which he would not haue done, if any of his Ancestors had attained vnto honours. But his father was known both by himselfe and his writings, to be *Lucius Annæus Seneca*, whom for the most part, they distinguish from the sonne by the title of Declaimer, in which kinde he excelled. Diuers Declamations are extant, which were not his own but another mans, digested by him, which he distinguished by some titles and Annotations, and by this meanes sufficiently expressed his milde & happy wit: he had to wife one *Heluia* a Spanish Ladie, a woman of great constancie and wisedome, as her sonne sufficientlie describeth her in his Consolatorie booke vnto her. The father came to Rome in *Augustus* time, and presently after his wife with her children followed him; amongst which was this our *Seneca*, as yet but verie yong. In that place liued he long, and followed his affairs with the fauor and good report of all men, and I thinke that hee liued till about the later time of *Tiberius*; and hereunto am I perswaded, because he maketh mention of *Seianus* conspiracie in his bookes, and of other things that appertaine hereunto. I let him passe, and returne vnto his sonne, of whom I haue intended to speake.

Lib. 14.

Chap. II.

Of Lucius Annæus Seneca himselfe and his brethren, where he was borne, and when he was brought to Rome.

Conf. ad Hel. cap. 16.

IN Corduba was he borne, and was translated from thence to Rome when hee was a childe; which hee himselfe testifieth thus, where hee praiseth his Aunte: By her hands was I brought into the Citie, by her pious and motherly noursing I recouered my selfe after my long sickenesse. If he were carried in her armes, it must needs be that he was but an infant, and thou seest that hee was sicke at that time likewise and was recomforted by her care and diligence. This thinke I hapned in the fifteenth yeare or thereabouts, before *Augustus* death, the argument whereof is *Senecaes* young yeares in *Tiberius* time, whereof I must speake hereafter. The father therfore not long before that time came to Rome: he had two brothers, and no sisters; which appeareth by his wordes vnto his mother; Thou buriedst thy dearest husband, by whom thou wert the mother of three children. And these three were *M. Annæus Nouatus*; *L. Annæus Seneca*, *L. Annæus Mela*; all borne in such order as I haue set them downe. This appeareth by the inscriptions of the Controuersies, where they are so set down, although by their sirnames. But the eldest of these brethren presently changed his name, and was called *Iunius Gallio*, because hee was adopted by him. Which *Gallio* is oftentimes named by *Seneca* the father in his declamations, and is called ours, either by reason of their common Countrie Spaine, or of that friendship which was betweene them: were they not likewise allied and a kin? I know not, yet suspect I it, by reason of this adoption. And this *Gallio* it is who is called Father by *Quintilian* and *Tacitus* likewise, in the sixt of his Chronicles. But this our adopted *Gallio* in the Eusebian Cronicle is called *Iunius Annæus Gallio*, *Senecaes* brother, and a worthy Declamer. Was it by the name of both the Families (which was rare amongst the Auncients; nay more, neuer heard of) that it might appeare into what familie hee entered by adoption, and in what hee was borne by nature? It appeareth manifestly, if the name and

Ad Hel. c. 2.

and title bee true. He it is to whom our *Seneca* both sent and wrote his bookes of Wrath, in which he calleth him *Nouatus*: yet the same man in his title of blessed life calleth he his brother *Gallio*, and likewise in his Epistles his Lord *Gallio*, and that honestly as him that was his elder brother. Obserue this therefore that he seemed not to be adopted at such time as his bookes of Anger were written, that is, when *Caius* was aliue, but afterwards, and that then he changed his sirname: but his yongest brother was *Annæus Mela*, so called by *Tacitus Dion* and *Eusebius*, who was onely a Romane Knight (for he that was the elder was a Senator) who begat *Lucan* a great accesse to his greatnesse, as *Tacitus* saith. These therefore were the three brothers, of whom *Martiall* witnesseth,

And learned Senecaes *house,*
That is thrice to be numbred.

He calleth him learned, (I meane, the Orator) his treble-house, his three sonnes called his families.

Chap. III.

His youth, his Masters and studies.

Epist. 115.

HEe came therfore to Rome when he was a childe, and in that place ripened he his excellent wit in the best studies: his youth hapned in the beginning of *Tiberius* gouernment, as he himselfe confesseth, and about that time, when forraine sacrifices were remoued and abolished. This was in the fift yeare of *Tiberius*, & of that of the Citie Dcclxxii. which appeareth manifestly by *Tacitus*, who writeth, that the sacrifices of the Egyptians and Iewes were abolished. *Seneca* therefore about that time grew to mans estate, & was about some twentie or two and twentie yeares olde. For that he was well stept in yeares in *Augustus* time, hereby it appeareth; because he obserued a Comet or a flame before his departure; of which he saith: We saw before the death of *Augustus* such a kinde of prodigie, which children could not so curiously obserue. His father, in my opinion, was he that first instructed him in eloquence: & this do his bookes of Controuersies & their Præfaces testifie. For why shold not this worthy olde man, who both directed & taught others, direct and instruct his owne children in that kinde. Hee did it, and left

Lib. Annal. 14. in fine.

Quæst. l. 6. 1.

two of them most excellent & exercised in eloquence, Gallio, and this our *Seneca*, for I haue red nothing of *Mela*. This is that Gallio whom *Statius* commendeth for his sweet discourse.

And thus much more, that from his happy line
He blest the world with Seneca *diuine,*
And brought to light that Gallio, *whose grace*
And fluent speech the commons did embrace.

He that was the author of the booke *Of the causes of corrupted eloquence*, said, that hee had a certaine resounding and pleasing eloquence, which he calleth the resounding of Gallio, meaning it by the sonne and not by the father. But our *Seneca*, besides his eloquence, addicted himselfe to Philosophie with earnest endeuor, and vertue ruished his most excellent wit, although his father were against it. He himselfe diuers times saith, that hee was withdrawne from Philosophie, and that his wife was shee that dissw aded him; yea, and that she hated it, hee openly writeth in another place: yet did the sonnes desire and forwardnesse get the vpper hand, so that hee diligently and carefully heard the most famous and serious Philosophers of that age, and namely, *Attalus* the Stoicke, *Sotion* one of the same sort, although he seemed to follow *Pythagoras* and *Papirius Fabius*, which he names likewise, and praiseth with a gratefull memorie: he was *Sotions* scholler in his yonger yeares, and he writeth, *And now, though a childe, I sate and heard* Sotion. Moreouer, he admired and honoured *Demetrius* the Cinique, conuersing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at such time as he serued in Court, both priuately and publiquely. For he made him his companion both in his walks and trauailes. Such was his forwardnesse in honest studies, yet his father broke him off, and in the interim caused him to follow the Courts and to pleade causes: which course, as it appeareth he continued long, yea, euen in *Caius* time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his eloquence. Vndoubtedly there are no Philosophicall treatises extant, that were his before that time.

Epist. 49.

Epist. 49.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

His honours and ciuill life.

His father likewise perswaded him to affect gouernement, and to make sute for honours: he therefore first of all was Threasorer, in obtayning which office; hee acknowledgeth what helpes his Aunt had procured him: She (saith he) tried all her friends in my suite for the Threasorership, and she that scarcely would endure to be confer'd with all, or publikely saluted in my behalfe, ouercame her modestie by her loue towards me. What woman this was, and what husband she had, thou shalt learne by my notes: but when he was Threasorer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares, it might haue been vnder *Tiberius*, or it might be vnder *Caius*, but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather say, that by *Agripinals* meanes presently after his exile he got and exercised the Prætorship. For thus saith *Tacitus*: *Agripina* got at her husbands hand, not onely a release of *Annæus Senecaes* banishment, but also the Prætorship, supposing that it would be pleasing to the common sort by reason of the fame of his studie, and to the end that *Domitius* childehood might be the better ripened by such a master, and that hee might vse his counsailes, vnder hope to attaine the soueraigntie. Thou seest that hee was suddenly made Prætor, and hearest what praises and endowments *Tacitus* vnfainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the commons was gotten by that meanes. Because *Seneca* now was accompanied with euery mans good words and fauours, by reason of the excellencie of his studies, and was desirous that vnder such and so great a Master, that their *Domitius* should be brought vp, and should be addressed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouern it. He was therefore Prætor the yeare of the Citie D c c l i. and was hee not afterwards Consull? The Law bookes affirme the same to *S. C. Trebellian*, as *Vlpian*. In the time of *Nero* in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when *Annæus Seneca* and *Trebellius Maximus* were Consuls, it was made irreuocable. The same is written in the elements of *Iustinians* institutions. But they that made our holy-daies, make these substitute Consuls (for ordinarie they were not) the yeare of the Citie D c c c x v. which should be

Conf. ad Hil. cap. 16.

12. Annalis.

two of them most excellent & exercised in eloquence, Gallio, and this our *Seneca*, for I haue red nothing of *Mela*. This is that Gallio whom *Statius* commendeth for his sweet discourse.

And thus much more, that from his happy line
He blest the world with Seneca *diuine,*
And brought to light that Gallio, *whose grace*
And fluent speech the commons did embrace.

He that was the author of the booke *Of the causes of corrupted eloquence*, said, that hee had a certaine resounding and pleasing eloquence, which he calleth the resounding of Gallio, meaning it by the sonne and not by the father. But our *Seneca*, besides his eloquence, addicted himselfe to Philosophie with earnest endeuor, and vertue rauished his most excellent wit, although his father were against it. He himselfe diuers times saith, that hee was withdrawne from Philosophie, and that his wife was shee that dissw aded him; yea, and that she hated it, hee openly writeth in another place: yet did the sonnes desire and forwardnesse get the vpper hand, so that hee diligently and carefully heard the most famous and serious Philosophers of that age, and namely, *Attalus* the Stoicke, *Sotion* one of the same sort, although he seemed to follow *Pythagoras* and *Papirius Fabius*, which he names likewise, and praiseth with a gratefull memorie: he was *Sotions* scholler in his yonger yeares, and he writeth, *And now, though a childe, I sate and heard* Sotion. Moreouer, he admired and honoured *Demetrius* the Cinique, conuersing oftentimes with him in his elder dayes, and at such time as he serued in Court, both priuately and publiquely. For he made him his companion both in his walks and trauailes. Such was his forwardnesse in honest studies, yet his father broke him off, and in the interim caused him to follow the Courts and to pleade causes: which course, as it appeareth he continued long, yea, euen in *Caius* time, being greatly fauoured and famed for his eloquence. Vndoubtedly there are no Philosophicall treatises extant, that were his before that time.

Ep. ſt. 49.

Ep. ſt. 49.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

His honours and ciuill life.

His father likewise perswaded him to affect gouernement, and to make sute for honours: he therefore first of all was Threasorer, in obtayning which office, hee acknowledgeth what helpes his Aunt had procured him: She (saith he) tried all her friends in my suite for the Threasorership, and she that scarcely would endure to be confer'd with all, or publikely saluted in my behalfe, ouercame her modestie by her loue towards me. What woman this was, and what husband she had, thou shalt learne by my notes: but when he was Threasorer I doe not certainly know: for his yeares, it might haue been vnder *Tiberius*, or it might be vnder *Caius*, but I intend not to define the matter. This had I rather say, that by *Agripinals* meanes presently after his exile he got and exercised the Prætorship. For thus saith *Tacitus*: *Agripina* got at her husbands hand, not onely a release of *Annæus Senecaes* banishment, but also the Prætorship, supposing that it would be pleasing to the common sort by reason of the fame of his studie, and to the end that *Domitius* childehood might be the better ripened by such a master, and that hee might vse his counsailes, vnder hope to attaine the soueraignty. Thou seest that hee was suddenly made Prætor, and heerest what praises and endowments *Tacitus* vnfainedly honoureth him with. The loue of the commons was gotten by that meanes. Because *Seneca* now was accompanied with euery mans good words and fauours, by reason of the excellencie of his studies, and was desirous that vnder such and so great a Master, that their *Domitius* should be brought vp, and should be addressed (and herein note his ciuill prudence) both to obtaine the Empire, and to gouern it. He was therefore Prætor the yeare of the Citie D C C L I. and was hee not afterwards Consull? The Law bookes affirme the same to *S. C. Trebellian*, as *Vlpian*. In the time of *Nero* in the Octaues of the Calends of September, when *Annæus Seneca* and *Trebellius Maximus* were Consuls, it was made irreuocable. The same is written in the elements of *Iustinians* institutions. But they that made our holy-daies, make these substitute Consuls (for ordinarie they were not) the yeare of the Citie D C C C X V. which should be

Conſ. ad Hiſ. cap. 16.

12. Annalis.

be the yeare, and some few moneths before *Senecaes* death. Some men perhaps will doubt of the whole matter, because *Ausonius* in his thankesgiuing saith openly, The rich man *Seneca*, but yet not Consull. *Seneca* likewise himselfe neuer maketh mention of this honour, although he wrote many Epistles at that time. I answer, for *Ausonius* it is to be vnderstood, that it seemed to him to bee an ordinarie Consulate; for our *Seneca*, that a silence is no deniall. Furthermore, I adde this likewise, that the Chronicle-makers seem to haue digested their relations badly; for in that yeare vndoubtedly he was not. For see here in the very beginning of the yeare, how *Tacitus* maketh mention of his cold entertainement by *Nero*, and how his detractors had diuersly iniuried him, and how he himselfe with a confident Oration came vnto the Prince, and desired *viaticum*, and resigned his substance: yet *Cæsar* permitted it not, & yet *Seneca* from that time forward, as *Cornelius* saith, changeth the prescripts of his former power, forbiddeth intercourse of Courtiers, auoydeth attendants, is sildome seene in the Citie, and as if ouer-tired with sickenes, keepeth himselfe at home, intending onely the studie of wisedome. These are no proper actions of a new made Consull or a Candidate, and his death that followed presently afterwards, forbiddeth vs to consent hereunto. But what was it that learned men suspected thus? That which *Tacitus* writeth in that yeare was done by the consent of the Senate, lest a fained adoption should in any sort further a publique Office, & least in vsurping heritages, it should profit. But this appertaineth nothing to that of *Trebellian*, it hath another reference: if a man doe examine those things likewise that are in *Tacitus*. I therefore consent that he was Consull, but in another and a former time, the certaintie whereof I will not set downe. But the perpetuall honour of this man, and how hee was both the teacher and gouernour of a Prince, vndoubtedly worthy as long as he addicted himselfe to his counsailes and admonitions. *Tacitus* concealeth not, and nameth two, to whom the Prince was well inclined for his owne profite. Murthers had preuailed except *Afranius Burrus* and *Annæus Seneca* had withstood them. These were the Gouernours of the Emperour in his yonger yeares, and conformed in that equall societie they had in gouernement, and in diuers sorts they had equall power. *Burrus* in his charge, in regard of warlike affaires and seueritie in his manners. *Seneca* in his precepts of eloquence and honest affabilitie, assisting one another, whereby

Annal. 14.

whereby they might more easily restraine the tender yeates of the Prince if he despised vertue, by granting him pleasures. O laudable endeuour and consent, which is too rare in Courts, where euery one for the most part will desire to be so eminent that he desireth no second. But to *Seneca*

CHAP. V.

His priuate life, his wife, his children, his banishment.

WHether he acted any other thing in publique, I know not; but priuately I find, or at least wise I collect, that during his yonger yeares hee was in Egypt vpon this occasion; because his Vncle was Præfect there; for he writeth of his Aunt to his Mother, Shee will shew the her example, whereof I was an eye-witnesse. An eye-witnesse? he therefore associated his Aunt in that Nauigation (of which he speaketh in that place) when as his Aunt returned from Egypt. And how could this be, except he himselfe likewise had beene in Egypt? Vndoubtedly it was thus: and this is the cause why he curiously intermixeth many things of Ægypt and Nilus, especially in his bookes of Naturall Questions. Perchance he trauiled out of Ægypt into India by the red Sea, and therefore would hee comment vpon India, vpon that which was written by *Pliny*. But now he married a wife at Rome, which though it be vncertain to be so, yet the reason he had children do approue it: for he maketh mention of *Marcus* a wanton lad, with much praise and affection to his mother *Heluia*: neyther is it to be doubted but that he was his sonne, at least wise his owne verses will approue it, where amongst his vowes,

Consolat. ad Helu. cap. 21.

Lib. 8. c. 17.

So may yong Marcus, *who with pleasing prate*
Contents vs now, in eloquent debate,
Prouoke his vncles, though in being yong
In wit, in wisdome, and in fluent tong.

For should I giue way to those who attribute this to *Marcus Lucanus*, I finde no reason for it; yet maketh hee no mention of his for-

former wife: not in these bookes, I confesse, what then? not of his brother *Annæus Mela* by name, had hee not therefore a brother? Notwithstanding thou art to consider whether thou vnderstand not this by his first wife. Thou knowest that *Harpastes* my wiues foole remained as an hereditary burthen in my family: what wife? his first wife? for the bookes of Anger seem to be written in a place well known to vs. But he married *Paulina* after his exile, a woman of great Nobility, which, as I tell thee, married him when he was old & powerful in the Court: which very thing *Dio* likewise, or whatsoeuer he were in *Dion*, thought good to obiect against *Dion*; which is, that being stept in yeares he had married a yong wench. Such were both of them, and *Seneca* himselfe testifieth it. This said I to my *Paulina* which commends my health vnto me: it came into my mind, that in this old man there is a yong one that is forborn. A yong one? he meanes *Paulina* her selfe: for vndoubtedly she loued her husband, as there in many places he boasteth, and that vnfainedly, which she expressed in his death, when in as farre as in her lay, she sought to accompanie his soule with hers. Hereafter we shall see it. And these were his wiues. The rest of his life quiet, and without offence, excepting onely that grieuous accident of his exile. For vnder *Claudius* the first yeare of his reigne, when *Iulia* the daughter of *Germanicus* was accused of adulterie (Gods and Goddesses by *Messaline*?) and was driuen her selfe into banishment: and *Seneca*, if he had beene one of the adulterers, was exiled and sent into Corsica; I will not say whether it were vpon a iust cause, I could wish it were not, and happily *Tacitus* with me, who when hee speaketh of his banishment. *Seneca* was angrie with *Claudius*, it was supposed by reason of the iniurie that was done him. Note this Iniurie: hee therefore had receiued some. For who would otherwise be ignorant to interprete the accusations of that impudent Hatlot (I meane *Messaline*) and that my sonne beast *Claudius*? For, for the most parte they practised no mischiefe but against good and innocent persons. Hee liued about some eight yeares or thereabours in exile, I, and constantly too; yea, if wee may beleeue himselfe, happily intending onely the best studies, and the wholsomest meditations. For thus writeth he to his mother; That hee is blessed amongst those things which are wont to make other men wretched. And afterwards (but I pray thee obserue him) he worthily Philosophieth, he addeth in the end, and rowseth himselfe;

3. *de Ira. c. 1.*

Epist. 104.

Con-

Conceiue what thou shouldest thinke mee to be ioyfull and addressed as it were in the best fortunes, But they are the best, when as the minde, deuoide of all thought intendeth himselfe, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in lighter studies, and sometimes mounteth into the consideration of the nature of himselfe, & the whole world being desirous of truth. O man, O honest wordes, which the Author of *Octauia's* Tragedie would imitate, for it was not he (God forbid) in these Verses in the person of *Seneca*;

Farre better lay I bid remoued farre
From enuies stormes amidst the Corsicke shoare,
Whereas my minde was farre from any farre,
Fixt on my studies, not on earthly powres:
O what content had I? (For neuer nature
Mother of all things, Mistris of each creature
Could grant no more) then to behold the heauen,
The Sunnes true motion, and the Planets seuen.

Cap. 4.

These are better, yea, farre truer then he hath written in his consolatorie booke to *Polybius*, ouer-basely and humbly. And is it impossible that our *Seneca* should write it? Oftentimes haue I doubted it, and almost durst for sweare it. How soeuer, he was a man, and happily that writing was enlarged and published by his enemies, and happily they corrupted it. yet note this in *Senecaes* words aboue said; That there he delighted himselfe in more slighter studies likewise, which I suppose should be Poesie. & amongst them is *Medea*, which I am halfe assured was written in his exile, at such time as *Claudius* conquered Britanie; and therefore made he choice of that argument of *Iason*, that he might intermixe somewhat of the Ocean that was subdued. Is it possible that these verses in the *Chorus* should haue relation to any but *Claudius*?

Spare me, O gods, I doe intreat for grace,
Long let him liue secure that hath subdude.

And againe,

The Seas _____
Enough already O you gods, you haue
Reuengd you on the Seas, now spare the Powre.

Which

Which he applied to *Claudius*, although he were liuing, and will haue the gods to spare the god in his Poeticall fiction.

CHAP. VI.

His riches, his granges, his lands, his vsurie.

BVt presently after he returned from his exile, hee grew a-
gain into reputation, being both at that time, and be-
fore his aduancement in Court plentifully enstated,
Cap. 2. for his father had left him rich: neyther oweth he all
his wealth to his industrie and forwardnesse. Hereupon to his
mother; Thou being the daughter of a family, didst freely bestow
thy bounty on thy welthy children. And he praised her liberali-
tie the rather, as he saith, because she bestowed it on her wealthy
sons, and not such as were needie. This before he came to Court;
but when he liued there he got mightie riches, or rather admitted
them which thrust themselues vpon him before he sought them.
For he got much by the Princes beneficence; for thus speaketh he
vnto *Nero* in our *Tacitus*; Thou (said hee) hast giuen mee great
grace, and innumerable treasure; so that oftentimes I my selfe turn
it oftentimes by my selfe; where is that minde, which contented
himselfe with a little? Doth he plant such Gardens, and doth he
walke about these mannors without the Citie? and is hee stored
with so many acres of land, and with such mightie vsurie? Note
Gardens, Mannors, Granges, Fields, and Vsurie, & all these boun-
tifully and abundantly. Will you heare *Tacitus* words once more,
Lib. 14. but from another mans mouth, and in another sense: *Senecaes* ca-
lumners, saith he, accuse him of diuers crimes; as that he, as yet in-
creased his mighty riches, which were raised aboue any priuate
fortune, that he won and drew the Citizens hearts vnto him, and
as it were exceeded the Prince likewise in the annuity of his Gar-
dens, and the magnificence of his Mannor houses. And *Suillus* in
the same *Tacitus* expresseth the measure of his riches likewise, with
what wisedome, with what precepts of the Philosophers during
these foure yeares that he was in the Princes fauour, had hee got-
Lib. 13. ten three thousand *HSS.* that in Rome, whole Testaments and
Inheritances were taken and got holde on by his cunning and
search; that Italy and the Prouinces were exhausted by his imme-
surable

surable vsurie. His estate amongst vs should be seuentie fiue hun-
dreth thousand crownes. These riches were almost regall, I con-
fesse it, but I condemne that which he annexeth, that it was gotten
by vnlawfull meanes and deceit. Before he came to Court, as I
said, he had a great reuenue, and what wonder is it that he increa-
sed the same in so mightie a Court, and so great felicity of the Ro-
mane state? But hee saith likewise that Italie and the Prouinces
were exhausted by his vsurie: his meaning is, that he had money
at vse in diuers places, and I suspect it likewise in Ægypt. This ga-
ther I by his Epistle, wherein hee writeth that the Alexandrian *Epist. 77.*
Fleete suddenly arriued, and that all men ranne vnto the hauen
and to the shore; but I, saith he, in this generall hastie running of
all men, found great pleasure in my slackenesse, that being to re-
ceiue my Letters from my friends I made not hast to knowe in
what estate my affaires stood in that place, and what they had
brought. For this long time I haue neyther wonne or lost any
thing. He had there his Brokers or Factors, who followed his
businesse; it was therefore in some great flocke of money or in
lands. For to haue possessions beyond the Seas was no new mat-
ter in that age wherin he liued, and in so great abundance. Verily
Dion amongst the causes of the warre in Brittaine, reckoneth this
vp likewise, That when as *Seneca* had vpon great interest trusted
the Brittaines with foure hundreth *HSS.* which in our reckon-
ing amounteth to the sum of ten hundreth thousand crownes:
he called in for that whole summe of money at one time. Whe-
ther he spake this truely or no I know not; for euery wayes he was
a mortall and professed enemy of our *Seneca*. Yet telleth hee no
vntruth, for there likewise had hee money. Why now Gardens
and houses of pleasure? he had diuers, and differently bewtified.
Iuuenall toucheth it, The Gardens of most wealthy *Seneca*. Hee
himselfe likewise maketh mention of his houses, Nomentanum,
Albanum, and Baianum, and without question hee had manie.
He likewise had a house within the Citie, which continued the
name for many yeares after, and was called *Senecaes* house in the
Region P. *Victor*. His houshold-stuffe also was enuied at, and
Dio obiecteth, that he had fiue hundreth tables of Cedar with I-
uorie feete, all of them alike and equall. This was a great matter
if truely great (for this alwaies ought we to be warie in *Dions* ob-
iections) that he had so many tables, whereof any one is vsually
taxed and prised at the rate of an ample possession: for they must

not haue beene so choice and so rare; but what if they were not? I denie not but that it was the custome of dissolute and lauish men to haue such: for thus speaketh *Martial* of one of these:

A hundreth Mooriſh tables ſtand about,
With Libique teeth, and golden plates do crackle
Vpon our beddes.

For in great banquets they set a Table before euery seuerall man, (which is elsewhere to be noted) and to this end therefore they had diuers. I doe not therefore say I denie or doubt hereof. But because *Seneca* himselfe toucheth and reprehendeth this madnesse oftentimes, yea, at such time as he was in Court, and in his olde age, in those bookes of Benefits which he then wrote. What doth he not in his booke of Tranquilitie, about the beginning, openly denie that he tooke no pleasure in those Tables that were conspicuous through varietie of sports. Nor was wont to vse them? Wonderfull is this impudence, in a matter so euident and obiect to the eyes of that age, to dissemble or to lie so openly. I cannot think it; especially if *Dion* report the same, or any other to whom *Dion* assigneth this office. For in another place haue I noted, that these things seeme to be deduced and vrged against him in some inuectiue Oration; and there by the way haue I acquit him of the crime of his riches, which any man may reade if he please. But rather let him reade *Seneca* himselfe, who about this time published his booke of Blessed life, in which his proiect is to defend himselfe from those aspersions, wherewith his enemies would haue attainted him. O excellent, O wise booke, and more allowed in this behalfe was the reproofe, that was the meane to bring it to light.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

His Manners, and first his Abstinence, his Truth, his Saferie, and Pietie.

PVt his very manners refute this obiection of his riches, and iustifie his vse, and not abuse of them. For what hath he offended in pride, excesse, and pompe? Let them tell vs it, and wee will be silent. What was he happily lauish, eyther in his diet or feasting? Let vs heare himselfe professing openly; When as I heard *Attalus* declayming against vices, errours, and the infirmities of life, oftentimes hauing had compassion of mankinde, and haue beleeued that hee was sublimed and raised aboue humane reach. When he beganne to traduce our pleasures, to praise a chaste bodie, a sober table, a pure minde; not onely from vnlawfull pleasures, but also from superfluous, I tooke a liking to temper mine appetite and belly. Of these instructions some haue sithence dwelt with me in *Cicillius*; for I came with a great alacritie to all things. Afterwards being reduced to a ciuill life, I stored vp some few of these my good beginnings. Hereupon for all my life time after, I renounced all Oysters and Mushromes. Euer since for my whole life time I haue abstayned from iniunction; sithee that time my stomacke hath wanted wine, neyther haue I euer since, vouchsafed to bath my selfe. Where was euer any such frugalitie in any other place, or by what name is it called? And this haue I written of, in my commendation of *Seneca*, so let vs not repeate it heere, now as touching the rest of his life it was both serious and seuere. The Court corrupted him not, neyther inclined he vnto flatterie, a vice almost familiar, and allied to such places. No: hee vnto *Nero*. Suffer me to stay here a little longer with thee, not to flatter thine eares, for this is not my custome: I had rather offend thee by truth, then please thee by flatterie. And beeing now readie to die, in *Tacitus* hee willed them to make knowne to the Prince, That his minde was neuer inclined vnto flatterie, and that this was knowne to no man better then to *Nero*, whom had more often

Epist. 108.

11. *de Commodis.*

15. *Annal.* 3. *de Ira.*

often made vse of *Senecaes* libertie then hee had experience of his seruitude. Moreouer, what exaction and examination of his manners and life? Againe he himselfe, I vse this power, and daily examine my selfe when the light is out and my wife is silent, which is now priuie to my custom, I examin the whole day that is past by my selfe, and consider both mine actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let nothing slip: for why should I feare any of mine errours? When as I may say, See that thou doe this no more, for this time I pardon thee. Can the studie of wisedome appeare eyther more greatly or more cleerely? Finally, how often appeareth his pietie and submission towards God? I will set downe one thing that I gathered from him. If thou beleeuest me any waies, when I discouer my most inward affections to thee, I am thus formed in all occurrents, which seeme either difficult or dangerous. I obey not God, but I assent vnto him; I follow him from my heart, and not of necessitie. There shall nothing euer befall mee that I will grieue at, or change my countenance for when it happeneth. I will pay no tribute vnwillingly, and many such like obserued by me in my Manuduction or Phisiologie. Yea, some of that vnstained pietie that *Tertullian* and the Auncients call him Ours. I haue in my Fragments set downe some of his counsailes, let them make vse of them. Furthermore, *Otho Frigensis* affirmed, that *Lucius Seneca* was not onely worthie to be reputed a Philosopher, but also a Christian. And for these his eminent vertues sake, euen in that age there was a great good opinion held of him, yea and they destinated him to the Empire. *Tacitus* plainly writeth that this was set abroach, that the Empire should be deliuered to *Senecaes* hands, as to one that was guiltles, being chosen, by reason of the excellency of his vertues, to the highest dignitie. O Rome thou wert vnworthy of this felicitie; neyther did God respect thee so well otherwise.

Epist. 96.

15. Annal.

Iuuenal Sat. 10.

If all the people might haue leaue to speake,
What one of them (how desolate soeuer)
Would feare or doubt to honor Seneca
Farre more then Nero.

Yet some there are that doubt of the realitie of his vertues, and thinke them rather words and ostentation. Did he not therefore in his death make it manifest how slightly hee esteemed all humane things, how he addicted himselfe to God?

Chap. VIII.

His Manfull and Constant life, set downe out of Tacitus.

AND let vs see the commoditie thereof, but from whence should we gather it rather then from *Tacitus*, the most faithfullest of all other Writers? Beholde, I set thee downe his owne wordes: Hereafter followeth the slaughter of *Annæus Seneca*, most pleasing to the Prince, not because he had manifestly found him guiltie of treason, but to the end he might confound him by the sword, since his attempt in poysoning him, so badly succeeded. For onely *Natalis* discouered no lesse. That he was sent to *Seneca* at such time as hee was sicke to visite him, and to complaine why he barred *Piso* of accesse vnto him, that it would be better for them if they should exercise their friendship with familiar entercourse. And that *Seneca* answered, that mutuall discourse and often conference would bee profitable for neyther of them both, yet that his safetie depended on *Pisoes* securitie. This was *Granius Siluanus*, the Tribune of the Prætoriall Band, commanded to relate vnto him, and to enquire whether he knew these speeches of *Natalis*, and acknowledged his owne answers. He eyther by chance or wittingly had returned that day out of Campania, and remained in a house of pleasure of his in the Suburbes, aboue foure miles off. Thither came the Tribune about the euening, and beset the Village with a troupe of his souldiers. There discouered he vnto him whilst hee sate at supper with *Pompeia Paulina* his wife, and two other of his friends, what the Emperours commaund was. *Seneca* answered, that *Natalis* was sent vnto him, and that he complained in *Pisoes* behalfe, that he had bin debarred from visiting him, & that he by reason of his infirmity, & loue of his quiet, had excused himselfe. But why hee should preferre a priuate mans securitie before his owne, hee had no cause; nor that his minde was inclined to flatterie, and that the same was best knowne vnto *Nero*, who had more

more oftentimes made proofe of *Senecaes* libertie then seruice. When as this answer was related by the Tribune, in the presence of *Poppea* and *Tigillinus*, which were inward Counsailors to this mercilesse Prince, he asked him whether *Seneca* had prepared himselfe for a voluntarie death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he discouered no signe of feare, nor appearance of dismay, eyther in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that he returned not by the same way he came, but that he stept aside to *Fennis* the Præfect, and told him what *Cæsar* had commanded, and asked his counsaile whether he should obey him, and that he was aduised by him to execute his charge, which was the fatall cowardlinesse of them all. For both *Siluanus* was one of the Conspirators, and increased their hainous offences, to whose reuenge he had consented; yet spared hee both his speech and presence, and sent in one of the Centurions to *Seneca*, to signifie vnto him the fatall sentence. He no waies dismayed hereat, called for the tables of his Testament, which being denied him by the Centurion, turning himselfe towards his friends, hee testified vnto them, that since it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindnesse towards him, yet testified he, that he left them yet that which of all others he esteemed most worthy, namely, the image of his life, whereof if they were mindfull, they should carrie away the fame of good learning, and of so constant friendship. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to constancie now by speeches, now by expostulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, where are the precepts of wisedome? where that premeditated resolution, which you haue studied for so many yeares against imminent dangers? For to whom was *Neroes* crueltie vnknowne? Neyther remained there any thing after the murther both of his mother and brother, but to annex the death of his Gouernour and Master? When as he had in generall said these or such like words, he embraced his wife; and hauing somewhat tempered her against the present feare, he prayeth and intreateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was vertuously ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honest solaces. She contrariwise alleaged that her selfe was sentenced to die also, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then *Seneca* loath to obscure her glorie, and louing her intirely, least he should leaue her to the injuries

iuries of others, whom he so deerely loued, said, I haue shewed thee the proportions and images of life, but thou hadst rather haue the glorie of death; I will not enuy thy example. Let the constancie be equall in vs both in this so short a death, but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. *Seneca* in that his bodie was old and leane, by reason of his sparing diet, and that by this meanes his bloud flowed more slowly, cut the veines of his legges and hams likewise. And being wearied with cruell torments, lest by his paine he should weaken his wiues courage, and he by beholding her torments should fall into some impatience, he perswaded her to step aside into another chamber. And in the last moment being no waies disfurnished of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered manie things, which being discouered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But *Nero* that had conceiued no priuate hatred against *Paulina*, and being affraid lest the odiousnesse of his crueltie should increase the more, commanded her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the souldiers, her slaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and stop the bloud, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her consent. For amongst the common sort (who are readiest to speake the worst) there wanted not some that beleeued, that during the time that shee feared that *Nero* was implacable, shee sought to accompanie her husband in the same of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then she was ouercome with the sweetnesse of life, whereunto shee added a fewe yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other partes of her bodie were growne so pale and discoloured, that it easily appeared that her vital spirits were much spent. In the meane while *Seneca* seeing the protraction and slowneſse of his death, besought *Statius Annæus*, a man well approued vnto him, both for his faith in friendship, and skill in Phisicke, to hast and bring him that poison which in times past was prouided, and by which they were put to death who were by publike iudgement condemned amongst the Athenians; and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it, in vaine, by reason that his limbs were already colde, and his body shut vp against the force of the venome. At last he entered into a Bath of hot water, besprinckling those his slaues that stood next about him, saying that he offered vp that liquor to *Ioue* the deliuerer. Then put into the Bath, and

more oftentimes made proofe of *Senecaes* libertie then seruice. When as this answer was related by the Tribune, in the presence of *Poppea* and *Tigillinus*, which were inward Counsailors to this mercilesse Prince, he asked him whether *Seneca* had prepared himselfe for a voluntarie death. Then did the Tribune confirme, that he discouered no signe of feare, nor appearance of dismay, eyther in his words or countenance. He is therefore commanded to returne, and to tell him of his death. *Fabius Rusticus* reporteth, that he returned not by the same way he came, but that he stept aside to *Fennis* the Præfect, and told him what *Cæsar* had commanded, and asked his counsaile whether he should obey him, and that he was aduised by him to execute his charge, which was the fatall cowardlinesse of them all. For both *Siluanus* was one of the Conspirators, and increased their hainous offences, to whose reuenge he had consented; yet spared hee both his speech and presence, and sent in one of the Centurions to *Seneca*, to signifie vnto him the fatall sentence. He no waies dismayed hereat, called for the tables of his Testament, which being denied him by the Centurion, turning himselfe towards his friends, hee testified vnto them, that since it was not permitted him to remunerate their kindnesse towards him, yet testified he, that he left them yet that which of all others he esteemed most worthy, namely, the image of his life, wherof if they were mindfull, they should carrie away the fame of good learning, and of so constant friendship. And therewithall recalleth their teares, and calleth them to constancie now by speeches, now by expostulations, after a more intended manner; asking them, where are the precepts of wisedome? where that premeditated resolution, which you haue studied for so many yeares against imminent dangers? For to whom was *Neroes* crueltie vnknowne? Neyther remained there any thing after the murther both of his mother and brother, but to annex the death of his Gouernour and Master? When as he had in generall said these or such like words, he embraced his wife; and hauing somewhat tempered her against the present feare, he prayeth and intreateth her to moderate her griefe, and not to make it continuall. But in contemplation of her life that was vertuously ledde, to endure the lacke of her husband with honest solaces. She contrariwise alleaged that her selfe was sentenced to die also, and calleth for the executioners helpe. Then *Seneca* loath to obscure her glorie, and louing her intirely, least he should leaue her to the iniuries

iuries of others, whom he so deerely loued, said, I haue shewed thee the proportion and images of life, but thou hadst rather haue the glorie of death; I will not enuy thy example. Let the constancie be equall in vs both in this so short a death, but thy renowne will be farre greater. After which wordes, both of them cut their veines at one time. *Seneca* in that his bodie was old and leane, by reason of his sparing diet, and that by this meanes his bloud flowed more slowly, cut the veines of his legges and hams likewise. And being wearied with cruell torments, lest by his paine he should weaken his wiues courage, and he by beholding her torments should fall into some impatience, he perswaded her to step aside into another chamber. And in the last moment being no waies disfurnished of his eloquence, calling his writers about him, he deliuered manie things, which being discouered to the world in his owne wordes, I intend not to alter. But *Nero* that had conceiued no priuate hatred against *Paulina*, and being affraid lest the odiousnesse of his cruelte should increase the more, commanded her death to be hindered. By the exhortations of the souldiers, her slaues and bond-men binde vp her armes, and stop the bloud, the matter being yet vncertaine whether it was with her consent. For amongst the common sort (who are readiest to speake the worst) there wanted not some that beleeued, that during the time that shee feared that *Nero* was implacable, shee sought to accompanie her husband in the fame of his death: but when more apparant hopes were offered, that then she was ouercome with the sweetnesse of life, whereunto shee added a fewe yeares after, with a laudable memorie towards her husband. But her face and other partes of her bodie were growne so pale and discoloured, that it easily appeared that her vital spirits were much spent. In the meane while *Seneca* seeing the protraction and slowneſse of his death, besought *Statius Annæus*, a man well aproued vnto him, both for his faith in friendship, and skill in Philicke, to hast and bring him that poison which in times past was prouided, and by which they were put to death who were by publike iudgement condemned amongst the Athenians; and hauing it brought vnto him he drunke it, in vaine, by reason that his limbs were already colde, and his body shut vp against the force of the venome. At last he entered into a Bath of hot water, besprinckling those his slaues that stood next about him, saying that he offered vp that liquor to *Ioue* the deliuerer. Then put into the Bath,

and

and ſtifled with the vapour thereof, hee was buried without any ſolemnitie of his Funerall: for ſo had hee ſet it downe in his Will. Euen then when as being very rich and mighty, he diſpoſed of his laſt Will. Hitherto *Tacitus*. Neither will I repent my ſelfe it I inſiſt lightly, and examine and illuſtrate his ſayings: He ſaith, that this ſlaughter of his was moſt pleaſing to the Prince. For of long time he was aggrieued againſt this Maſter & Teacher of his in goodneſſe and equitie, and his intent was to ſhake off that Raine of reuerence once, whereby he was reſtrained againſt his will, by cutting him off; yet had he otherwiſe ſworne, as *Suetonius* witneſſeth: Hee compelled *Seneca* his Maſter, ſaith hee, to chuſe his death, although when he oftentimes ſought for a *viaticum* at his hands, and ſurrendred vp all his goods vnto him: hee had ſolemnly ſworne that he was ſuſpected without cauſe, and that he had rather die then that hee would hurt him. He ſwore, that is, he deluded the gods alſo: hee ſaith, When as his intent to poyſon him ſucceeded not: for he had attempted it; for ſo ſaith the ſame *Tacitus* in a former place, Some deliuered poyſon vnto *Seneca* by *Neroes* command, prepared by the handes of one of his free-men, called *Cleonicus*, but that it was auoyded by *Seneca*, by the diſcouerie of his Libertine, or through his owne feare, whilſt he ſuſtained his life with a ſpare diet with wilde apples, and if he were athirſt with running water. He goeth forward: Or knowing of it; as if he had knowledge of the conſpiracie, and the prefixed time. Likewiſe, he returned out of Campania, from ſome Lordſhip of his there. And there truely oftentimes before his death liued he ſolitarie, and in that place wrote many of his Epiſtles to *Lucillius*. Foure miles off, in ſome Mannor of his likewiſe, what was it *Nomentanum*? This did *Xitho Polentinus* write, but vpon meere coniecture, as I thinke. Neither doth *Tacitus* admit it, who ſpeaketh of ſome foure miles off the Citie; but *Nomentum* is at leaſt twelue miles off. No ſignes of feare. Behold a death both worthy of a Philoſopher and a Stoicke, which thoſe things that follow commend. The image of his life: if *Seneca* I pray you were ſo abſurd a fellow, as *Dion* ſpeaketh, ſhould this be ſpoken of his life in the ſhutting vp? Would hee thus dallie and deceiue his friends, and delude his familiars? Sometimes with ſpeech, that is, gently and familiarly. Being hardned againſt preſent feare, I write it not againe raſhly, yet ſome man may doubt, ſhould it not be *Molitam* that ſhe was mollified, hauing relation to his wife? That

That which followeth ſeemeth to inferre the ſame, when hee requireth her to temper her ſorow; and that which he annexeth: Thou ſeeſt, ſaith he, the portraicture of life. Theſe, and diuers others are *Senecaes* owne words, or very like vnto them, which were extant and well knowne, as preſently after hee ſaith: his aged bodie. By my reckoning he was ſome threſcore and three, or foure yeares olde. For that he was not elder, *Neroes* wordes to *Seneca* conuince, not ſpoken long time before that in *Tacitus*. But thou art both ripe in yeares, and ſufficient for affaires, and the fruite of them, which thou canſt not truely ſpeake of the elder. Calling his writers about him. O man. O mightie minde? To dictate that when he was a dying that might helpe poſteritie. For it is not to be doubted but that they were ſuch, and meere precepts both of conſtancie and wiſedome. The argument is, becauſe they were publiſhed; which ſhould not be except they had been excellent. And becauſe they were publiſhed, *Tacitus* omits them. O improuidently done? O that we likewiſe had but a touch of theſe Swan-like ſongs. A Bath of hot water: hee meaneth ſome Bathing-tub, and then firſt vſed he colde water when he ſhould vſe it no more. Carried into his Bath; that is, into his Stoue or drie Bath, as I thinke: for hee ſheweth that by the vapour and acrimonie of the heate, he was ſtrangled. Euen then when he was moſt rich and mightie: this is ſomewhat wherin *Tacitus* ſeemeth to carpe at him, yet, if I conceiue him rightly, *Tacitus* meant his funerall, and that he forbad the ſolemnities thereof, but how in that He made his laſt Will. What, would *Nero* haue broken his Teſtament? who happily was appointed heire of the greateſt part thereof, and would ſuffer himſelfe to looſe nothing through negligence. Or doth he touch *Senecaes* parſimonie herein? But dead wordes paſſe not farre. Another man may finde it.

Chap. IX.

His body, his ſickeneſſes, his forme.

Haue ended, except it pleaſe you that I write ſomewhat of his bodie: for men delight, if I may ſo ſpeake it, to take notice of the habitations and receptacles of great wits: his bodie from his childehood was but weake. This ſaith he of his Aunt, after he was brought into the Citie. By her

her pious and motherly care, after I had beene long time ſicke I recouered my health. And in a certaine Epiſtle: Sickneſſe had giuen me a long ſafe conduct, and ſuddenly inuaded me. In what kinde, ſayeſt thou? And nor without cauſe doeſt thou aske mee this, ſince that there is not any one that is vnknowne to me, But to one kinde of ſickneſſe I ſeeme as it were deſtinated; which why I ſhould call by a Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called *Wheoſing* or *Aſtine*. And preſently after he addeth, All the incommodities or dangers of the bodie haue paſt by me. Behold an olde man well exerciſed, when likewiſe being a young man, was exerciſed with Diſtillations and Rhumes, by meanes whereof he ſeemed to be inclined to a conſumption. Himſelfe againe: That thou art troubled with often diſtillations & agues: it grieues me the more, becauſe I haue had proof of that kind of ſickneſſe, which in the beginning I contemned; for at firſt my youth could weare out the iniurie, & oppoſe it ſelfe boldly againſt infirmities, at laſt I was maſterd, and was brought to that paſſe, that I my ſelfe was conſumed by diſtillations. I was brought to an extreame leaneneſſe, and oftentimes had I a minde to ſhorten my daies, but my carefull and louing fathers olde yeares reſtrained me. He writeth expreſſly enough of his leaneneſſe and conſumption. Neither is it to be wondred at, that *Caligula* was ſo perſwaded by a woman: for *Dio* writeth, When as *Seneca* had worthily and happily handled a certain cauſe in the Senate, that this Prince waxed mad red with anger, who onely would ſeeme to be eloquent, and bethought himſelfe of taking away *Senecaes* life, which he had done if one of his Concubins had not tolde him this, That in vaine prepared he a death for him that was alreadie dying, and was ſpent with a conſumption. He gaue credite to her; and this was the meanes of *Senecaes* ſafetie. So true is that which he (what was a looker on?) wrote. Many mens ſickneſſe deferred their death, and it was a meanes of their ſecuritie, that they ſeemed readie to die. But till his laſt houre he had but a drie and decayed bodie, why wonder we when either it was thorow his infirmities or his ſtudies? And *Tacitus* likewiſe addeth a third cauſe, That his bodie was attenuated by a ſlender diet. And that it was not bewtifull, *Seneca* himſelfe expreſſeth in another place, That thou requireſt my bookes, I doe not therefore thinke my ſelfe more eloquent, no more then I ſhould iudge my ſelfe faire becauſe thou requireſt my picture. He toucheth that he was not, and that image

Conſ. ad Hel cap. 16.
Epiſt. 54.
Epiſt. 78.
Epiſt. 45.
Epiſt. 104.

mage, which is diſcouered of him by *Fuluius Urſinus*, ſheweth not a countenance worthy that minde; yet confirmed he his bodie, though weake, with more harder exerciſes, as in tilling the fields, and in digging of Vineyards, whereof he maketh mention in a certaine Epiſtle of his, and in his naturall Queſtions, where he called himſelfe A diligent digger of Vineyards, and generally likewiſe of Gardens, which he termeth his cunning.

Lib. 3. cap. 7
Epiſt. 112.

Chap. X.

Thoſe bookes of his that are extant.

THus of the body onely; neyther had we any fruite by it, but great from his minde, and let vs ſee them by an *Index*.

His Verſes and Poems, which vndoubtedly and plentifully he wrote, he himſelfe ſheweth that he penned them in his exile: and *Tacitus* then likewiſe when he was ſtept in yeares, and liued in Court. For thus do his calumners obiect againſt him to *Nero*; For they obiected againſt him that hee got the praiſe of eloquence to himſelfe only, and wrote verſes very often, after that he knew that *Nero* was in loue with them.

Lib. 14.

Orations of Declamations he made many & worthy one, yea, euen in the Senate, beſides thoſe which he wrote to the Prince, to be receiued likewiſe in the Senate; neyther doubt I but that the Edicts vnto the people, and the grauer Epiſtles were written or Dictated by him.

His booke of Earth-quake, which, as he teſtifieth, he wrote when he was yong, in the ſixt of his Naturall Queſtions, chap. 4. Thou ſhalt not want, for he hath handled the ſame matter againe in the ſame Queſtions.

That of Matrimonie, whether it were a booke or an Epiſtle I know not, but S. *Ierome* citeth it againſt *Iouinian*, *lib.* 1.

His Hiſtory or *Compendium* out of *Lactant.* the 7. and 15. Chap.

His bookes of Superſtition was vndoubtedly one of his beſt ones, S *Auguſt.* in his booke *de Ciuitate Dei* praiſeth it, and culleth ſomewhat out of it, and *Tertullian* maketh mention thereof in *Apologetico*.

His Dialogues, which *Fabius* nameth, and no more.

His Morall books, *Lactantius* citeth them in his eleueth booke,

Chap.

Chap. 11. and in other places, and *Seneca* himselfe in his hundreth and sixt Epistle in the beginning, and his Epistle 109. he wrote it in his later time, as it appeareth there. O worthy worke? And it grieues me that it is obscured.

His bookes of Exhortations: for there were many of them, as may be gathered out of *Lactantius*, and see our Fragments. Who thinketh that this likewise is not to be numbred amongst his best works? There are other, yet such that thou maist not confidently ascribe to this man, as his bookes of notes, which seeme rather to be his fathers. Likewise of Causes; for so an vnknowne Chronicler among the Brittaines testifieth; He maketh mention of *Seneca de Causis*, wherein he saith that *Cato* defined the office of an Orator thus: An Orator is a good man that is, exercised in eloquence. But this belongeth to the father also, and they are the bookes of Controuersies; in the first booke wherof, and in the very Præface thou shalt finde that this of *Catoes* is cited there: and except I forget my selfe, thou shalt finde it likewise in my Fragments, although these smaller things doe not so much ouerslip me, as I suffer them to passe by me.

But harke you Sir, make wee no reckoning of his Epistles to S. *Paul*?

Those that are now extant are not so much worth, nay, it is most certaine, that they haue all of them the same authour, and that they were written, but by some scarce-learned Clerke in our disgrace. He trauelleth and attempteth to speak Latin, whosoeuer it was that was the Author: did they not therefore write one vnto another? [a] S. *Ierome*, [b] S. *Augustine*, and Pope *Linus* more ancient then them both auerre it, and it is a passiue opinion. And *John* of Salisbury likewise confidently writeth, They seeme to be foolish, who reuerence not him who, as it appeareth, deserued the familiaritie of the Apostle. I therefore dare not wholly reiect and contemne this; it may be there were som, but others then these, if these: I required the iudgement of the best Fathers.

[a] *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis.*
[b] *Epistola 53 ad Macedonium, & de Ciuitate Dei, cap. 10.*
De passione Dini Pauli. Lib. 8. Polycar. cap. 13.

The end of Senecaes *life, written by* Lipsius.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

Of Benefits.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

Place these Bookes amongst the last of his Philosophie, although they haue beene planted in the forefront. But so it is if you consider the time; They were all together written vnder Nero *after* Claudius *death. A certaine argument whereof is, in that in the end of his first Booke hee writes very contemptibly of* Claudius, *and traduceth his slight iudgement: which hee would not haue done had he beene liuing. The Bookes are good; but in faith confused in order and the handling; which a man though circumspect shall hardly expedite: yet will we doe our best. The first Booke beginneth with a complaint of Ingratitude which is vsuall, and yet greatest amongst vices. Therefore saith hee, That he will write of Benefits what their force and propertie is. This handleth he vntill the fift Chapter. Then defineth hee, that a Benefite consisteth not in the matter; but the mind of him that bestoweth it, and hath his weight from him: He diduceth it by examples and arguments vntill the eleuenth Chapter. There proposeth he two members to be intreated of. What Benefits are to be giuen; And how. The first he performeth in the end of the Booke; the other he deferreth till the Booke following.*

CHAP. I.

Mens indiscretion in giuing & receiuing benefits maketh ingratitude so frequent.

AMongst the many and manifold errors of such as both rashly and inconsiderately leade their liues, there is nothing for the most part (most worthy *Liberalis*,) that in my iudgement is more hurtfull; than that we neither know how to bestow, or how to receiue Benefits. For it consequently followeth, that being badly lent, they are worse satisfied, and being vn-restored, are too lately complained of; for euen then when they were giuen, euen then were they lost: neither is it to be wondred at, that amongst so many and mightie vices there is no one more frequent than that of Ingratitude. For this in my iudgment proceedeth from diuers causes. The first is, because we make not choice of such (on whom we are to bestow our benefites) as are worthy to partake them; but being to take bonds of any man, we diligently inquire after his lands and moueables: we sow not our seeds in a fruitles and barren ground, and yet without any election we rather betray, than bestow our benefits. Neither can I easily expresse, whether it be more dishoneſt to deny, or redemand a benefit. For such is the nature of this debt, that so much is to be receiued therof, as is willingly

A good intent is a kind of satisfaction.

willingly repaied: but neither to wil, nor to be able to perform a mans promise, is most loathsome, in this respect, because to discharge a mans credit, the mind sufficeth, though the means be deficient; For he restoreth a benefit that willingly oweth the same. But if there be a fault in them who are ingratefull euen in confession of a fauour, there is also some defect in vs. By experience wee finde many vngratefull, and make more; because some-whiles we are grieuous vpbraiders and exactors: other-whiles full of lenitie in our liberalitie, and such that as soone as we haue lent, repent vs of the deed doing: other-whiles complaining of mens faint correspondence, & accusing them of som fault & offence they do vnto vs, how little soeuer it be. Thus corrupt we all thankesgiuing and remuneration, not only after we haue giuen our benefit, but whileſt we are in giuing of it. For which of vs was content either lightly, or at one time to be required? which of vs (when he but suspected that something would be demanded at his hands) hath not disdainefully frowned, or turned away his face, or pretended some busines, and by long discourses, and purposely-produced speech without head or foot, forestalled the occasion of demanding a fauour, and by diuers subtill deuises deluded hasty necessities, but being cunningly incountred in such sort as he must needly answer, hath not either deferred (that is) fearefully denied, or promised but difficultly, but with bended browes, and strained and reprochfull words? But no man willingly oweth that, which he receiued not voluntarily, but extorted violently. Can any man be thankefull vnto him, who proudely either reprocheth a benefite, or wrathfully flung it to him, or (being ouer-wearied) gaue it him to the end to auoyde his further trouble? He is deceiued whosoeuer hopeth to haue a satisfaction at his hands, whom hee hath dulled with delay, or tortured with expectation. A benefit is acknowledged according to the intent wherewith it is giuen; and therefore we ought not to giue negligently. For euery one is indebted to himselfe, for that which he receiueth of a neglectfull debtor. Neither must there be slackenesse in our liberalitie, because whereas in all offices the will of the giuer is highly esteemed, he that hath bin slow in benefiting, hath beene long time vnwilling. Neither ought we to bestow our benefits contumeliously; for whereas by nature it is so prouided that iniuries leaue a more deepe impression in our minds, than good deserts: and the last are sodainly forgotten, where the first are continually reserued in memorie, what expecteth he who offendeth, whileſt he obligeth an other? His satisfaction and gratuitie is sufficient if any man doe but pardon his benefit. Neither is there any cause why the multitude of vngratefull men should make vs slower to deserue well: For first of all, (as I said) we increase the same: Furthermore, neither are the immortall Gods deterred from their plentifull and ceaſleſſe bounty; notwithstanding the sacrilegious & neglectfull behauiors of men. They vse their nature, and infuse their bounty on all things, yea euen on those amongst the rest, that vse the worst interpretation of their benefits & largesse. Let vs follow these as our guides, (as farre as our humane frailtie wil permit vs) let vs giue benefits, not lend on vsurie. That man is worthy to be deceiued who thought vpon requital when he presented his curtesie. But it was ill imployed. Both our children and wiues haue deceiued our hopes, yet do we both bring vp the one and marry the other; and so obstinate are we against experiments, that being ouercome in war, & shipwrackt by sea, we giue ouer neither: How much more becommeth it vs to be constant in giuing benefits? which, whosoeuer giueth not, because hee hath not receiued, gaue that he might receiue, & makes the cause of the vngratful receiuer iustifiable,

Inforced and extorted fauour is not thankeworthy.

The multitude of euyll ought not to extinguish a vertue.

A laudable action must be continued without exception.

able, to whom in that sort at length it is absurd not to repay, although hee hath power. How many are vnworthie the light, and yet the day riseth to them? How many complaine that they are borne? Yet nature increaseth mankinde, and sufferdth those to enioy life, who loathe to possesse it. This is the propertie both of a great and good minde, not to follow the fruit of Benefits, but the benefits themselues; and after the euill to search likewise some good. What bountie were in this, to profit many, if no man were deceiued? Now is it a Vertue to giue benefits, whereof there is no hope of recompence againe, and of which the fruit is already receiued by a worthie man. So farre should this thing bee from deceiuing vs, or making vs slow to performe so worthie a thing, that although my hope were vtterly cut off for euer finding a gratefull man, yet had I rather bee exempted from receiuing benefits from any man, than not to bestow them. Because that hee which giueth not, is more faultie than hee which is vngratefull. I will speake what I thinke: hee that requiteth not a fauour done him, sinneth more; hee that giueth not, sooner.

A vertuous man in his good action is not deterred by any occurrent.

CHAP. II.

If thou profusely wilt thy goods bestow
On euery vulgar person thou doest know,
Full many fauours must thou needly lose,
That one at length thou iustly maist dispose.

Accius the Poets saying.

IN the former Verse thou maiest iustly reprehend both these two clauses; for neither must our benefits bee profusedly lauished on euery man, neither can the prodigalitie and largesse of any thing bee honest: especially that of benefits. For if thou giuest them without iudgement and discretion, they cease to bee benefits, and admit any other name whatsoeuer you will giue them. The sense following is wonderfull, which repaireth the indemnities of many benefits ill imploied and lost, with one well bestowed. See, I pray you, whether this bee not more true, and more correspondent to the greatnesse of a Benefactor, to exhort him to giue, although hee were assured that hee should imploy no one gift well: For that is false. That many thinges are to bee lost, because nothing is lost; the reason is for that hee who looseth, had numbred it already amongst his desperate debts. The respect and manner in imploying good deedes is simple and plaine, they are only deliuered out; if any one to whom they are trusted restore any thing, it is gained, if no man yeeld satisfaction, there is nothing lost: I lent the same to the only intent to giue it. No man registreth his good deeds in his booke of debtors. Neither is there any exacting Vsurer (how extreme soeuer hee bee) that punctually impleadeth his debter on the day and houre of his paiment. An honourable Benefactor neuer thinketh on the good turne he doeth, except hee that hath receiued the same, refresh the memorie thereof by repaying him: Because otherwise it ceaseth to bee a benefit, and becommeth a debt. To bestow a fauour in hope to receiue an other, is a contemptible and base vsurie. How badly soeuer thy former fauours haue fallen

The nature of a Benefit is changed by the vse.

Nothing is lost that is rightly giuen.

Only satisfaction refresheth memorie in a good Benefactor.

out, yet perſeuer thou in beſtowing vpon others. They are beſt hoarded in the handes of the vngratefull; whom either ſhame, or occaſion, or imitation, may at length faſhion to bee gratefull. Perſeuer continually, and ceaſe not to bee bountifull: Accompliſh that good worke which thou haſt begunne, and performe the dutie of a good man. Releeue this man with thy goodes, an other with thy credit, that man by thy fauour, this with thy good counſailes, and holſome precepts.

CHAP. III.

Wild Beaſts (yea euen they that are moſt ſauadge) acknowledge the good that is done vnto them. Neither is there any liuing creature ſo vntamed and vntractable, that with gentle handling, and carefull nouriſhing, is not made gentle and familiar. Such as haue the keeping and charge of the Lyons, may muffle and handle them without harme or danger. Meat ſo much humbleth the fierceneſſe and haughtie courage of Elephants, that they refuſe no ſeruile and baſe burthens. Finally, all theſe brute beaſts, ſo deficient in vnderſtanding, and eſteeme of the benefites they receiue, at length are tamed and made humble by the frequent and daily acceſſe of the ſame. Is he vngratefull for one good turne? happily he will acknowledge a ſecond. Hath he forgotten two? the third may perhaps bring him to remembrance of all the reſt: Hee looſeth the good that hee doth, that beleeueth that hee hath ouer-quickly loſt the ſame. But hee that perſeuereth in well-doing, and redoubleth his benefits one vpon the necke of the other, exhorteth an acknowledgement from the moſt obdurate and forgetfulleſt receiuer. Hee dare not lift vp his eyes againſt many good turnes. Whither ſo euer hee turneth himſelfe in ſeeking to betray his owne memorie, there let him ſee thee beleager him on euery ſide by thy bountie: The force and properties whereof I will diſcouer vnto thee, if firſt of all thou giue mee licence to expalliate in a word or two, and to touch certaine thinges impertinent to this matter. Why is it that the Ancients haue fained that there are three * Graces, that they are Siſters, haning their handes in handes? and why are they pictured laughing, yong, and tender in yeares, Virgins, attired in looſe garments, cleare and tranſparent? To this ſome anſwere, That there ought to bee three, becauſe the one of them repreſenteth him that Beſtoweth; the other, him that Receiueth; the other, him that gratifieth and remunerateth the Benefit. Others ſay, that there are three kindes of benefites, the one of thoſe who beſtow the ſame, the other of thoſe that reſtore the ſame, and the third of thoſe that receiue, and therewithall requite good turnes. Of theſe thinges iudge as thou pleaſeſt, the knowledge hereof full little profiteth vs. What meaneth this dance of theirs, in which hand in hand they trip it alwaies in a round? To this intent it is, Becauſe the order and proceſſe of benefits (that paſſe through their handes that giue the ſame) is ſuch, that they returne againe to the giuer, and ſhould wholly looſe the grace of all which they ſhould effect, if euer they ſhould bee interrupted: contrariwiſe, that they alwaies retaine their beautie, when they are vnited and hand-faſted together, and when they are reſtored and acknowledged in their time. Therefore paint they them laughing, Becauſe the countenances of thoſe that

Benefits redoubled animateth the moſt vngratefull to ſatisfaction.

** The Poets faine them to be three Maidens, who (as they ſay were Daughters of IVPITER, and VRANVS, The Greekes call them Charites, and the Latines Graces.*

CHRYSIPPVS opinion.

that will deſerue well at any mans handes, ſhould be ſmiling and pleaſant, ſuch as theirs is, who are wont to giue or receiue benefits. They paint them yong, becauſe the memorie of benefits ſhould not waxe old. They faine them Virgins; becauſe they are incorruptible, ſincere, holy, and profitable vnto all men; Their garments ſhining, and tranſparent, becauſe good works would be ſeene. Let him that will admire this miracle, inuented by the fabulous Grecians; let him, that liſt, maintaine that they are neceſſarie and profitable: yet is there no man that will iuſtifie, that the names which *Heſiodus* hath giuen them are any waies pertinent to this fable, or that purpoſe; or that knoweth why hee termed the eldeſt of them *Aglaia*; the ſecond *Euphroſine*; and the third *Thalia*. Each one hath thought good to wreſt the interpretation of theſe wordes according to his owne phantaſie, and hath laboured to faſhion them, and conforme them to ſome congruencie of reaſon. Notwithſtanding *Heſiodus* hath giuen theſe yong Maidens that name, which was beſt liking to his humour. *Homer* alſo changed one of their names, and called her *Paſithae*, and ſaith, that ſhee was married and eſpouſed to a huſband, to the end thou ſhouldeſt know that they were no Virgins. I will finde you out an other Poet that deſcribeth them girt, and apparrelled in thicke and groſſe robes. *Mercurie* alſo is painted by them; not for that deuiſe and good diſcourſe giueth any luſtre or eſteeme to benefits, but becauſe it ſo pleaſed the painter to deſcribe them. *Chriſippus* likewiſe (whoſe vnderſtanding is ſo ſharp and ſubtile, and that ſearcheth and ſoundeth the very depth and ſecret of matters, he that pretendeth to ſpeake of good cuſtomes, and conformeth his ſtile to euery mans vnderſtanding) farceth his whole booke with theſe follies, in ſo much as he ſpeaketh very little of the manner of giuing, receiuing, or reſtoring benefits, in ſuch ſort as he mixeth not his fables amidſt his diſcourſe, but rather mixeth his diſcourſe amidſt his fables. For, beſides theſe thinges which *Hecaton* hath written, *Chriſippus* maintaineth, That the three *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter* and *Eurimone*, ſomewhat yonger, but fairer than the *Houres*, for which cauſe they were giuen for companions to the Goddeſſe *Venus*. *Chriſippus* likewiſe maketh a myſterie of the name of the Mother of theſe *Graces*, ſaying; That for this occaſion ſhee was called *Eurimone* (which in Greeke ſignifieth a good patrimonie) becauſe it is the propertie of a great and ample patrimonie to know well how to employ and beſtow benefits; as if it were a matter of cuſtome to giue the name of Mother after that ſhee had children; or as if the Poets aſſigned the true name of all thinges whereof they intreated. For euen as the *Nomen-Clators* or Beadles (whoſe office it is to relate their names that ought to bee ſolicited to purchaſe ſome dignitie) ſometimes make vſe of their boldneſſe, in ſtead of their memorie, and forgetting the proper names of ſuch as they ſhould certifie, forge an other according to their owne phantaſie: So Poets thinke it not pertinent to the matter to ſpeake truth, but either compelled by neceſſitie, or ſurpriſed with affection of conſonancie, command each thing to be termed by that name that beſt beſeemeth the harmonie and cadencie of their Verſes. Neither are they to bee blamed herein, becauſe they enlarge the matter with ſome new deuice of their owne: for the firſt Poet that ſhall ſpeake of them, will giue them what name he pleaſeth. And to proue this to be true, behold this name of *Thalia* (whereof principally all of them make mention) which in *Heſiodus* is one of the three *Graces*, and in *Homer* one of the nine *Muſes*.

Videant opera veſtra bona,

The Poets faine the Sunne had a certaine number of hand-maides, which hee called the Houres. See Ouid.

There were in Rome certaine men whoſe office it was to carrie by heart the names of the citizens, who during the election of publik officers were alwaies aſſiſtant.

The vanitie of Poets.

Hee grimly here taxeth the Grecians inconstancie

CHAP. IIII.

BVt least I should seeme to incurre the same fault my selfe, which I reprehend in others, I will relinquish all these thinges, which are so far from the matter, that they no waies concerne the same; I only pray thee to defend my cause, if any man shall taxe and reprehend me for this, that among the rest I haue not spared to reproue *Chrisippus*, being a man so great, (but yet a Grecian) whose vnderstanding is so acute and subtile, that it oftentimes confoundeth and puzleth it selfe: for euen then when he seemeth to aime at the best, and to affect any thing: hee only pricketh, but pierceth not; toucheth, but teacheth not. And what subtiltie or sharpnesse, I pray you, is herein? Of benefits then we are to intreat, and to set downe an order and direction in this vertue, which chiefly concerneth humane societie: we are to prefixe and set downe a law of liuing, least inconsiderate facilitie in giuing, grow in fauour vnder the colour of benignitie; least this obseruation, whilest it temperateth liberalitie, (which must neither be defective nor superfluous) restraine the same wholly. Men are to bee taught to receiue with thankefulnesse, and to restore with the same correspondence, and to procure (in regard of those that oblige them with any benefit) not only to be equall with them in will, but to ouer-come them with greater gratnitie: because that hee who is obliged to acknowledge a good turne, requiteth not the same, except his remuneration exceede the giuers merit. These are to be taught to impute nothing; they to owe more; the one not to vpbraid, the other more and more to acknowledge. To this most honest contention of ouercomming one benefit by an other so doth *Chrisippus* exhort vs, that he saith, that it is to bee feared, least because the *Graces* are the Daughters of *Iupiter*, it be reputed sacriledge to grow vnthankefull for good turnes, and iniurie be thereby offered to so amiable Damosels.

Chrisippus trimall subtilitie.

Teach thou mee somewhat that may make mee more forward to doe good vnto all men, and more thankefull vnto those that haue done mee good offices. Tell vs something whereby the will of those that oblige by their bountie, and of those who are obliged, are answerable, and made competent: so as the benefactors keepe no account or memorie of their good deedes, and those that shall receiue the same, put them not in oblivion, but perpetually remember them. And let vs leaue these follies and toies to Poets, whose proiect is to delight the eare, and to inuent a pleasing fable. But they that will heale mens disfigured and vicious minds, that serue to maintaine faith in humane things, and desire to engraue the memorie of good turnes in the hearts of men; Let them speake seriously, and imploy their vtmost forces: except thou happily thinke that it is possible by a slight and fabulous discourse, and by old wiues tales, that a thing so pernicious, and so much abhominable in the world, (as is the generall abolition of debts, and an acquittance of all good deedes) may be prohibited.

Hee returneth to the matter.

CHAP. V.

BVt as I insist not on those thinges which are of small importance, so is it likewise necessarie that I indeuour my selfe to make this well knowne, that first of all wee ought to learne how much wee are obliged, when wee haue receiued a benefit. One man acknowledgeth himselfe indebted for the money hee hath receiued

ued, another for a Consulate, another for the office of Priesthood, another for the gouernment of a Prouince; yet no one of these things is properly a benefit, but onely the marke and signe of a benefit or merit. A benefit cannot be toughed by the hand, but is carried in the heart.

Bountie is not the obiect of the sense, but is engraued in the heart.

There is much difference betwixt the matter of bounty and bounty it selfe: For this cause neither gold nor siluer, (nor any other thing we receiue at our friends hands) is the true and reall benefite, except his will onely that bestoweth the same. The rude and ignorant sort obserue only that which is seene by the eies, or thrust into the hands, or which is deliuered them, or they possesse; and contrariwise, they make little account of that which in realitie of truth they ought most to prise & praise also. These things which we possesse, these things which we see, and wherein our couetousnes is so engaged, are fraile and incertaine: & either fortune, or iniustice can take them from vs: but a benefit remaineth, although the matter whereby it is made manifest, be lost and extinguished. Vndoubtedly that thing is well done which no force can defeate or diminish. I haue redeemed (saiest thou), my friend from the hands of pirates, and him hath an other enemy surprized and put in prison. Although this enemie hath defrauded and acquited mee of the vse of this good worke, yet can he not extinguish the good worke it selfe. I haue saued some mens children from shipwracke, or haue deliuered them from the force of the fire, and these hath eyther some sickenesse or other casuall iniurie violently taken from mee. Yet remaineth that without them, which is giuen in them. All those things then which improperly vsurpe the name of Benefites, are but the means and instruments, by the which the will of a good friend is expressed. The like appeareth in many other things, so as it falleth out, that the true thing is in one place, and the signe and resemblance thereof in an other. The Emperour or Chiefetaine of an army giueth a chaine of gold to some one souldier of his that approued his valew in some difficult enterprise, morall or ciuill: a Crowne vnto another that first scaled the enemies wall, or for that he saued a Citizens life. I aske you now what precious thing hath this Crowne in it? what is this embroydered gowne or garment which is giuen to Noble-mens children? These enfignes of magistracie, the axe and rods, what value are they of? what profiteth the Iudges Tribunall, or his painted Caroch? None of all these things are honor, but onely signes of honor. In the like manner that which is offered to the eye, is not the good worke or benefit, but onely a lustre and signe of the same.

The perpetuitie of a benefite.

CHAP. VI.

What a benefite is, and wherein it consisteth.

WHat therefore is a benefit? It is a beneuolent action which causeth and yeeldeth pleasure by that good it communicateth to others, inclined and disposed of it selfe, and of her proper motion, to that she doth. A benefit therefore consisteth not in that which is either done or giuen, but in the minde of him that either giueth or doeth the pleasure. And hereby mayest thou vnderstand, that there is a great difference betwixt these two, because the beneuolence is alwaies good; but that which is done, or giuen, is neither good nor euill. It is the mind that valueth small things; illustrateth and exemplifieth obscure things; and contrariwise, setteth light by those things which are most esteemed and precious. Those things which wee desire and long after most, haue a neu-

The minde and heart are they that prize or dis-esteeme things.

a neutrall and indifferent nature, and are neither good nor euill. That which is most materially to be considered, is, whether the minde that gouerneth them aimeth and impelleth them, from which all things haue their forme. That then which is reckoned, or giuen, is not the benefite, no more than the honor of the Gods dependeth not on those beasts that are sacrificed vnto them, (how costly and sumptuously soeuer they be) but in the pietie and rectitude of those minds which worship them. For which cause the good and vertuous men, who haue nothing to present the gods with but a cake & an earthen vessell, are held for religious. And contrariwise, the worser sort are not exempted and acquitted of impietie, although they haue imbrewed the altars with much bloud and sacrifice.

A comparison to this effect.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth his definition.

IF benefits consisted in those things which we receiue, and not in the will wherewith they are giuen: so much the more greater should they be, the greater the good turnes are which wee haue receiued. But this is false; for sometime he obligeth vs more that hath giuen a little magnificently; that hath equalled the riches of Kings by his valew and richer mind: that giueth a little, but freely; that forgetteth his owne pouertie and necessitie, whileſt he respecteth mine; that had not only a will to help me, but a great desire to fauour me; that when he gaue a benefit, thought that he receiued the same; that gaue without hope of recompence, and receiued as though he had not giuen; that not onely sought occasion to do good, but laid hold on the opportunitie, whereby he might profit others: Contrariwise these things which either are extorted from the giuer, or seeme to fall from his hands that giueth them: although they seeme highly prised and of great appearance, yet, as I said, they are vnworthy of thankes, because a gift is much more gratefully accepted and reckoned of that commeth from a free and liberall hand, than from a full and rich-fisted penny-father. It is but a small thing he hath giuen me, but he could not giue me more. But that which the other hath giuen me, is farre more worth: Yet doubted he; yet delayed he when he should giue; yet grumbled he in bestowing; yet gaue he presumptuously, excusing himselfe by many circumstances, and would not please him to whom he lent his goods. Finally, that which he gaue mee, was not so much to giue it me, as to bestow it on his ambitious thoughts.

This hath some conformitie with the almes which the widow and the Pharisie gaue in the temple. Arguments of true pitie and bountie.

CHAP. VIII.

A sicknesse of this age if you note it.

WHen as many men offered many presents to *Socrates*, each one according to their possessions and possibilities: one of his poorest schollers, whose name was *Aeschines*, came vnto him, & said, I find nothing worthy thy selfe, that I may giue vnto thy selfe: and in this one onely kind I find my selfe to be poore. That one thing therfore which is only in my possession, I offer thee, which is my selfe; beseeching thee to accept of this gift such as it is, and to consider that they which haue giuen thee many things haue reserued much more to themselues. To this *Socrates* answered: Who doubteth but that thou hast offred me a great present, were it

it not that thou valuest and esteemest thy selfe so little, I will therfore take care to restore thy person to thy selfe, better than at this time I receiue him from thee. By this present of his, *Aeschines* exceeded *Alcibiades* (a man as mightie in minde as in meanes) and all the liberalities of all the most richest yoong men of Greece!

CHAP. IX.

THou seest how a good minde findeth matter of liberalitie, euen in the greatest gall and torment of miserie. *Aeschines* (mee thinkes) reasoneth thus in himselfe: Thinke not Fortune, that thou hast preuailed any thing against me in making me poore, be thou neuer so refractarie; yet will I finde a present that is worthie *Socrates*; and since I can not giue any thing that is thine, or thou hast giuen mee, I will giue mine owne, my selfe, and the best of me. You must not thinke that *Aeschines* valewed himselfe basely to himselfe, that knew none more worthie present besides himselfe without himselfe. This ingenious young man found out the meanes, how he might make *Socrates* his, by giuing him what he was. We are not to respect the valew of these things that are giuen, but the vertue of him that giueth. A subtile and politique man willingly giueth audience to those that demand and propose vnreasonable suites, and intending no wayes to helpe indeede, nourisheth their fraudulent hope with deceiptfull wordes. But yet worse is his opinion, that with prowd language, graue and seuere looke, hath disdainefully set out the summe of his riches. For they that make a shew to respect and reuerence a man on whom Fortune smileth, are the first that detest and seeke to doe him mischiefe; and such notwithstanding, that if they had the power, would themselues doe that which the other did. * Some there are that not priuately and behind their backes, but openly and to their faces haue scorned and mocked at other mens wiues, and yet haue abandoned their owne to those that loued them. There are women likewise, that in these dayes accompt those married men rustique, inhumane, and of froward condition, that wil not suffer their wiues to get vp into their Caroches, and prance through the streets to be gazed at by the passers by. * That man who is not noted for intertaining a Mistris, or for courting his neighbours wife, him doe these Matrons accompt base in condition and heart; base in choice and election, & only worthie to court their basest Chamber-maids. Hence is it, that in these dayes adulterie is reputed the most honestest methode and manner (that is) to wed a woman. Some had rather consent neuer to entertaine marriage, than not to haue such a woman to his wife, that was not debauched from her husband. There is neither measure nor rule in mens expence. They contemne an other mans pouertie, and feare none but their owne: they dread no other euill, they neuer pardon iniurie, they tyrannize ouer the weaker sort, and outrage them by force or feare. For to see Prouinces sacked; the chaire of Iustice sold, and iudgements set to sale to him that will giue most, is not to be wondered at, since it is permitted by the Law of Nations to sell that thou hast bought.

* *In this place* Lipsius *and* Annicetus *obserue a defect which may be coniectured by the small conformitie betweene the antecedent and subsequent reasons.* * *A fame more imitated in this age than any vertue.*

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A notable lesson of an Ethnike for all good Christians.

BVT the subiect whereof I intreate, hath so much distracted and transported me, that it hath carried mee further than I thought. Let vs in such sort indeuour to depart out of this life, that our sins may not seeme to bee rooted and setled in the same. Hereof our Ancestours and Predecessors complained, hereat wee our selues are agrieued; and for this will our Successors sigh, because good customes are abolished, impieties haue prohemineince, and humane affaires grow worse and worse, and men leaue no wickednes or sinne vnsought after. And the worst is that these vices doe, and shall remaine in the same place, although they be a little moued here and there, as the Flouds of the Sea, which when the tide commeth, are carried out into the Ocean, and vpon the ebbe are contained a while on the brimme and banke of the riuer. In this time shall adulteries bee more frequent than any other vice, and modestie shall turne loose and Libertine. In an other Age the furie of Banquetting shall flourish, and the vndecent aboundance of Kitchins: the shops wherein so infamously mens Patrimonies are sold and bartered. An other time shall come of immesurable and vnbrideled curiositie in apparrelling the bodie, and painting the face, which externall fuke shewes how foule and filthie the soule is internally. At this time great men abusing their authoritie, shalbe both audacious and insolent. At an other time men shall flesh themselues with publique and priuate cruelties, and in the furious madnesse of ciuill dissention, whereby euery sacred and sanctified thing is prophaned. The time will come wherein drunkennesse shall bee honored, and he shalbe esteemed most vertuous and gallant that hath sucked in the greatest excesse of wine. Vices continue not alwayes in one and the same place, they agree not well together, they change time and place, they vrge and giue chace one to an other. In a word, we may alwayes boldly say thus of our selues, that we are euill, that we haue beene euill, and (vnwillingly I speake it) we alwayes shall be. In all times there will be Murtherers, Tyrants, Thieues, Adulterers, Robbers, Church-breakers, and Traitors, and the least of all these is the vngrateful man, except it be that all these are the children of ingratitude, without which scarcely any euill enterprise hath beene plotted or performed. Beware and esteeme thou this as the most grieuous and greatest of crimes; let him not take hold of thee; & in another man pardon the same as if it were the slightest of all others. For in effect all the iniurie that he did thee consisteth in this, that thou didst loose thy good deed: but comfort thy selfe with this, that thou didst not loose the better part thereof, which is, the honor to haue giuen the same. But euen as we ought to be well aduised, not to employ our fauours on those that will not heartily and freely acknowledge the same, so ought we sometimes to hazard a benefit, although we are out of hope of acknowledgement or satisfaction. And not onely when wee are afraide that they wil be ingrateful, but also then when we shalbe most assured that they haue already bin approoued and knowne for vngratefull. Euen as if I can, I am vndoubtedly bound to restore vnto a father (prouided that it be not with any hazard of mine owne fortunes) his children whom I had saued from a great perill: So likewise ought I to defend a vertuous and worthy man, and second him in the daunger wherein I shall find him, though it be with the losse and expence of mine owne bloud. If likewise by my outerie I can deliuer a man from the hands of thieues,

Ingratum dixeris, & omnia dixeris.

(al-

(although hee bee vnworthie of any fauour) I ought neuer to repent my selfe if by my wordes I haue saued a wicked mans life.

CHAP. XI.

NOT followeth now that wee declare what sorts of benefites wee ought to giue, and after what manner wee ought to giue them. First of all let vs giue things necessarie, then profitable, thirdly agreable, and permanent. Let vs begin with that which is necessarie. For we accompt our selues farre more beholding to him that hath giuen vs our life, than to him that enlargeth our honours or instructeth vs in vertues. Neuer will he esteeme it a thing according to the value if he can easily slight it ouer, and say, take it to thee, I want it not, I am contented with mine owne. So doing thou wilt not be obliged to restore that which hath bin giuen thee, but thou wilt disdaine it and cast it away. But amongst those things which are necessarie some hold the first place, and they are those without which wee cannot liue. Others hold the second: and they are those without which wee ought not to liue; Others the third, without which wee would not deserue to liue: The first of this note are, to bee deliuered out of the enemies handes, exempted from a tyrants wrath and proscription, and other perils, which being both diuers and incertaine beleager and besiege mans life. Which so euer of these we shall haue preuented or cut off, the more greater and terrible it is, the greater thanks shall we receiue. For they will bethinke them from what euils we haue deliuered them, and the precedent feare of danger which they haue had, reuiueth their remembrance, and giueth life to the desert fore-past, when they bethink themselues from how many miseries they are deliuered. Yet hereby is it not intended if wee should maliciously defer or denie our succours to him that is in any danger, to the end that feare should giue a greater waight to our benefit or merit. In the second ránke are those things without which truely we may liue, but liue so miserably, as death were better than the life; of which kind are libertie, modestie, and a good mind. In the last place we rancke those things, which alliance and parentage, familiar conuersations, and long vse, hath made vs alwaies repute and accompt most deare and precious: as our Children, our Wiues and houses, and all these things whereunto we haue so much addicted and dedicated our hearts and desires, that we had rather die than diuide our selues from their companie. After these necessarie thinges succeede those that are profitable, whose nature and argument is far more ample and diuers. Here entreth mony (not superfluous but sufficient to entertaine an honorable meanes of life) here entreth honour and the good carriage of affaires, to the end to attaine to greater matters. For nothing is more profitable than to be made profitable to a mans owne selfe. The rest is but euen great aboundance and superfluitie which spoileth men, and maketh them effeminate. But when we would intend to doe a pleasure, wee must prouide that the opportunitie may make it more pleasing; that the thing wee intend to present bee not common and ordinarie; that few men haue had the like in times past, and that as few yet in these our daies can match the patterne: and if it be not rich in it selfe, at least let the time and place, wherein wee giue the same, cause it to be more heighly prized. Let vs bethinke our selues what present wee might make, that might yeeld some pleasure and contentment, that might bee more often-times seene and handled, to the end that so often as hee should

The necessarie.

The profitable.

Profit is first to be respected in regard of a mans particular.

The agreeable.

ſhould take my preſent into his handes, ſo oftentimes he ſhould haue and hold mee in his remembrance. Wee ought likewiſe to beware that we ſend not vnſeemely preſents; as to a woman, or an old and impotent man, toiles or other neceſſarie inſtruments of hunting; to a Countrie Clowne bookes; or nets to him that is ſtudious and addicted to his booke. Contrariwiſe alſo wee ought to be very circumſpect, leaſt thinking to ſend ſome agreeable preſent, we ſend to euery one ſuch thing as may reproch him of his infirmitie; as wine to a drunken man, and medicines to a ſick man. For this beginneth to reſemble rather an outrage than a preſent, If that which is giuen doe taxe the imperfection of him that receiueth the ſame.

CHAP. XII.

The permanent.

IF it be in our election to beſtow what we liſt, Let vs preſent ſuch thinges as may continue longeſt, to the end that the good which we doe, and gifts wee beſtow, may bee laſting and of long continuance. Becauſe amongſt thoſe that receiue, there are few ſo thankefull that they remember them of that they haue receiued, except they haue it alwaies in their ſight. And the vngratefull alſo, when the preſent and fauour is alwaies in their eies, are thereby drawne into the memorie thereof, which ſuffereth them not to forget themſelues, but rendreth and redoubleth the memorie of him that gaue the ſame. So much the rather therefore let vs ſeeke out thinges that are of continuance, becauſe we ought neuer to vpbraide a benefit but ſuffer the preſent it ſelfe to quicken and reuiue decaying memorie. More willingly will I giue ſiluer plate than readie monie, more willingly ſtatues, than apparell, and ſuch thinges as in a ſhort time are worne out by vſe. Few there are that remember to giue thanks after they haue pocketted the preſent. Many there are that no longer make eſtimate of a good turne, than whileſt they may make vſe thereof. If therefore it poſſibly might bee ſo, I would not that my gift ſhould be conſummate, or worne out of memorie, my deſire is it ſhould be extant, and of long continuance, and accompanie my friend and liue ioyntly with him. There is no man ſo fooliſh that had needs to bee taught; that hee ſhould not inuite his friend, and preſent him with the publique ſhewes of fencing, and baiting of ſauage beaſts, when as theſe proclaimed ſports haue beene performed and ſhewen, or Sommer ſuites for Winter time, and Winter garments in heate of Sommer; wee needs no more than common ſenſe to make vs know what is fitting and acceptable. Wee muſt reſpect the time, the places, the perſons, becauſe in the moments of time, or occaſion, ſome thinges are gratefull and vngratefull. How much more acceptable is it if we giue that, which the perſon to whom wee giue hath not, than that wherewith he is abundantly ſtored? if we preſent him with that which hee hath long ſought and could not finde, than that which is merchandable and eaſily bought in euery place? Our gifts ought rather to be exquiſite and rare, than pretious and rich, and ſuch and ſo extraordinarie, that he that ſeemeth to haue leaſt want of any thing by reaſon of his abundance, may accept and hold them deare for their raritie and noueltie. Were they but common apples which in a ſhort ſpace by reaſon of their abundance would bee diſpleaſant to the whole world, yet if a man make a preſent of them in their prime ripeneſſe, and when there is a ſcarcitie of them, they will bee farre more acceptable and eſteemed. Theſe preſents

Thinges of continuance liue longeſt in the receiuers memorie.

What diſcretion there ought to be vſed in preſenting.

Raritie, be the preſent neuer ſo ſmall maketh it acceptable.

preſents likewiſe are not without honor, which either no man elſe hath preſented them with, or we our ſelues haue not giuen to any other.

CHAP. XIII.

WHen as *Alexander* of *Macedon* after his Orientall victories had raiſed his thoughts aboue humane reach; certaine Embaſſadours were ſent vnto him in the behalfe of the Corinthians, to congratulate his victories, and to preſent him with the Title of a free Citizen of Corinth. Which offer of theirs when *Alexander* had ſcornefully derided, one of the Embaſſadours ſaid vnto him: Conſider, noble Prince, that we haue neuer imparted this priuilege of our Citie at any time to any elſe, but thy ſelfe, and inuincible *Hercules*. Which when *Alexander* had heard, hee thankefully entertained the honour they had offered him, ſumptuouſly feaſted, and gratefully embraced the Embaſſadours, conceiuing thus, and contemplating, not what they were who offered them their Citie, but who he was to whom they had firſt preſented the ſame before him. This man who was ſo addicted, and drunken in glorie: (whereof hee neither knew the nature nor the meaſure,) following the traces of *Hercules* and *Liber*, yet not content himſelf to bound his ambition within the limits where they ceaſed, he reſpected what companions in honour the Corinthians had preſented him with; And thereby finding himſelfe to be compared with *Hercules*, he thought that alreadie he was poſſeſſed of heauen, which vaine and fruitleſſe hope hee fooliſhly embraced. For tell me, I pray you, wherein might this yong foole in any thing reſemble or compare himſelfe with *Hercules*, who had but happie temeritie in ſtead of reſolution and value. *Hercules* atchieued no conqueſt for his owne particular intereſt, he trauerſed the whole world, not deſiring poſſeſſions, but reuenging iniuries. What deſire of conqueſt, or affection of profit, could this Enemie of euill men, this Protector of good men, this Pacifier both of Land and Sea in any ſort conceiue or haue? But this man from his yong yeares was a Theefe, a Forager of Countries, the ruine both of his Friends and Enemies, who held it for his chiefeſt happineſſe to bee a terrour to all mortall men; remembring not that not only the moſt cruell beaſts, but alſo the moſt feeble and coward, are redoubted, and feared for their pernicious venome.

The true difference betwixt Hercules and Alexander.

CHAP. XIIII.

LEt vs now returne vnto our purpoſe. That benefit which is giuen to euery man, is gratefull to no man. No man will euer thinke that a Tauerner or Hoſtler entertaineth him as a friend. No man ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be inuited by him that furniſheth a feaſt to entertaine a whole Citie. For a man may ſay, what pleaſure hath he done me? he hath fauoured me no otherwiſe than hee would a ſtranger, or an enemie, or the baſeſt fellow, or plaier, he might haue met withall. But hee thought me more worthie or better eſteemed than any other? nothing leſſe: that which hee hath done is but to content his owne humour and infirmitie. If thou deſireſt that thy preſents may be acceptable, make choiſe of ſome rare thing. Who will accompt himſelfe obliged for a curteſie which is done vnto

euery man? Let no man interpret theſe thinges in that nature as if I would reſtraine mens liberalitie, and repreſſe them more than reaſon required. I will not ſo bound the ſame that it may not bee generall, or emploied where a man pleaſeth; yet my deſire is that it ſhould not be extrauagant or miſimploied, but iuſtly intended. A man may ſo ſort his good turnes, and ſo honeſtly diſtribute the ſame, that they who haue receiued them, although they bee many, may ſuppoſe that they are not fauoured in common, but in particular. Let euery man haue ſome familiar note, whereby he that receiueth may coniecture that he is more inwardly reſpected by him that beſtoweth the benefit. Let vs giue him an occaſion to ſay; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but that which was giuen me came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue receiued the ſame preſent which an other man had, yet I more ſpeedily and readily than he, where as hee long before had merited the ſame. Some there are that haue had the ſame fauours, yet not deliuered with the ſame gratulatorie ſpeeches, nor preſented with the like curteſie from the Benefactor. This man receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was beſought to accept the ſame. Such a man receiued a rich preſent; tis true: but hee could more eaſily giue recompence; for being as hee is a man of many yeares, and without heires, he promiſeth great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I receiued is of more eſteeme, becauſe that which he hath giuen me is without all hope of reſtitution. Euen as a Curtizan ſo diuideth her ſelfe amongſt many, that each one hath a particular inſinuation & proofe to be more fauoured than the reſt: So he that deſireth that his curteſies ſhould be eſteemed, ought to bethinke him, not only in what ſort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how euery one may haue ſomething whereby he may thinke that he is preferred before the reſt. For mine owne part I deſire not to reſtraine any man from diſtributing his liberalities as him liſteth: the more and greater his largeſſe is, the more honourable and praiſe-worthy they be; yet wiſh I notwithſtanding that his bountie ſhould be bounded with iudgment. For theſe thinges that are giuen raſhly and without conſideration, are neuer well reputed or accompted of. For this cauſe if any man ſhould thinke that in commanding this, I would by this meanes baniſh and exterminate liberalitie, and ſhould not afford the ſame limits large enough; Vndoubtedly hee hath made but little vſe and receiued leſſe profit of theſe my inſtructions. For is there any vertue that I haue more prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appertaineth theſe exhortations and inſtructions more than to me, who by liberalitie would eſtabliſh and aſſure a firme commerce and ſocietie amongſt men?

Meanes to facilitate men to acceptance and gratuitie.

CHAP. XV.

Reaſon & iudgement ought to accompanie liberalitie: prodigalitie extinguiſheth it.

PEraduenture thou wilt enquire how farre Bountie ought to be limited, for that it is certaine, that action or deſigne of the ſoule can be decent or honeſt, although it hath had his originall from a iuſt will, but that whoſe waight and iuſt meaſure is transformed into vertue? To this I anſwere, that here I only pretend, that liberalitie ought not to be prodigall or miſimploied. Then is it that a man ſhould be glad to haue receiued a good turne, (yea willingly, and with open handes:) when reaſon and iudgement hath addreſſed it to their handes, who are worthy of the ſame, when by temeritie of fortune, or by heat of courage, it is not vnprouided and

and diſfurniſhed of good counſaile, and when a man may take pleaſure to ſhew it to the world, and profeſſe himſelfe to be the Author. Wilt thou eſteeme that for a benefit which thou haſt receiued from ſuch a mans handes, whom thou art aſhamed to name? Contrariwiſe, how much more agreeable are thoſe good turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted in our memories, (from whence they are inſeparable) when they content vs, and make our thoughts more pleaſing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue receiued? *Criſpus Paſienus* was accuſtomed to ſay, that he more eſteemed other mens iudgments, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and annexed this example; *I had rather* (ſaid he) *haue* AVGVSTVS *iudgement, yet loue I well* CLAVDIVS *bountie*. But for mine owne part, I thinke that no man ought to deſire a benefit at his handes, whoſe iudgement is deficient and idle. What then? ſhould not that which *Claudius* gaue be receiued? why not? but in ſuch manner as if thou hadſt receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou mighteſt imagine might ſodainly become a misfortune. But why ſaieſt thou ſhould wee ſeparate thoſe thinges which are ſo vnited? becauſe wee cannot call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done and giuen with heartineſſe and deliberation. A great ſumme of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a will grounded on reaſon, is a treaſure, but no benefit.

Finally, there are many thinges which wee may receiue, and yet not bee obliged for them.

The end of the firſt Booke of Benefits.

euery man? Let no man interpret theſe thinges in that nature as if I would reſtraine mens liberalitie, and repreſſe them more than reaſon required. I will not ſo bound the ſame that it may not bee generall, or emploied where a man pleaſeth; yet my deſire is that it ſhould not be extrauagant or miſimploied, but iuſtly intended. A man may ſo ſort his good turnes, and ſo honeſtly diſtribute the ſame, that they who haue receiued them, although they bee many, may ſuppoſe that they are not fauoured in common, but in particular. Let euery man haue ſome familiar note, whereby he that receiueth may conieƈture that he is more inwardly reſpected by him that beſtoweth the benefit. Let vs giue him an occaſion to ſay; I haue not receiued more than that other man, but that which was giuen me came with a freer bountie and good will. I haue receiued the ſame preſent which an other man had, yet I more ſpeedily and readily than he, where as hee long before had merited the ſame. Some there are that haue had the ſame fauours, yet not deliuered with the ſame gratulatorie ſpeeches, nor preſented with the like curteſie from the Benefactor. This man receiued after he had intreated for his benefit, but I, when I was beſought to accept the ſame. Such a man receiued a rich preſent; tis true: but hee could more eaſily giue recompence; for being as hee is a man of many yeares, and without heires, he promiſeth great hopes to the Benefactor. But that which I receiued is of more eſteeme, becauſe that which he hath giuen me is without all hope of reſtitution. Euen as a Curtizan ſo diuideth her ſelfe amongſt many, that each one hath a particular inſinuation & proofe to be more fauoured than the reſt: So he that deſireth that his curteſies ſhould be eſteemed, ought to bethinke him, not only in what ſort he may oblige all men vnto him, but how euery one may haue ſomething whereby he may thinke that he is preferred before the reſt. For mine owne part I deſire not to reſtraine any man from diſtributing his liberalities as him liſteth: the more and greater his largeſſe is, the more honourable and praiſe-worthy they be; yet wiſh I notwithſtanding that his bountie ſhould be bounded with iudgment. For theſe thinges that are giuen raſhly and without conſideration, are neuer well reputed or accompted of. For this cauſe if any man ſhould thinke that in commanding this, I would by this meanes baniſh and exterminate liberalitie, and ſhould not afford the ſame limits large enough; Vndoubtedly hee hath made but little vſe and receiued leſſe profit of theſe my inſtructions. For is there any vertue that I haue more prized? or whereunto I haue more incited men than to that? to whom appertaineth theſe exhortations and inſtructions more than to me, who by liberalitie would eſtabliſh and aſſure a firme commerce and ſocietie amongſt men?

Meanes to ſtirre men to acceptance and gratuitie.

CHAP. XV.

Reaſon & iudgemẽt ought to accompaine liberalitie: prodigalitie extinguiſheth it.

IF Appily thou wilt enquire how farre Bountie ought to be limited, for that it is certaine, that action or deſigne of the ſoule can be decent or honeſt, although it hath had his originall from a iuſt will, but that whoſe waight and iuſt meaſure is transformed into vertue? To this I anſwere, that here I only pretend, that liberalitie ought not to be prodigall or miſimploied. Then is it that a man ſhould be glad to haue receiued a good turne, (yea willingly, and with open handes:) when reaſon and iudgement hath addreſſed it to their handes, who are worthy of the ſame, when by temeritie of fortune, or by heat of courage, it is not vnprouided and

and diſfurniſhed of good counſaile, and when a man may take pleaſure to ſhew it to the world, and profeſſe him ſelfe to be the Author. Wilt thou eſteeme that for a benefit which thou haſt receiued from ſuch a mans handes, whom thou art aſhamed to name? Contrariwiſe, how much more agreeable are thoſe good turnes vnto vs, how inwardly are they grounded and ingrafted in our memories, (from whence they are inſeparable) when they content vs, and make our thoughts more pleaſing, in imagining from whom, than what we haue receiued? *Criſpus Paſienus* was accuſtomed to ſay, that he more eſteemed other mens iudgments, than their gifts, and other mens gifts, than their iudgement; and annexed this example; *I had rather* (ſaid he) *haue* AVGVSTVS *iudgement, yet loue I well* CLAVDIVS *bountie*. But for mine owne part, I thinke that no man ought to deſire a benefit at his handes, whoſe iudgement is deficient and idle. What then? ſhould not that which *Claudius* gaue be receiued? why not? but in ſuch manner as if thou hadſt receiued it from *Fortunes* hand, which thou mighteſt imagine might ſodainly become a misfortune. But why ſaieſt thou ſhould wee ſeparate thoſe thinges which are ſo vnited? becauſe wee cannot call that a benefit which wanteth his principall part, that is, to be done and giuen with heartineſſe and deliberation. A great ſumme of money, if it be not giuen prudently, and with a will grounded on reaſon, is a treaſure, but no benefit. Finally, there are many thinges which wee may receiue, and yet not bee obliged for them.

The end of the firſt Booke of Benefits.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SECOND BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE assumeth and intreateth of an other part, How Benefits are to bee giuen. Hee giueth many precepts hereupon; that wee bestow them willingly, speedily, and without dubitation. That some thinges are to bee giuen openly, other some thinges secretly. Then what they are which are hurtfull, if they be not giuen, although they be demanded, and yet not dishoneſt, and such as may breede future infamie. Then that the perſons ought to be eſteemed both of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, that both of them may be decent. An other part of the booke: How he that receiueth ſhould behaue himſelfe, from whom he receiueth, and how, eſpecially gratefully. By occaſion he decideth what it is that maketh men vngratefull: Pride, Auarice, Enuie: Finally, in many wordes he diſputeth of gratitude, and proueth that it conſiſteth in will, where as wealth and meanes wanteth.

CHAP. I.

LET vs looke into and examine that (moſt worthie *Liberalis*) which as yet remaineth of the firſt; that is to ſay: In what manner wee ought to beſtow a benefit. To the better performance whereof I ſhall in my opinion ſet downe the moſt expedite way and meanes. So let vs giue as we would receiue a good turne. But aboue all thinges what we doe; let vs doe willingly, ſpeedily, and without heſitation or doubting. Vngratefull is that benefit that hath long time ſtuck betwixt his fingers that giueth the ſame, that a man ſeemeth hardly to part withall; and deliureth in ſuch ſort, as if he had robbed himſelfe of it. Yea if wee cannot giue ſo ſoone as we would, and that we are enforced to delay our benefit, let vs ſtriue at leaſtwiſe by all the meanes poſſible, that it be not ſuppoſed, that we haue hung long time in delibration or ſuſpition, whether we ſhould giue or no: Hee that doubteth, is next to him that denieth, and deſerueth no thankes for the ſame.

He that delaieth or dallieth in his bountie, looſeth his gift & merit.

For ſince in a benefit there is nothing more agreeable than the will of him that giueth the ſame, hee that in delaying giueth vs to vnderſtand that hee giueth againſt his will, in effect giueth nothing, but rather knew not how to keepe it from his clutches, that drew it from his handes. Diuers there are that are bountifull for ſhame ſake: but thoſe pleaſures that are readily beſtowed, that are giuen before they are demanded, that are vnattended by any delay (except it bee the modeſtie of him that receiueth the ſame) are farre more agreeable. *Willingneſſe and preuention are the figures of a free And liberall minde, delay and delatum of a faſtidious and niggardly heart.* Firſt of all it behoueth vs to preuent euery mans deſire, and afterwards to follow the ſame. But the beſt is to preuent and preſent our fauours before they be ſought after. And for that an honeſt man bluſheth alwaies for modeſtie when he demandeth any thing, whoſoeuer he be that remitteth and excuſeth him of this torment, redoubleth and multiplieth the pleaſure. He receiued not gratis, that receiued when hee demanded. Becauſe (according to the opinion of the graueſt Authors and our Anceſtors) there is nothing that coſts ſo much, as that which is bought with praiers. *Yes, grace that is purchaſed by praiers.* Men would more ſparingly tender their vowes vnto the gods, if they ſhould doe it openly; and rather deſire wee in ſecret to pray and performe our vowes vnto them, becauſe our deſire is that our thoughts ſhould be only knowne vnto them.

CHAP. II.

THe wordes are diſtaſtfull, and full of diſturbance, for a man of honour (with abaſhed and abaſed looke) to ſay, I beſeech you. Labour thou then to excuſe thy friend herein, and whomſoeuer elſe thou intendeſt to oblige vnto thee by thy bountie. How forwardly ſoeuer a man giue, that giueth after he is intreated, let him know this leſſon, that hee giueth too late. Indeauour therefore to diuine and fore-ſee euery mans will; and when thou vnderſtandeſt the ſame, diſcharge him of the grieuous neceſſitie of asking. Know thou that that benefit is moſt pleaſing, and of longeſt perpetuitie in mans memorie, That comes vnſought for and vndemanded. And if happily thou haſt not had the oportunitie to preuent his neceſſitie, yet at leaſtwiſe intercept the reaſons and motiues which hee ſhould vſe in requeſting thy curteſie: thou oughteſt to make him beleeue by thy readineſſe and forwardneſſe, that thou hadſt a deſire to doe him friendſhip before hee demanded the ſame. *Vrbanitie in a Heathen inimitable by chriſtians, as the chriſtian world is carried in theſe daies.* And as meate which is preſented a ſicke man in due ſeaſon profiteth him much; And ſimple water being giuen in time of neceſſitie, is ſometimes of as much worth & value as a medicine: euen ſo a pleaſure although it be but little and ſmall in value, if it be freely and fitly giuen, if it be done in due time, and fitting to the occaſion, valueth and commendeth it ſelfe the more, and ſurmounteth the eſtimate and worth of a rich and precious preſent, which hath beene long time deuiſed and dreamt vpon. It is not to bee doubted, but that hee who ſo readily diſtributed his largeſſe, performed the ſame as willingly. And therefore with ioyfulneſſe fulfilleth he that he intended, and thereby giueth teſtimonie of his good minde.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THe immeſurable ſilence of ſome, and their ſlownes in ſpeech (the firſt-borne-breed of ſullennes and ſottiſh grauitie) hath made many men looſe their benefits, notwithſtanding their great worth and valew. For although they promiſe with their tongues, they deny in the carriage of their eyes. How farre better were it to accompany good workes with good words, and to giue credite to the good office thou doeſt with familiar and curteous language? Challenge him that requireth aught at thy hands, for this cauſe, that hee hath deferred ſo long time to make vſe of thee, in forming againſt him this familiar quarrell: I am much diſpleaſed with thee, for that thou haſt not acquainted me ſooner with that which thou deſireſt at my hands, for that thou haſt vſed too many ceremonies and circumſtances in requiring my helpe; for that thou haſt imployed a third meanes for that which thou mighteſt haue commaunded thy ſelfe: For mine owne part, I hold my ſelfe moſt happy and contented, that thou haſt ſought to make proofe of the good affection I beare thee. From hence forth if thou be preſſed with any neceſſitie, commaund and claime what ſoeuer is mine as thine owne: Let this one error paſſe, I pardon thy ruſticitie. Hereby ſhalt thou make him eſteem and valew thy noble mind more, than all that hee came to claime at thy hands, how precious ſoeuer it be. Then doth the benefactors vertue moſt manifeſtly appeare, then is his bountie remarkeable, when as the other paſſing from him, ſhall depart muttering to himſelfe: Great hath beene my gaines this day; It more contents mee that I haue found him ſuch a man, than if the benefite had beene redoubled vnto me by any other way: for to a mind ſuch as this is I ſhall neuer yeeld retribution or condigne ſatisfaction. *Termes beſitting a liberall mind.*

CHAP. IIII.

BVt many there be, that by the bitterneſſe of their words, and the crabbednes of their lookes, make their fauours odious, by vſing ſuch ſpeech, and expreſſing ſuch pride, that it repenteth him that demaunded the curteſie, that hee hath obtained it. It falleth out oftentimes likewiſe, that after the promiſe made, there are ſome delayes and procraſtinations: yet is there not any thing more loathſome and diſtaſtefull, than when a grace is once graunted, to be inforced to go and redemaund it againe. The fauours wee intend, ought not to bee deferred, which coſt more ſometimes in their recoueric than in their promiſe. This man muſt thou beſeech to put his Lord in remembrance, that man to receiue the fauour for thee; thus one ſimple gift (by paſſing thorow many mens hands) is diminiſhed and leſſened very much, and hee hath leaſt ſatisfaction that hath made promiſe thereof. For they whom afterwards we muſt importune, get the better part of the thankes. If therefore thou wilt haue thy giftes to be acceptable and gratefull, thou muſt procure that they paſſe thorow their handes that ſought the ſame vntouched and intire, and (as they ſay) without any diduction. Let no man intercept, let no man detaine them; there is no man that in that which thou art to giue, can purchaſe any credit, but that he impaireth and diminiſheth thine. *The errours of thoſe that giue after an euill manner.* *A loſt curteſie to receiue after much straining.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Refusall is better, then uncertaintie.

THere is nothing more tedious and irksome to a man, than to hang long in suspence. There are some that had rather that the hopes of their pretensions were scantled, than delayed. And many there are (too fowly possessed of this vice) that with a depraued ambition protract and deferre those things they haue alreadie promised, to no other end, but to encrease the number of those that solicite and sue to them. Such are these ministers of kingly maiesty, who take delight in the admiration, which other men conceiue of their greatnesse and pompe, who thinke themselues disabled in their power, if by many delayes and longer procrastinations they make not euery man vnderstand how powerfull and graced they bee. They performe nothing speedily, they dispatch nothing at once. Their iniuries are headlong and sodaine, their benefits silly and slow. Wherefore thinke that most true which the Comicke Poet saith:

A paterne of a prowd courtier.

Do'st thou not so much of thy thankes diminish,
As thou delay'st thy benefite to finish?

From thence arise those complaints which ingenious sorrow expresseth, *Do speedily, if thou wilt doe any thing*; and *nothing is more deare. I had rather thou shouldest haue vtterly denyed me*. Such maner of discourse vse they at that time that are wearied with a long delay, which maketh them alreadie contemne and hate the good, which they heartily expected. Can they for this be esteemed vngratefull? Euen as that crueltie is the greatest that bringeth out and protracteth the paine, and to dispatch a man of life quickely, is in some occasions a kind and sort of mercy, (because in the end the last torment draweth with it selfe the remainder of it selfe, and the time precedent, is the greatest part of the punishment that succeedeth:) so the lesse time I am held in suspence, the greater thankes owe I for the fauour I receiue. The expectation of things, how good and honest soeuer they be, is both tedious and displeasant: and where as there are many benefits which are a totall remedy to some instant necessity; he that suffereth the indigent either to be tortured by delay, whom forthwith he could dispatch, or maketh him languish in expectation, and grow forlorne before he compasse the fauour, abuseth his owne benefit, and laies violent hands on his owne good worke. All true liberalitie is addressed and expedite, and it is the propertie of him that doth willingly, to doe quickely. He that giueth later than he should doe, and wearieth out both time and occasion, before he assist and succor the indigent, witnesseth by his actions, that he had neuer a will to succor him. And by this meanes looseth hee in one benefit two most important things, that is to say, time, and the argument of his friendly intention and will, because to wil a thing ouer-late, is not to will it at all.

True liberalitie is impatient of delay.

Bis dat qui cito dat.

CHAP. VI.

A fit similitude.

IN all affaires *(Liberalis)* that which importeth most, is the maner and fashion of speaking or doing any thing. Celeritie hath done much, Delay hath defrauded more. Euen as in weapons of all sorts, the edge and point both of the one and of the other, are of the same force and keenenesse as the rest are; but there is a great difference

differ ence in them, if they be inforced by a brawnie and forcible arme, or managed by a faint and feeble arme. It is one and the same sword, that sleightly raceth and rudely pierceth thorow: that which most importeth, is the strength of the arme that gouerneth it. The like may be said of that which a man giueth; the onely difference is, in the manner of giuing. O how precious, and how sweete a thing is it, to encounter with a Benefactor, that consenteth not to be clawed with acclamations and thanke-giuings! and that as soone as hee beholdeth a beneuolence, forgetteth the same! for to reproue him to whome thou arte most beneficiall, and to intermix iniuries and outrages with curtesies and good turnes, is no lesse than madnesse. Benefits therefore are not to be exasperated or intermedled with any distaste or misliking. Though happily thou hast something that thou hast reason to reprehend him in, reserue it till an other time more proper and conuenient.

The maner of giuing maketh the gift either plausible or displeasefull.

CHAP, VII.

Inforced curtesie hath no merits.

LAEIVS VERRVCOSVS called that disgracefull curtesie, which was presented by a niggardly hand, Grauelly and stale bread; which a hungrie man must of necessitie take, yet can hardly eate. *Tiberius Cæsar* being requested by *Marcus Allius* (who had been *Prætor*) to discharge him of those many debts, wherein hee was engaged: *Cæsar* commaunded him to set downe the names of all his creditors. This is not properly to giue, but to summon them to whom he owed any thing to composition. As soone as hee had receiued the register of their number, he wrote a schedule wherein he commaunded to pay his prodigall nephews debt, and gaue it to him, and therewithall so bitter and contumelious a reprehension, as the poore man was so much dismayed, that hee neither knew that hee had receiued any money for his creditors, from the Emperours hands; or any fauour for himselfe: He deliuered him from his Creditors, but obliged not him vnto himselfe. Some motiue there was that guided *Tiberius* herein; and in my iudgement, that he did, was to the end, that no man should importune him more in such like requests; and this happily was an effectuall way, thorow the shame and reproofe of one man to represse the disordinate desires of couetousnesse in all other men. Yet hee that giueth a benefit, must absolutely follow a farre different way.

He excuseth Tiberius in some sort.

CHAP. VIII.

BY any meanes procure thou, that whatsoeuer thou intendest to giue, may be adorned with all that which either may make thy gift more acceptable, or better receiued: for otherwise thou dost no good worke, but disclose and reprehend an hidden error. And that I may expresse by the way (in my iudgement) what my opinion is herein, me thinkes it is a thing ill-beseeming a Prince, to giue a fauour with an affront and infamie: neuertheless, for all this *Tiberius* could neuer by this manner of dealing flie that whith hee feared: for many others came afterwards and besought him in the same sort, and for the same reliefe as *Allius* did, all whome he commanded to informe the Senate, in what maner they had spent that money

ney they had borrowed, and thereupon gaue them certaine summes of mony. This is no liberalitie, but a censure; this is no succour, but a principall tribute. Because that cannot be esteemed a good worke, which I cannot call to memorie without blushing, and disgrace: I am sent to the Iudge, to obtaine that which I required, I was inforced to suffer a criminall proces.

CHAP. IX.

The two-fold manner of employing benefits.

THe Wise men therefore, and such as are Authors of Wisedome, aduise, that some benefites are to be giuen openly, other some secretly. Those are openly to be giuen, which may honour and magnifie him that receiueth them, such as are Militarie presents and dignities, and whatsoeuer other gift, which the more publike and notorious it is, the more honorable it becommeth. Againe, those gifts, which neither promote nor aduance a mans fortune, nor augment his reputation, but onely succour his infirmitie, his necessitie, and ignominy: must be giuen so secretly, that hee onely may take notice thereof that hath the benefite and assistance thereby. And sometimes also we ought to deceiue him that wee intend to relieue, in such a sort as our gift may come vnto his hands, and yet he ignorant from whom he receiued the same.

CHAP. X.

He proueth by example that fauors are to be done in secret.

ARcesilaus (as it is reported) being aduertized, that a poore friend of his (who concealed his necessities, as much as in him lay) was fallen sicke, and yet notwithstanding would not discouer the pouertie he indured in his sickenesse; bethought him that he should not doe amisse, to relieue him secretly. For which cause, vnder colour to come and visite him, hee left a bagge full of money vnder the sicke mans pillow; to the end that the poore soule (being more bashfull than wise) might rather thinke that hee had found that which hee desired, than that hee receiued it as a benefite. What then? should hee not know (saiest thou) from whom the fauour came? No. At the first let him bee ignorant thereof, sith the not knowing thereof is a better part of the good worke. Afterwards I will doe him many other pleasures, I will giue him so many other things, that in the end hee shall perceiue who was the first Author of them: Finally, hee shall not know that he hath receiued, and I shall vnderstand that I haue giuen. Mee thinkes thou telleſt me, that this is nothing. I answer thee, That it is insufficient, if so it be, that by thy good worke thou seekest interest and praise: but if thou desirest to doe it in that kinde, that it may be more and better profitable to him that receiueth the same, thou wouldest content thy selfe to bee a witnesse, that thou thy selfe diddest it. Because thou seemest not to take pleasure in doing thy good worke, but desirest to make it knowne, that thou hast done the same: I will (saiest thou) that hee know that I did him the good turne. This is to seeke out a debtor. But my desire is (saiest thou) that hee should knowe it. Tell mee why? If it bee more profitable for him that receiueth

ceiueth the benefite, not to know whence it commeth; if it be more honest, and more agreeable that he know it not, : wilt thou not in this point be of our opinion? I will that hee know it. Thou wouldst not then saue a mans life if the night were darke. I deny not but that vpon some iust occasion it may bee lawfull for a man to take some contentment in his thankefulnesse that hath receiued a benefit. But if then when it is needefull to assist and succor our friend, we perceiue that he should receiue some disgrace thereby, if the good that wee doe him, shall sort to his indignitie, except it be done secretly: We ought not to insinuate or make knowne our good turnes. Were it answerable to honestie to tell him that it was I that haue giuen it him? whereas by the precise and principall precepts I am forbidden at any time to vpbraid him, or to refresh the memorie of my fauour done vnto him: For this is an inuiolable lawe betwixt him that giueth, and him that receiueth, that the one ought incontinently to forget the good he hath done, and the other ought to haue a continuall remembrance of that which he hath receiued. There is nothing that more tyreth and trauaileth a good mind, than to be oftentimes reproched and vpbraided with those pleasures which haue beene shewen him.

Doe your charitie secretly, that you may be rewarded openly.

An inuiolable lawe in doing good.

CHAP. XI.

IT contenteth me much to make a publique narration of that exclamation which a certaine Roman vsed, who had been saued by one of *Cæsars* friends (during the time of the proscriptions of the Triumuirate) who being vnable any further to indure his pride, most manfully cried out thus; Redeliuer me I pray thee to *Cæsar*, and the power of Iustice: How long wilt thou reproach and vpbraide mee saying, I haue saued thee, I haue deliuered thee from death? If I forget not my selfe, I must confesse that thou gauest mee life; but if I remember mee of thy often reproches, I can not conceiue but that thou hast giuen mee death. I owe thee nothing; if thou hast saued me to no other end, but to make an ostentation of thy vanitie. How long wilt thou lead me about for a spectacle to men, and a torture to my selfe? how long will it be ere thou suffer me to forget my hard fortune? Had I beene led in triumph by the enemy, it had beene but one dayes miserable spectacle. Neuer ought wee to disclose that which wee haue giuen: hee that vpbraideth a curtesie redemaundeth it. Wee must not importune, we ought neuer to refresh the memorie of a former pleasure, but by seconding it by another. Neither ought we to disclose it vnto others. Let him that hath done the good office, conceale it: let him that hath receiued the same, disclose it. Otherwise it may be said vnto him as it was to one who publiquely vaunted and boasted of the pleasures hee had done, Happily (said hee that had receiued the gift) thou wilt deny but that thou hast receiued againe that which thou gauest mee; And as the other asked him when? Hee answered; Many times, and in many places. As if he should say; As often times, and in as many places as thou hast vaunted thereof vainely; what needs hadst thou to speake of it? Suppose vpon an other mans office? An other man might haue done it more honestly, who reckoning vp the good hee hath receiued at thy hands, might praise thee in diuers things, which thou canst not, or doest not discouer. At least wise thou wilt say of mee, that I am vngrateful; if conceal-

Secrecie must accompany benefits.

concealing thine owne bountie and desert, I make it not knowne who haue receiued the same. But this ought not to be; but rather, if any should relate before thee, what good thou hast done me, and the euill I commit, in not confessing thy goodnes, thou oughtest pesently to make this answer. *Truly he is most worthy of farre greater benefites, which I know that I haue better will, than power to performe.* Which speech wee ought to vtter, not with flattering dissimulation, or fained pretence, or as some men doe, who make a shew to reiect that which they would faine draw vnto them. Briefly, we ought to vse all kinde of sweetnesse and curtesie, as much as in vs lieth. The husbandman should loose all his labour, if after hee hath cast his corne into the ground, he make no more reckoning of that which hee hath sowed. The corne cannot come to maturitie without much manuring and regard, nothing can bring forth fruit, if from the beginning to the end it be not labored and handled with due industrie. The same condition is of all benefites. Can there be a greater care, and more circumspect diligence in this world, than that which the parents haue ouer their children? and yet their pains should be lost, if so be they should abandon them in their infancie: if their deuoire and paternall pietie should not nourish them long, and tenderly protect that vnto the end which Nature hath recommended vnto them. All other benefites are of the selfe same condition; except thou helpest them, thou loosest them. It is a small matter to haue giuen them. Wee must likewise nourish them. If thou wilt haue them thankefull who are obliged vnto thee, thou must not onely giue them bountifully, but loue them heartily. But especially (as I said) let vs haue a care that we offend not their eares; admonition is tedious, reproach ingendreth hatred. There is nothing so much to bee auoyded in giuing a benefite, as for a man to shew him selfe proud. Whereto serueth an arrogant and disdainefull looke? to what end are swelling and reprochfull words? Thine owne good workes will sufficiently praise thee: wee ought to alien from vs all vaine boasting. The actions will expresse themselues when wee are silent. That which a man giueth proudly, is not onely displeasant, but also odious.

Bounty must be accompanied with loue and charitie.

Pride maketh charitie nothing.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar gaue *Pompeius Pennus* his life (if it may be said, that hee giueth life that taketh it not away.) Afterwards, when he had absolued him, and the other humbled himselfe to giue thankes; *Cæsar* presented him his left foote to kisse. They that pretend to excuse him, and deny that it was done by way of insolence, say, that hee did it but to shew his gilded Buskins; or rather, or more rightly, his buskins of gold, enchaced and enriched with precious pearles. In so doing, what outrage might there be? What euill was it for a man (although in former times he had beene Consul) to kisse gold and pearle, since no better place might bee found more seemely and honest in *Cæsars* person for him to kisse? A man only borne to change and reduce the manners of an absolute and free State into seruitude, worse than that of the *Persians*, he thought it a small matter that an old Senator, who in times past had been graced with so many and great honours, should in the presence of Princes in submissiue sort lie prostrate before him, after the manner of a vanquished Enemie before the feete of the Conqueror.

Insolence of great fortune.

Homer hath always some body to scorn his herours.

Conqueror. This was he that indeuoured to finde something out more base than the knee, whereby he might subiect and suppresse the libertie of Rome. Is not this to treade the Maiestie of a Common-weale vnder foot? Yea with a left foot will some men say (and very answerable to the purpose.) For he had not shewed himselfe vilainously furious and insolent enough, to haue taken his faire buskins to assist and sit in iudgement vpon the life of one who had beene a Consull, if the Emperour had not also thrust his studs and golden buttons into a Senators mouth.

CHAP. XIII.

O Pride of great fortune! O pernicious folly! O how happie is hee that is not constrained to receiue any pleasure at thy handes! O how well art thou instructed to conuert each benefit into injurie! How much art thou delighted in outrage and excesse! O how ill doe all things beseeme them! O how highlie raisest thou thy selfe, to abase thy selfe more lowly! O how approuest thou, that thou acknowledgest not those goods wherein thou takest so much pride! Thou corrupteſt whatsoeuer thou giuest. I would aske thee therefore for what cause thou thus forgettest thy selfe? what peruerteth both thy lookes and the habit of thy countenance? hadst thou rather goe masked than shew thy face open? most pleasing are those curtesies which are giuen with a kinde, smiling, and pleasing countenance, which when my Superiour gaue me, he exulted not ouer me; but as much as in him lay shewed me all the benignitie & fauour that he could imagine, and abasing himselfe so farre as to equall himselfe with me, he disclothed his gifts of all kinde of pompe, he obserued a fit time, wherein rather hee might helpe me vpon occasion, than in necessitie. In one and the same sort, in my iudgement, wee may perswade these men that they loose not their benefits through insolence, if we shall proue vnto them that their benefits do not therefore seeme more great, because they haue been giuen with insolent and tumultuous speeches; and that they themselues cannot for so doing seeme greater in any mans eies; and that the greatnesse of pride is but vaine, and such; as that it draweth the thinges of most esteeme into hatred and contempt.

CHAP. XIIII.

SOme thinges there are which proue so harmefull and preiudiciall to those that receiue the same, that to denie them, and not to giue them, proueth to be fauour and benefit. This say I, because we ought rather to intend the profit, than the affection and will of those that require our fauours. For oft-times we wish and labour for those thinges that are damageable vnto vs. Neither can wee iudge how harmefull it is, because our affection blindeth and perturbeth our iudgement; but when the desire is pacified and allaid, when that ardent impression and impulsion of the minde (which exileth from it selfe all good counsaile) is extinguished and abated, then abhorre we those pernicious Authors of those vnhappie and euill gifts. Euen as to sicke men wee denie water, and to those that are melancholie and loath their lines, a knife; or to such as are in loue, all that which

Diuersion in benevolence.

their inflamed and ardent affection, or rather desperation, doteth after. So ought we to persèuer diligently and humbly in denying and refusing all that which may doe much harme to those who miserably and blindly demaund it at our hands. Furthermore, it importeth euerie man to haue a care and obseruation, not onely of the beginning of his gifts, but of the end and issue also, which they ought to haue; and so procure, that they may be such things, that not onely giue content in the receiuing, but delight also when they are receiued. Many there are that say, *I know that this will not be profitable vnto him, but what shall I doe? He entreateth me, and I cannot denie his suit: let him looke vnto it, he shall complaine of himselfe, and not of me.* Thou abusest thy selfe, and art deceiued: it is of thee and none other (and that iustly) he will complaine, as soone as he shall recouer his senses and perfect wits; and that passion which perturbed and inflamed his mind, remitteth and ceaseth. And why should hee not hate such a man who assisted him to his damage and dunger? To condescend vnto his request that asketh that which will be harmefull vnto him, is a cruell bountie, and a pleasing and affable hatred: Let vs giue such things as may please more and more by their vse, and that may neuer breede any damage. I will not giue money which in my knowledge shall be giuen vnto a harlot, because I desire not to be partaker in any dishonest action, or in euill counsell. If I can, I will at leastwise retyre him; if not, I will not boulster or further his sinne. Whether it be choller that transporteth him farther than becommeth him, or heat of ambition misleadeth him from the securest course, I will not so farre forget my selfe, that hereafter he may say, *He hath killed me with kindnesse.* Oftentimes there is verie little difference betwixt a friends gift and an enemies wishes and execution. All the mischiefe an enemie can wish vs, the foolish affection of a friend may bring vs: There is nothing more absurd (and yet this oftentimes falleth out) than not to know a difference betwixt hate and fauour.

Limitations in bountie.

CHAP. XV.

LEt vs neuer giue any thing that may redound to our disgrace and domage. And since the greatest friendship we can intend to any man, is to make him equall with our selues, and suffer him in euerie sort and ioyntly to enioy our goods and fortunes; so ought we equally to aduise him to the good and honour of vs both. I will giue vnto him in his necessitie, yet in such manner and measure, that I will shunne mine owne miserie: if I see him in danger of life, I will succour him; prouided alwaies, that I be ascertained of mine owne securitie: except I shall be the ransome of some great man, or some affaire of greater importance. I will do no good turne that I would be ashamed to aske: I will not greaten that which is of small value; neither will I consent, that such a thing, which in it selfe is of much worth, should be receiued with little estimation: For euen as he looseth the grace and remuneration of his good worke, that registreth the same in the booke of his accompts; so he that sheweth how great the pleasure is which he hath done, priseth not, but reprocheth and dispraiseth his pleasure he hath done. Let euerie man haue a respect to his facultie and forces, least either wee giue more or succour lesse than is answerable to our abilities. Let vs also haue a respect and esteeme of the person and qualitie of him to whom wee giue;

Proximus vnusquisque sibi.

Respect of persons.

giue; because there are some gifts that are of lesse value than the greatnesse of him that giueth the same requireth; and other-some which are not answerable to the merit of him that receiueth the same. Conferre therefore and compare with thy selfe the conditions of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, and examine the qualities of that which is giuen (whether it be little or much) in respect of him that giueth the same; and whether likewise thy present be too little for him that receiueth, or whether he be incapable of so much.

CHAP. XVI.

THat furious and outragious *Alexander* (who neuer setled his thoughts but on great and mightie enterprises) foolishly gaue a Citie to a certaine follower of his; who measuring his owne vnworthinesse, and desirous to discharge himselfe of the enuie hee might incurre, by receiuing so great a benefit, came vnto *Alexander*, and told him, That neither in fortune or condition he deserued so much. To whom *Alexander* answered: I respect not what becommeth thee to receiue, but that which in honor becommeth me to giue: A speech that in appearance was both kingly and heroicall, but in effect most fond and foolish. For all those things which are a mans owne, become not other men to receiue or accept; but it importeth vs to consider what that is which is giuen; to whom, when, why, in what place, and other circumstances, without which thou canst not instifie thine action. O proud and insolent creature! If it becommeth not him to receiue this thy gift, as little befitteth it thee to giue the same. There ought to be a difference and proportion both of persons and dignities, as whereas there is a measure in vertues euery wayes, as greatly sinneth he that exceedeth, as he that giueth too little. And although this becometh thee, and thy fortune hath rayséd thee so high, that thy royall gifts are no lesse than Cities (which with how greater mind mightst thou not haue taken, than lauishly distributed) yet is there some more lesse, than that thou shouldest hide and burie a Citie in their bosomes.

Alexanders *indiscretion in giuing is the cause why he is taxed in this place.*

Circumstances in giuing.

CHAP. XVII.

DIogenes the Cinique required a talent at *Antigonus* hands, and being repulsed by him, besought a penny: To which he answered, That it was too little for a * Cinique to aske, or a King to giue. This was but a bare and idle cauill: For hereby found he out an inuention to giue neither: in the penny he respected and had reference to his Kingly maiestie; in the talent to the Cinique: whereas he might haue giuen a penny as to a Cinique, and a talent as he was a King. I must needly graunt, that there are some things of so great value, that they should not be giuen vnto a Cinique, yet is there nothing likewise so little, that a liberall and courteous King cannot honestly giue. But if thou aske my opinion herein, I cannot but allow *Antigonus* action: For it is an intolerable error in those who make profession to contemne money, afterwards to beg it shamefully. Thou hast proclaimed open warre against wealth and riches, thou hast publikely protested thy hatred against money: This habit hast thou taken on thee,

* *Although these Pagans had not a perfect knowledge of the vertue of wilfull pouertie, yet had they some resemblance and smacke thereof; and in particular there was a Sect of them called Cinicques, that were of this profession, amongst whom this* Diogenes *was one that required this almes at* Antigonus *hands.*

thee, and this needly muſt thou perſonate. Vnworthily and wickedly ſhalt thou doe to hunt and haunt after money, vnder pretence of ſo laudable a pouertie and neceſſitie as thou profeſſeſt. It concerneth each man therefore to haue as great a regard and reſpect of himſelfe, as of him to whom he would doe a pleaſure. I will vſe our friend *Chryſippus* ſimilitude of the play at ball, which vndoubtedly falleth either through his default that ſerueth the ſame, or his that receiueth it: Then doth the ball keepe his due courſe, when as betwixt the hands of both the gameſters, it fitly flyeth to and fro, being ſerued by the one, and reinforced backe againe by the other: yet ought a good Tennis-player to ſerue either eaſily or ſtrongly, according as he perceiueth his companion to be further or neerer off him. The ſame reaſon is there in good deedes: for if they be not anſwerably applyed to the perſon of him that giueth, and him that receiueth, they will neuer ſlip from the hands of the one, or come into the poſſeſſion of the other, according as they ought to doe. If we paſſe the time with an exerciſed and cunning gameſter, we will ſtrike the ball more boldly and ſtiffely: for on which ſide ſoeuer it is bandied, an expedite and nimble hand will returne and ſtrike it backe. Contrariwiſe, if wee play with a nouice and young learner, we neither will ſtrike it ſo ſtiffely, nor leuell it ſo ſtrongly; but ſeruing and ſtriking it gently, we will giue the ball to his hand; and if he rebandie it backe, we returne it as gently. The ſame manner muſt wee obſerue in doing our good workes: Let vs teach ſome how to receiue them, and iudge it a ſufficient recompence, if they endeuor themſelues to be thankfull; if they are, if they will be thankefull. For oftentimes wee make them vngratefull, and helpe to keepe them ſo, as if our good turnes were euery way ſo great, that there might not be a thankefulneſſe which might in any ſort equall them. The ſame pretend thoſe malicious gameſters, that deceiue and chaſe their contrarie partie here and there, to the ſpoyle of the game, which cannot be maintained and continue, except there be conſent and conformitie between them both. There are diuers of ſo perueiſe and diueliſh a nature, ſo proud, and imputatiue in that they beſtow, that they had rather looſe that which they lent, than to ſeeme that they haue receiued the ſame. Were it not a more better and friendly courſe to ſuffer them to acquit their deuoir towards vs, and to fauor and ſuccour them, when they would acknowledge the goods which they haue receiued at our hands? To take all in good part, and at ſuch time as they ſhould onely giue thankes in words, to giue them as fauorable audience as if they ſatisfied vs, and to allow that he who findeth himſelfe obliged to vs, ſhould haue the meanes to recompence vs? That Vſurer is commonly hardly thought of, if he exact his debts rudely. He likewiſe is worſe thought of, if then when his money is tendered him, he will not receiue it, but deferreth to admit the payment. A benefit is as worthily receiued backe againe when it is returned, as it is giuen honeſtly, when it is vndemaunded. The beſt well-doer is he, that hath done a courteſie freely, and neuer ſought requitall; that tooke a pleaſure when as any man could freely repay that which he had friendly lent and giuen, and vtterly forgotten, and that receiueth not as a returne of his fauor, but as a grace and remuneration.

There muſt be a proportion in good workes be twixt the giuer and the receiuer

The conditions of a perfect and abſolute well-giuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

SOme there are that not onely giue a benefit proudly, but alſo receiue it diſdainefully, which ought to be auoided. But now let vs paſſe ouer to that other part, and entreat therein, how men ſhould behaue themſelues in receiuing benefites. Whatſoeuer act of vertue conſiſteth on two perſons, exacteth as much from the one, as from the other: when as thou haſt diligently examined what the father ought to be, thou ſhalt find it no leſſe difficultie to conceiue what the ſonne ought to be. There are ſome duties belonging to the husband, and ſome alſo that appertaine vnto the wife. Theſe deſerue one and the ſame rule and meaſure, which (as *Hecaton* ſayth) is very hard to obſerue and keepe. A hard matter is it to performe that which honeſtie commandeth, yea that alſo which neereſt approacheth honeſtie: For we are not onely tied to performe the ſame, but to performe it with reaſon. She it is that muſt be our guide in the way we are to hold. The things of ſmalleſt moment, and thoſe of greateſt importance, are to be gouerned by her counſaile: and as ſhe counſaileth, ſo ought we to giue. And firſt of all ſhe will aduiſe vs this, That we ought not to receiue a fauour at euery mans hands. From whom then ſhall we receiue? To anſwere thee in a word; It is from thoſe to whom wee would haue giuen. For more carefully ought wee to make choice of thoſe from whom wee would receiue, than of thoſe to whom we would giue: For leaſt many inconueniences happen (which are wont to follow) know this, that it is a grieuous torment to be indebted and obliged to him, to whom thou wouldeſt owe nothing. And contrariwiſe, it is a thing moſt pleaſing and agreeable, to haue receiued a benefit at his hands, whom although he ſhould offer thee hard meaſure, thou couldeſt both loue and affect: But the greateſt miſerie for a good and ſhamefaſt man is to loue and to be obliged to ſuch a man as he can neither fancie nor fauour. Here muſt I needly and oftentimes aduertiſe thee, that I ſpeake not of thoſe truly wiſe and vertuous men, which take pleaſure in that which they ought to doe, and are Lords of their owne mindes; that prefixe ſuch Lawes vnto themſelues as beſt liketh them; and hauing prefixed them, keepe them: but of theſe imperfect men, that are willing to follow vertue, whoſe affections and paſſions are forcibly impelled to obey reaſon. I ought then to make an eſpeciall election and choiſe of him from whom I would receiue a pleaſure; and it concerneth me much more carefully to chuſe and diligently ſeeke out ſuch a one to whom I will impart my benefit, than ſuch a one to whom I will truſt my money: becauſe that to the one I am not bound to reſtore any more than I haue receiued, and hauing repayed my debt, I am acquited and diſcharged our of his bookes: but to the other I muſt repay more than I haue receiued, and hauing recompenced the good he hath done me, yet is not this my entire obligation: the friendſhip muſt continue and flouriſh betweene vs. For after I haue remunerated his kindneſſe, I am tied to renew and refreſh it againe: And aboue all things the law of friendſhip admoniſheth me, That I receiue not a kindneſſe from any that is vnworthie. Such is the right, ſuch is the ſacred law of Benefits (from whence friendſhip taketh his originall.) It is not alwaies in our choice (as *Hecaton* ſayth) to refuſe a pleaſure, and to ſay I will not accept it: We ought ſometimes to receiue a benefit againſt our mindes. A Tyrant will giue thee ſomewhat; and ſo cruell and outragious is he, that if thou refuſeſt

Here beginneth the proofe, that we ought not receiue at euerie mans hands.

Reaſon is the guide and diſpoſer of liberalitie.

ſeſt his preſent, he will account it no leſſe than an iniurie and indignitie: To this wilt thou ſay, ſhall I not accept the ſame? make reckoning that this King is a Theefe, and a Pirate, (ſince in minde he is no better than a Theefe, or a Pirate) what ſhall I doe in this caſe? I ſee that he is vnworthy that I ſhould owe him any thing. To this I anſwere then, when I ſay that thou art to make thy choiſe of him, to whom thou wilt be obliged, it is not intended in a caſe of ſo great violence and feare; becauſe where theſe prevaile, election periſheth: but if thou bee at thine owne choiſe, if thou haſt libertie to elect what thou liſteſt, then haſt thou meanes to make vſe of that which beſt pleaſeth thee. But if the neceſſitie of occaſion reſtraine thy election, know this, that thou doeſt not receiue, but obay: no man is obliged in receiuing a thing which hee cannot refuſe; if thou deſireſt to know, if I would haue that thou giueſt mee, bring to paſſe that I may refuſe what thou offereſt mee: But hee gaue thee thy life: it skilleth not what the thing is which is giuen, but whether hee that gaue, and he that receiued the gift, gaue and receiued the ſame willingly. Thou art not therefore my defender, becauſe thou haſt ſaued mee. Poyſon ſometimes hath beene a medicine, and yet for all that it is not numbred amongſt thoſe thinges that are holſome. Some thinges there are, which although they profit vs much, yet they oblige vs not.

CHAP. XIX.

A Certaine man that came with a reſolution to kill a Tyrant, gaue him a ſtroke whereby hee opened him a dangerous impoſtume. For this the Tyrant gaue him no thankes, although by wounding him hee had healed him of a ſickneſſe, whereon his Phyſitions durſt not lay their handes. Thou ſeeſt there is no great moment in the thing it ſelfe, becauſe hee ſeemed not to haue giuen a benefit, who with an euill intention procured his profit. Fortune it was that wrought the good, and from the man it was the iniurie came: we haue beheld a Lyon in the Amphitheater, who calling to memorie one of thoſe who had beene condemned to fight againſt wild beaſts (becauſe in times paſt he had beene his Gouernour) protected him from the furie of the reſt. Shall wee not then ſay that the ſuccours which the Lyon gaue was a benefit? No; Becauſe he neither had will to doe it, neither did it to the intent to doe good. Wee are to repute and ranck him with this beaſt, who attempted to cut off the Tyrants life. Both this gaue life, and the other alſo, but neither this nor that a benefit; becauſe it is no benefit, or good worke, which I am inforced to receiue. It is no benefit that maketh mee indebted to him I would not. Firſt muſt thou giue mee the freedome and power of my ſelfe, and next the benefit.

CHAP. XX.

MEn haue oft-times debated and diſputed of *Marcus Brutus*, whether he ought to accept a grace, and receiue a pardon at *Iulius Cæſars* handes, who in his iudgement deſerued not to breath or liue. What reaſon moued *Brutus* to conſpire and kill him, I will expreſſe and handle in an other place. For mine owne part, although

though I eſteemed *Brutus* in all other thinges a wiſe and vertuous man, yet me ſeemeth that in this he committed a great errour, and neglected the Doctrine of the Stoickes; who either feared the ſtarne of a King, (whereas the beſt and moſt happieſt eſtate of a Citie is to liue vnder a iuſt and vertuous Prince) or hoped that libertie would bee had there where ſo great a reward was prefixed to thoſe that commanded, and thoſe that ſerued; or imagined that ſuch a Citie as this might repoſſeſſe her ancient honour, and former luſtre, when vertue and the primitiue Lawes were either aboliſhed, or wholly extinguiſhed. Or that Iuſtice, Right, and Law, ſhould be inuiolably obſerued in ſuch a place, where he had ſeene ſo many thouſand men at ſhocke and battell, not to the intent to diſcerne whether they were to obay and ſerue, but to reſolue them vnder whom they ought to ſerue and obay. O how great obliuion poſſeſſed this man! how much forgot he both the nature of affaires, and the ſtate of his Citie! to ſuppoſe that by the death of one man there ſhould not ſome other ſtart vp after him, that would vſurpe ouer the common-weale; whereas after ſo many Kings ſlaughtered, either by the ſword, or by lightning, they grew Vaſſalls and Subiects to a tyrannous *Tarquine*; yet ought he to haue accepted his life, and yet for all this not withſtanding was he not obliged to repute and eſteeme him as his Father, for that iniuriouſly and againſt all right he had vſurped the authoritie, to giue him his life: For he ſaued him not, who ſlew him not, neither gaue hee him life, but diſmiſſed him from dying.

* This was the ſeuenth and laſt King of the Romanes, called (and that iuſtly) by the name of Tarquine the proud. He died a baniſhed man out of his Countrey, and deprined of his Kingdome.

CHAP. XXI.

THis rather, and more rightly, may be drawne into ſome queſtion, what a poore captiue ſhould doe, when as a man proſtituted in body, infamous and diſhoneſt in ſpeech, offereth to pay downe the price of his ranſome? Shall I ſuffer my ſelfe to be redeemed by ſo impure and baſe a wretch? and againe, when I am diſcharged, what thankes ſhall I returne him? Shall I liue with an impudent and ſcurrilous fellow? ſhall I not liue with him that hath redeemed mee? no truly, for herein thus ſtandeth my opinion. Euen from any ſuch a one would I receiue the money which I would employ for my redemption, yet ſo would I receiue it as money vpon intereſt, not as an act of curteſie. I will repay him his money, and if after that I ſhall finde him in any danger, or preſſed by neceſſitie, I will relieue his wants, preuent his danger, yet contract no ſuch friendſhip with him, as ſhould bee correſpondent betwixt men of equall vertue. Neither will I reckon him for ſuch a one as hath ſaued my life, but make accompt of him as an vſurer, to whom I know I muſt repay back againe that which I haue borrowed. Contrariwiſe, if there bee ſome worthy and vertuous perſon, from whom I ſhould receiue a curteſie, yet ought I not receiue the ſame, if I knew that thereby hee ſhould incurre any detriment, becauſe that I am aſſured that he is addreſſed (though it be to his owne hinderance, nay which is more, to the hazard of his life) to doe me a pleaſure. I vnderſtand that he is reſolued (knowing me to bee accuſed of a capitall crime) to pleade my cauſe, and to vndertake my defence, though it be to his diſgrace, and the diſpleaſure of his Prince. I ſhould ſhew my ſelfe an enemie vnto him (if indeuouring him ſelfe to vnder-goe danger for my ſake.) I ſhould not performe that which is moſt eaſie for mee to accompliſh, that is, to entertaine the damage my ſelfe, without his detriment or danger.

danger. Here *Hecaton* setteth downe an example (which is no waies answerable to the purpose) of *Archelaus*, who would not receiue a certaine summe of money which was offered him by a yong man, who was subiect to the gouernment of his Father, because hee would not offend the couetous and niggardly parent. What did *Archelaus* herein that was worthy praise? Is it because hee would not receiue that which was stollen from his Father? Is it because hee would not entertaine the gift, least he should be tied to recompence, and restore it againe? What modestie or vertue vsed he in not accepting other mens monie? But leauing this, if it be necessarie to set downe an example of a generous mind, let vs make vse of *Græcinus Iulius*, a man of rare vertue; whom *Caius Cæsar* put to death for this cause only; in that he was a better and honester man, than any one ought to be, who should liue with and vnder a Tyrant. This man, at such time as he receiued a certaine quantitie of money from the hands of his friends (who contributed and leuied the same to defray the charge and expence of those publique playes which he prepared) refused a great summe of money which * *Fabius Persicus* sent vnto him. His friends which respected not him that sent the money, but only the money that was sent, reproued him, because he would not accept the same. *Will you* (said he) *haue me receiue a benefit from such a man, whom I would not pledge, although he offered me the cup?* And when as [a] *Rebillus* (one who sometimes had beene Consull, yet of no lesse infamie) had sent him a greater summe of money, and instantly intreated him to command his seruants to receiue the same. *I pray you* (said he) *par'on me, for* PERSICVS *offered me the same, and yet I accepted it not.* [b] Whether is this to receiue presents, or to examine the receiuers?

* *This* Fabius Persicus *was Consul vnder* Tiberius, *a man of great note in Rome.*

a *This* Rebillus *was Consul vnder* Iulius Cæsar, *and* Augustus Cæsar, *who died in his Consulship.*

b *Here vndoubtedly some reasons are deficient whence growth this question, as may be gathered by the little conformitie it hath with that which goeth before. See* Pincianus *vpon this place.*

CHAP. XXII.

WHen as we determine to receiue any thing, let vs receiue it with a glad some countenance, expressing thereby the pleasure which we take, and manifesting to the Benefactor how thankefully wee accept the same, to the end that hee may gather the present fruit of his good worke. For it is a iust cause of gladnesse to see a mans friend contented; and more iust to bee the cause of his contentment. Let vs make it knowne vnto him that his presents were very pleasing vnto vs, let vs expresse the affections of our will, not only in his owne hearing, but in euery place whersoeuer we be. For he that receiueth a good turne with glad some acceptance, hath alreadie satisfied the first paiment of the requitall.

CHAP. XXIII.

He that courtly despiseth to receiue a kindnesse hath but an euill intention.

SOme there are that will not receiue but in secret, they admit not witnesses of the good which is done vnto them. Beleeue thou that such men haue very bad and base minds: Euen as he that doeth a good turne, ought not to publish the same, or make it knowne, but in as much as hee knoweth that hee that receiueth the same will conceiue a contentment thereby: so hee also that receiueth the same ought to make it publiquely knowne. Receiue not that which thou art ashamed to owe. Some there are that secretly, and in corners, and by whisperings

rings in the eare, giue thankes for the good they haue receiued: This is not modestie and shamefastnesse, but an vndoubted signe of their will and intent to denie the benefit. Hee that giueth thankes in secret, and admitteth no witnesses of the good he hath receiued, is vngratefull. Some there are that will borrow money, prouided that it be not in their owne names, neither certified by obligation, nor signed by witnesses. They that will not that any man should haue notice of the good is done vnto them, resemble such men. They are affraid to make it knowne, to the intent they may bee thought rather to haue obtained the same by their owne vertue, than by an other mans liberalitie and assistance. Such as these are, are least officious vnto those by whom they hold their liues and dignities, and whilest they feare to be esteemed for such as are bounden and obliged to their Benefactors, they vndergoe a more grieuous imputation, and are iustly called vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIIII.

An admonition against the vice of ingratitude.

SOme other there are that detract and scandalize their benefactors, and of these there are some, whom it were better to offend curtsihly, than befriend curteously. For shewing themselues openly to be our mortall enemies, they pretend thereby to make men thinke that they are obliged to vs in nothing. There is nothing that more carefully wee ought to intend, than this, that the memorie of those who haue in any sort succoured vs, bee not at any time extinguished in vs, we must from time to time renew and refresh it. He cannot giue thankes, that forgetteth what he hath receiued; and he that carrieth a good turne in memorie hath alreadie satisfied it: neither ought we to receiue a curtesie nicely, neither submissly or humbly: for if in receiuing a man shew himselfe cold and negligent, (whereas the benefit that commeth last, is the most pleasing and acceptable) what will hee doe afterward when hee showeth himselfe so cold in the greatest heate of that which he hath receiued? An other receiueth disdainfully, as if he said, *I had no neede, but since thou so farre presseste me, I will doe what thou requirest.* An other receiueth so carelesly that he leaueth his benefactour in suspence, whether hee saw or felt what was giuen him. An other scarce moueth his lips, and proueth more vngratefull than if hee had held his peace. That waight should our wordes haue as the greatnesse of our benefit requireth, and boldly should we say; *Thou hast obliged me more than thou thinkest.* For there is no man that is not contented to heare his curtesies amplified, and made great by good reports: *Thou canst not imagine how great the pleasure is thou hast done me, yet hope I to make it knowne vnto thee, how much more I prise thy good turne, than thou esteemest.* He that burdeneth himselfe with that which he hath receiued, is instantly gratefull as if he said thus. So much esteeme I the benefit which I haue receiued at your handes, that I shall neuer haue the meanes to make you satisfaction, at least wise I will publish this in all companies, that if I requite it not before I die, it shall only bee for this cause that I want meanes to make requitall.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

This Furnius was surnamed Cuius, and was Consul in Rome in the yere 1226

FVRNIVS neuer wonne *Augustus Cæsars* heart more, or knew better by any meanes to make him his owne (whereby he might compasse all that which hee demaunded at his hands) than at that time, when (hauing obtained his fathers pardon, who had beene a partie in *Antonius* action) he said vnto him: *Onely this one iniurie* (Great CAESAR) *haue I receiued at thy hands, which is, that by thy meanes I liue, and by thy meanes I die, without gratefull acknowledgement of that thankes I owe thee.* What mind may be more thankefull than his, who in no sort satisfieth himselfe with his owne thankefulnesse, but vtterly despaireth to equall the good he hath receiued? By these and such like speeches let vs so endeuor, that our will be not restrained or hidden, but be apparant and manifest euerie way. And although silence obscure our wordes, yet if we be so affected as we ought to be, our interior thoughts will appeare in our outward countenance. He that will be thankefull, no sooner receiueth the courtesie, but conceiueth and bethinketh him how he may make requitall. *Chrisippus* saith, That he that accepteth any friendship, resembleth him that is addressed and readie to runne for a wager, and standeth in the List, expecting the signall, whereupon hee might speedily set forward. And truely, he that receiueth, had need to be a swift footman and a great competitor, to the intent he may ouertake his benefactor, who began the race before him.

CHAP. XXVI.

Three principall causes of ingratitude, selfe-conceit, couetousnesse, and enuie.

LEt vs now consider and examine what most of all maketh men vngratefull. Truely it is either an ouer-weening of our selues, and an ingrafted error in men to admire and applaud both themselues and their actions, or else it is couetousnesse or enuie. Let vs begin with the first. There is no man but is a partiall and fauourable judge of himselfe: And thence it is, that he supposeth that hee hath deserued all things, and if any thing be giuen him, he receiueth it as a debt or dutie; and moreouer, supposeth himselfe to be disgraced, and vnder-valued. He gaue me this (saith he) but how late? But with how much trauaile and entreatie? How many more things might I haue obtained in the meane while, had I but fawned on such a man? or attended that? Or had I intended mine owne profit? I lookt not for this, I am numbred amongst the baser sort: Supposed he that my value and merit deserued so little? More honestly had hee dealt with me, had he presented me nothing at all.

CHAP. XXVII.

Ten thousand English crownes by our computation.

CNEVS LENTVLVS the Augur, whose wealth and riches no man could equall, before that his Franklins waxing wealthie and great, made him seeme poore, and in the wayning (for this man saw foure thousand *Sestertia* of his owne; and fitly said I so, for he did no more than see them) was as shallow in wit, as base in mind

mind and courage: For although he were as couetous as Couetousnesse it selfe, yet sooner vented he his money than his words; so weake and wanting was he in vttering what he should. This man being obliged to *Augustus* for all his aduancement and fortunes (to whose seruice he had brought nothing but distressed beggerie, vnder the title of Nobilitie) hauing obtained the gouernment in the Citie (both for the fauour he had with the Emperour, and the money held in his owne possession) was wont oftentimes to complaine himselfe vnto *Cæsar*, That he had retyred him from his studies, and that he had not giuen him so much as he himselfe had lost by giuing vp his studie of eloquence. And yet amongst other graces, *Augustus* had done this for him, that he had deliuered him from other mens scornes, and his owne fruitlesse labour. *But Couetousnesse consenteth not that a man should be thankfull: For vnbridled hope is neuer satisfied with that which is giuen. The more wee haue, the more wee couet; and couetousnesse engaged amidst a heape and multitude of riches, is more incensed and forward. Euen as the force of a flame is a thousand times more fiercer, the more violent and greater the fire is from whence it blazeth: So ambition suffereth not a man to rest vpon the measure of that honor which heretofore he would haue beene ashamed to haue wished for. No man giueth thankes for being aduanced to a Tribuneship, but complaineth, that he is not preferred to the dignitie of a Prætor: Neither doth this suffice him, but that he must needs be Consull: Neither will the Consulate content him, except he possesse it more than once: Ambition still presseth forward, and vnderstandeth not her owne felicitie, because shee respecteth not whence shee came, but whither she is addressed. Of all these vices which hinder our gratuitie, the most importunate and vehement is Enuie, which tormenteth and vexeth vs with comparisons of this nature: He bestowed thus much on me, but more vpon him, and more speedily also. Finally, the enuious man negotiateth no mans businesse, but fauoureth himselfe against all men.

*This agreeth with S. Gregories saying, and that of the Poet, Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.

*The endlesse desire of more is neuer glutted nor satisfied.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Remedies against the errors of those that receiue vnthankfully.

HOw much more wisely and vertuously were it done, to engreaten and dignifie a good turne receiued, and to consider and know, that no man is euer so well esteemed by another, as he esteemeth and prizeth himselfe. I should haue receiued farre more; but it was not for his ease to giue mee more: his liberalitie was to extend to more than my selfe. This is but a beginning: Let vs take it in good part, and vrge on his to further fauors, by shewing our selues thankefull for the good we haue receiued: He hath done but a little, but he will doe it often: He hath preferred that man before me, and me also hath he preferred before many others. This man cannot equall me either in vertue or honestie, yet in his carriage and actions he hath something more pleasing than is in me. By complaining my selfe I shall neuer be held worthie of a greater good, but shall rather shew, that I am vnworthie of that which I haue already receiued. There was more courtesie done to those lewd fellowes: What is this to the purpose? How seldome is Fortune bountifull with judgement? We daily complaine, that men that are least vertuous are most fortunate. Oft times the hayle and tempest that ouer-passed the lands of a wicked and vngodly man, hath beat downe the corne of the best and vprightest men. Each man (as in all other things,

thinges, so in friendship) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit so fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugne and detract; there is no curtelie so scanted and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplifie. Thou shalt neuer want a subiect or cause to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worser side.

CHAP. XXIX.

SEe, I pray you, how some men (yea, euen those who make a profession of wisedome) haue vniustly censured, and vnindifferently esteemed the goods, and those graces which they haue bestowed vpon vs. They complaine because wee equall not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force. They complaine that beasts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fairer haire, the Beare a thicker skinne, the Beuer a softer. They complaine that Dogges ouer-come vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crowes in out-liuing, and many other beasts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that some properties should bee vnited in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightinesse in strength) they suppose themselues iniured, because man was not composed of these diuers and dissident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue, and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of thinges to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselues from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits which we haue receiued at their handes, and to yeeld them thankes, for that it hath pleased them to alot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly thinges? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beasts, whereof wee haue the soueraigntie? All what soeuer nature denieth vs, thee cannot conueniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoeuer thou art that dost so vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bethinke thee how great blessings our soueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beasts more forcible than our selues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? how farre more swifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue we receiued, so many arts, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that very * instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attaineth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plentie of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of thinges heaped one vpon an other. Although thou take a view of all thinges, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou hadest rather bee, pick out such seuerall thinges as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well waighed the louing kindnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so is it indeede. The immortall Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could bee giuen) they

Those will be the better vnderstood if wee note that which Galen saith, in the beginning of his Treatise de vsu partium, where he saith, That those creatures whom nature endowed with forces to defend themselues from their enemies, are not endowed with swiftnesse to flie, as it appeareth in the Elephant. And contrariwise to those fore hath denied forces to defend themselues, them hath fore prouided of swiftnesse to flie from their contrarie, as for example the Hart and Hare.

** It is not intended that the same thing which the soule desireth should presently come to hand, but that by the meanes, and feeblerace, which is sodenly formed in the soule, it may enioy and vse the same in some manner.*

they haue placed vs next vnto themselues. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

CHAP. XXX.

He answereth to a fact obiection

THese things (my *Liberalis*) haue I thought necessarie to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits when we were discoursing on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great and worthie the requiting, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whome will hee confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoeuer therefore giueth instructions of thankfulnesse vnto men, negotiateth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpurueyed of nothing, and freed from the desire of affecting or couetingany thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thankelesse mind vpon his owne weakenesse or pouertie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou listest, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoeuer, because that he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same.

CHAP. XXXI.

Hee disputeth whether an interior thanks-giuing is sufficient to satisfie a benefit receiued.

IN my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoickes place amongst their extraordinarie Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulnesse, and vprightnesse, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate an act, yet may he be thankfull euen with his will and heart. As oft as any one compasseth and obtaineth his purpose, so often he reapeth the fruit of his labor. What purposeth he that bestoweth a benefit? To profit him to whom he giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If he hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with ioy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it beene no benefit, but a bargaine. Well hath he sayled that hath attained the Hauen whereunto he shaped his course. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: He that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thankfully; if it be well taken, he hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit

thinges, so in friendshipp) hath his chance and fortune. There is no benefit so fully good, that malignitie and enuie cannot impugne and detract; there is no curtelie so scanted and barren, but a good interpreter may enlarge and amplifie. Thou shalt neuer want a subiect or cause to complaine of, if thou behold benefits on the weaker and worser side.

CHAP. XXIX.

SEe, I pray you, how some men (yea, euen those who make a profession of wisedome) haue vniustly censured, and vnindifferently esteemed the goods, and those graces which they haue bestowed vpon vs. They complaine because wee equall not Elephants in bulke of bodie, Harts in swiftnesse, Birds in lightnesse, Bulls in force. They complaine that beasts haue substantialler hides than we, that fallow Deere haue a fairer haire, the Beare a thicker skinne, the Beuer a softer. They complaine that Dogges ouer-come vs in smelling, that Eagles in seeing, that Crowes in out-liuing, and many other beasts in facilitie of swimming. And whereas nature permitteth not, that some properties should bee vnited in one and the same creature (as that swiftnesse of bodie should be matched with mightinesse in strength) they suppose themselues iniured, because man was not composed of these diuers and dissident goods; and blame the Gods for neglecting vs, because they haue not giuen vs perpetuall health, inuincible vertue, and exemption from vices, and certaine fore-knowledge of thinges to come: yea and so farre are they plunged in impudencie, that they scarcely temper themselues from hating nature for making vs inferiour to the Gods, and not equall with them in their Diuinitie. How much more better were it for vs to returne and reflect vpon the contemplation of so many and so mightie benefits which we haue receiued at their handes, and to yeeld them thankes, for that it hath pleased them to alot vs a second place in this most beautifull house, and to make vs Lords of all earthly thinges? Is there any comparison betwixt vs and those beasts, whereof wee haue the soueraignetie? All whatsoeuer nature denieth vs, shee cannot conueniently bestow vpon vs. And therefore whosoeuer thou art that doest so vnder-value mans fortune and chance, bethinke thee how great blessings our soueraigne parent hath giuen vs. How many beasts more forcible than our selues haue wee yoked, and brought vnder our subiection? how farre more swifter creatures haue wee ouer-taken, and how no mortall thing is secured and exempted from our strokes and power. So many vertues haue we receiued, so many arts, and in conclusion, such a minde and spirit, that in that very * instant wherein it intendeth a thing, in a moment it attaineth the same, and more swifter than the starres fore-seeth long before the course and motion they are to obserue and hold in time to come. Finally, such a plentie of fruit, such store of wealth, and such abundance of thinges heaped one vpon an other. Although thou take a view of all thinges, and because thou findest no one thing intire which thou hadest rather bee, pick out such seuerall thinges as thou wouldest wish to be giuen thee out of them all. So when thou hast well waighed the louing kindnesse of nature, thou shalt bee forced to confesse, that thou wert her darling: And so is it indeede. The immortall Gods haue and doe loue vs intirely, and (which is the greatest honour that could bee giuen) they

Those will be the better vnderstood if wee note that which Galen saith, in the beginning of his Treatise de vsu partium, where he saith, That those creatures whom nature endowed with forces to defend themselues from their Enemies, are not endowed with swiftnesse to flie, as it appeareth in the Elephant. And contrariwise to those shee hath denied forces to defend themselues, them hath shee prouided of swiftnesse to flie from their contrarie, as for example the Hart and Hare.

* *It is not intended that the same thing which the soule desireth should presently come to hand, but that by the meanes, and semblance, which is seuerally formed in the soule, it may enioy and vse the same in some manner.*

they haue placed vs next vnto themselues. Great things haue we receiued, neither were we capable of greater.

CHAP. XXX.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) haue I thought necessarie to be spoken, both because it concerned me to say somewhat of great benefits when we were discoursing on small; and also because the boldnesse of this horrible vice floweth from thence into all other things. For vnto whom will he be thankfull for good turnes; or what benefit will he esteeme great and worthie the requiting, who despiseth the highest benefits? To whome will hee confesse himselfe indebted for his health and life, that denieth that he hath receiued his being from the Gods, to whom he prayeth daily for the same? Whosoeuer therefore giueth instructions of thankfulnesse vnto men, negotiateth the affaires of men and Gods; to whom, being vnpurueyed of nothing, and freed from the desire of affecting or coueting any thing, yet to them may men notwithstanding be both acknowledging and thankfull. There is no cause why any man should lay the blame of his thankelesse mind vpon his owne weakenesse or pouertie, and say, What shall I doe? How or when may I find any possibilitie to remunerate and acknowledge the benefits of my superiors, the Lords of all things? To requite is an easie matter: for if thou beest a niggard, thou mayest requite without expence; and if thou beest slouthfull, without labour. In that very moment wherein thou art obliged, if thou listest, thou mayest make euen with any man whatsoeuer, because that he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same.

He answereth to a secret obiection.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN my opinion, that doctrine (which the Stoickes place amongst their extraordinarie Paradoxes) is not so wonderfull and incredible, That he who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath restored the same. For in as much as we measure all things by the mind, looke how much a man is minded to doe, so much hath he done. And for as much as pietie, faithfulnesse, and vprightnesse, and finally all vertue, is perfect in it selfe, although a man could not remunerate an act, yet may he be thankfull euen with his will and heart. As oft as any one compasseth and obtaineth his purpose, so often he reapeth the fruit of his labor. What purposeth he that bestoweth a benefit? To profit him to whom he giueth the same, and to content and delight himselfe: If he hath finished that which he intended, and the good turne he intended me be come to my hands, and both of vs are mutually affected with ioy and contentment, he hath obtained that which he sought: For his intent was not to haue any thing in recompence, for then had it beene no benefit, but a bargaine. Well hath he sayled that hath attained the Hauen whereunto he shaped his course. The dart that hitteth the marke it was aymed at, hath performed the office of a steadie hand: He that doth a good turne, meaneth to haue it accepted thankfully; if it be well taken, he hath his desire. But he hoped for some profit thereby: This was no benefit

Hee disputeth whether an interior thanke-giuing is sufficient to satisfie a benefit receiued.

whose propertie is to thinke no wayes of remuneration. That which I receiued, if I accepted and entertained the same with the like good affection as it was giuen me, I haue requited it: otherwise the thing that of it selfe is best, were in worst case. To the end I should be thankefull, I am sent to Fortune: if I cannot satisfie for want of her succour, my good minde shall satisfie a good minde. What then? Shall I not endeuor my selfe to the vttermost to make recompence? Shall I not seeke opportunitie of time and matter, and labour to fill the bosome of him, at whose hands I haue receiued any thing? Yes. But yet the world went ill with good doing, if a man might not be thankfull, euen with emptie hands.

CHAP. XXXII.

That is Chrisippus.

An obiection & similitude against the precedent Paradox of the Stoicks.

HE that receiueth a good turne (sayth he) although he hath taken it with neuer so thankfull a mind, yet hath hee not consummated and performed his dutie: for there is a part which remaineth, which is of restitution. As at a Tennis-play it is somewhat to receiue the ball cunningly and diligently; but he is not tearmed a good gamester, except he be such a one as returneth and striketh backe the same as fitly and readily, as it was serued to him. This example is farre different and impertinent: And why? because the praise hereof is in the motion and agilitie of the bodie, not in the mind. And therefore it is requisite, that the whole should be layd forth at large, where the eye must be judge. Yet will I not for all that denie him to be a good gamester that receiueth the ball as he ought to doe, though he strike it not againe, so the fault bee not in himselfe. But although (sayth he) there be nothing deficient in the art of him that playeth, because he hath performed a part, and can likewise performe that part which he hath not done, yet is the game it selfe imperfect, which is consummated in taking and returning the ball backe againe by turnes. * I will no longer refell this; let vs suppose it to be so; let somewhat be deficient in the game, and not in the gamester: So in this also, whereof wee dispute, there wanteth somewhat in respect of the thing that was giuen, to which some condigne satisfaction is due, although in respect of the mind there be nothing deficient. a He that hath gotten a mind answerable to his owne, hath performed as much as in him lyeth that which he would.

* *Here he resolueth that question by Chrisippus one example.*

a *The bountifull minde that is seconded by a thankefull and gratefull minde, hath for his own part all that which is to be desired by him.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

HE hath giuen me a benefit, and I haue accepted it no otherwise than he himselfe would haue it receiued: Now hath he the thing that he sought, and the onely thing that he sought, I am gratefull. After this there remaineth the vse of me, and some profit from a gratefull man. This is not the remnant of an imperfect dutie, but an in-come and accession to a perfect one. *Phidias* maketh an Image: the fruit of his art and knowledge is one thing, the commoditie of his workemanship and labour another: The propertie of his art is to haue made the Statue, but of the workemanship to haue made it with profit. *Phidias* hath perfited his worke, although he hath not sold it: A three-fold profit reapeth he by his worke;

worke; the one in his conscience and conceit, and this he receiueth as soone as his worke is finished; the other of his fame; the third of his profit, which shall accrue vnto him either by sauour, or by sale, or by some other meanes. So the first fruit of a benefit is the conscience and contentment a man conceiueth, that he hath well finished the same; the second is of reputation; the third of those things which may be made reciprocall one vnto another. When as therefore a benefit is thankefully accepted; hee that bestowed it, hath alreadie receiued recompence, but not satisfaction as yet: I therefore owe that which is without the benefit, and in receiuing it kindly and thankfully, I haue satisfied the same.

Gratefull acceptance is a kinde of satisfaction.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Confirmations of the precedent Paradox.

VHat then? (saith he) hath he requited a fauor that hath done nothing? He hath done much, he hath repaied good will with as great good will, and (which is a certaine signe of friendship) he hath done it with an equall affection. Moreouer, a debt is satisfied one way, and a benefit another. Thou art not to expect that I will shew thee my payment. This affaire is managed from will to will. That which I say vnto thee shall not seeme harsh and distastfull to thee, although at first it fight against thine opinion, if thou conforme thy selfe vnto me, and imagine that there are more things than wordes. There are a great number of things without name, which we note not by their proper titles, but such as are both forraine and borrowed: We call the foot whereon we walke, a foot; the foot of a Bed, the foot of a Hanging, and the foot of a Verse: We call by the name of Dog, both a Hound, a Fish, and a Star: For we haue not words enow to giue a proper name vnto euery thing; and therefore when wee haue neede we borrow. Fortitude is a vertue that contemneth iust dangers: for it is a Science to repell perils, or to know how to sustaine them, or how to prouoke them: yet say wee, that a Fencer is a stout man, and a wicked slaue, whome rashnesse hath animated and enforced to contempt of death. Parsimonie is a Science to auoid extraordinarie expence, or an art to vse a mans estate and substance moderately; and yet we call him a very sparing man, which is of a niggardly and pinching mind, whereas notwithstanding there is infinite oddes betweene moderation and niggardize. These are of diuers natures, and yet for want of words we are enforced to call both the one and the other a Sparer; and him likewise strong who despiseth casualties with reason, as that other also, who runnes headlong vpon dangers without judgement. So a benefit, as wee haue said, is a bounteous action, and that very thing which is giuen by that action, as money, a house, a garment; the name of them both is all one, but the vertue and power of them farre different.

A benefite not only signifieth a bounteous action, but the thing whatsoeuer that is bountifully bestowed.

CHAP. XXXV.

GIue eare therefore, and thou shalt presently perceiue, that I say nothing that is contrarie to thy opinion. That benefit or good turne which is finished in the doing of it, is requited, if we take it thankfully. But for that other which is contained in the thing, we haue not yet requited it, but we intend to requite it: we haue

satisfied good will with good will, and we owe still a thing for a thing. Therefore, although we say, that he hath giuen thankes that hath willingly receiued a benefit, yet will wee him that hath receiued to restore some such like thing as he hath receiued. Some of the things we speake doe differ from common custome, and afterwards another way they grow in vse and custome againe. Wee denie, that a wise man receiueth any wrong, and yet the man that striketh him with his fist, shall be condemned of injurie and wrong doing. We denie, that a foole hath any goods of his owne, and yet if a man steale any thing from a foole, we will condemne him of felonie. * We say that all fooles be mad, and yet we cure them not all by *Eleborus*. Euen vnto those very men whome wee tearme mad we commit both Suffrages and Iurisdiction. So likewise say wee that he hath requited a good turne that hath receiued it with a good minde; but yet neuertheless wee leaue him still in debt, to make recompence euen when he hath requited. Our so saying is an exhortation, and not a remitting of the good turne. Let vs not feare, neither (being depressed with an intolerable burthen) let vs faint in mind. Goods are giuen me, my good name is defended, my miserie is taken from me, I enjoy life and libertie, deerer than life: And how shall I requite these things? When will the day come that I may shew him my good will againe? This is the day wherein he hath shewed his. Take vp the good turne, embrace it and be glad, make account that thou owest not that which thou hast receiued, but that which thou mayest requite. Thou shalt not aduenture on so great a thing, as that mischance may make thee vnthankfull. I will propose no difficultie vnto thee: be of good courage, shrinke not for feare of paines and long seruitude: I delay thee not, it may be done with things that thou hast alreadie. Thou shalt neuer be thankefull except thou be instantly: What wilt thou therefore doe? Must thou take armes? Perchance thou must: Must thou sayle ouer seas? Likely yes: and euen then also when the stormes threaten thee with shipwracke. But wilt thou restore a benefit?

Take it thankefully, and thou hast requited it; not so
as thou shouldst thinke that thou hast payed
the same, but so as thou mayest
owe it with the more
hearts-ease.

* *A Stoicall opinion.*

The end of the second Booke.

LV-

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
Of Benefits.
THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE discourseth of vngratefull men, what they be, and whether they are to be punished, or called before the Iudge. He denieth it by a curious disputation, and addeth, that their punishment is in hatred, infamie, and in the minde it selfe. Afterwards vpon occasion hee debateth whether a Lord should be gratefull to his slaue? Of receiuing a benefit at his handes? He affirmeth, and that very plentifully, because in those daies there was often vse of seruants. Hereunto he annexeth, whether the Sonne giueth but Father a benefit? He disputeth on both sides, but affirmeth the affirmatiue.

CHAP. I.

NOT to render thankes for benefits receiued (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) is both lothsome in it selfe, and hatefull in all mens opinion. And therefore such as are themselues vngratefull, complaine of vngratefull men: and so are we fashioned and addressed to the contrarie of that we ought to doe, that there are some who become our Capitall enemies, not only after benefits receiued, but for the very fauours they receiue. I cannot denie but that this hapneth vnto some by reason of the corruption of their nature: to many, because that the interposition of time extinguisheth the remembrance. For those thinges that were fresh in memorie with them, while they were newly done, doe in processe of time weare out of remembrance. Concerning which sort of men, I know that thou and I haue otherwhiles disputed, whereas thou maintainedst that it were better to call them forgetfull than vngratefull. Shall he therefore be excused of ingratitude because he hath forgotten, when as no man can forget, except he be vngratefull? There are many sorts of vngratefull men, as there are of Theeues and Murtherers, whose fault is one, but in the parts there is great varietie. Ingratefull is he who denieth that hee hath receiued a good turne, which hath beene done him:

That which is complained of by all men, is extolled by most men.

He termeth all sinne equall, according to the doctrine of the Stoickes, but all the Fathers and Christian religion teacheth otherwise.

him: Ingratefull is he that diſſembleth: Ingratefull is he that maketh not reſtitution: and the moſt vngratefull of all is he, that forgetteth a fauour hath beene ſhewen him. For they, although they requite not, yet are they indebted, and ſome certaine impreſſion of the good turne (hoarded vp in their corrupt conſciences) is extant with them. And vpon ſome cauſe they may at length diſpoſe themſelues to gratuitie, if either ſhame ſhall put them in minde, or ſome ſodaine deſire to proceede honourably: ſuch as for a time is wont to awaken it ſelfe in men of the worſt diſpoſition, if any eaſie occaſion ſhould inuite them. But neuer can hee become thankefull who hath forgotten the whole benefit. And whether thinkeſt thou him worſer, in whom the thankes of a good turne is loſt, or him in whom the very remembrance periſheth? Faultie are thoſe eies that feare the light, but blind are they that ſee not at all. Not to reuerence and loue ones Parents is impietie, and not to acknowledge them is madneſſe. Who is more vngratefull than hee, who hauing receiued ſuch a curteſie as hee ought to treaſure vp in the formoſt part of his memorie, and continually meditate thereon, hath laid it ſo farre a-ſide, and neglected it, that he groweth wholly ignorant thereof? It appeareth that he neuer bethought him of reſtitution, that ſuffered obliuion ſo farre to vſurpe vpon him.

CHAP. II.

IN a word, to the requiting of a good turne there needeth vertue, time, abilitie, and fauourable fortune. Hee that remembreth a friend is thankefull without expence: Hee that performeth not this (which to atchieue neither requireth labour, nor charge, nor felicitie) hath no couert or patronage to conceale himſelfe in. For neuer meant he to be thankefull, who caſt a benefit ſo farre from him, that it neither ſuruiued in his ſight, nor his remembrance. Euen as thoſe things which are in vſe, and are managed and handled daily, are neuer in danger of ſoile or ruſting; and thoſe which are out of ſight, and vſe (ſo as they haue lien by, as vnneceſſarie) doe gather ſoile by continuance of time: So that which frequent cogitation exerciſeth and reneweth, is neuer wrought out of memorie, which looſeth and forgetteth nothing, but that, which ſhee reſpecteth and looketh not back vnto verie often.

An apt compariſon.

CHAP. III.

BEſides this cauſe there are other alſo, which ſometimes conceale the greateſt merits from vs. The firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of all others, is this; that being alwaies continually buſied with new deſires, we haue an eie and regard, not to that we haue, but what we require, intentiue, not on that which is in our preſent poſſeſſion, but on that wee affect and fancie moſt. For whatſoeuer is at our command, is baſe and contemptible. Whence it followeth, that as ſoone as the deſire of new thinges hath made that light which wee haue receiued, the Author alſo thereof is ſlenderly reſpected. So long as thoſe thinges which a great Lord hath giuen vs, haue beene pleaſing and well-liking vnto vs, we haue loued and courted him, and confeſſed openly that our ſtate was founded and raiſed by him,

Beſides forgetfulneſſe, hee ſetteth downe other cauſes of ingratitude.

him; but if any new ambition aſſault vs, if our minde fall into admiration of other thinges, and earneſtly affect the ſame, (as the manner of mortall men is, after great things to deſire greater) we ſtraight waies forget that which in times paſt we called a benefit: we neither reſpect or looke into thoſe thinges, which haue aduanced vs before others, but thoſe things only wherein other men haue had the fortune to out-ſtrip vs. But it is impoſſible for any man, both to repine and enuie, and to be thankefull: for enuie, is the propertie of a complaining and diſcontented man, but to giue thankes is the propertie of him that is well pleaſed. The ſecond cauſe of ingratitude is, becauſe none of vs make any accompt, but of that preſent time, which ſpeedily paſſeth and fleeteth before our eies; and few or none are they that caſt back their minds to thinke on things paſt. By meanes hereof it falls out, that Schoole-maſters, and their good deedes, are buried in obliuion, becauſe we wholly looſe the remembrance of our infancie. Hereby it commeth to paſſe, that wee forget all thoſe thinges which are beſtowed vpon vs in our youth, becauſe we neuer thinke vpon the ſame. No man accompteth that which he hath beene, as it were a thing paſt, but as a thing loſt. Thus the deſire and apprehenſion of thinges to come, defaceth the memorie of thinges paſt.

CHAP. IIII.

IN this place muſt I giue teſtimonie of the Epicures vpright iudgement, who continually complaineth, for that we are ingratefull in regard of things paſt, for that we recall not to memorie whatſoeuer benefits we haue receiued, neither number them amongſt pleaſures, when as there is none more certaine contentment, than that which cannot any more be taken from vs. The goods and pleaſures that are preſent are not as yet wholly aſſured; ſome caſualtie may intercept and cut them off. Thoſe thinges that are to come, are vncertaine and doubtfull: That which is paſt is laid a-ſide amongſt thoſe thinges that are in ſafetie. How then can any man acknowledge the good that is done him, who hath forgotten the whole courſe of his life? The apprehenſion and conſideration of things preſent, and the memorie of thinges paſt, maketh a man grateſull; He that attributeth moſt to Hope, yeeldeth leaſt to Memorie.

The remembrance of kindneſſe receiued, ought to be numbred amongſt the greateſt pleaſures.

CHAP. V.

EVen as (my *Liberalis*) there are certaine thinges which being once apprehended, continue ſtill in memorie, and ſome thinges that to know them, it is not ſufficient to haue learned them, (for the ſcience of them is forgotten, except it bee continued) I meane Geometrie, and the courſe of Coeleſtiall things; and of ſuch which by their ſubtiltie doe eaſily ſlip out of our memories: So the greatneſſe of ſome benefits ſuffer them not to bee forgotten. Some leſſer and more in number, and diuers in time, are eaſily buried in obliuion; Becauſe, as I ſaid, we handle them not often, neither willingly acknowledge what we owe vnto euerie man. Hearken what ſpeeches ſutors and ſuppliants vſe: There is not any of them, but ſaith, that hee will for euer keepe in minde the fauour done him;

euery

euery man protesteth and voweth himselfe to be at commandement, and if any more submissiue speech, whereby he may engage himselfe, may be found out, he spareth it not. But within a little while after, those Gallants esteeme their former wordes as too base and illiberall: and finally, they grow to that point (which as I suppose euery one the lewdest, and most vngratefullest attaineth vnto) that is, to forget the same. For euen as vngratefull is hee that forgetteth, as he is gratefull that remembreth him of a benefit.

CHAP. VI.

He concludeth the negatiue part, the approueth that which is concluded.

YEt the question is whether this so hatefull vice should bee left vnpunished? and whether this law which is exercised in declamatorie Schooles, should be ratified also in the Cities, whereby a man may call an ingratefull man in question? Sure it seemeth a matter worthie the censure of iustice, in all mens iudgements. Why not? since certaine Cities also, haue reproched other Cities for the loanes and fauours they haue done them, and redemand from posteritie that which they haue lent to their predecessours. Our Ancestors, those mightie and vertuous men, required satisfaction only from their enemies; as for their benefits, they gaue them with a great minde, and lost them with as great. There is not any Nation in the world, except the *Medes*, that haue thought fit to impleade an ingratefull man, or call him in question. And this is a great reason why none should be granted, because by mutuall consent we punish misdeeds; and for Murther, Witchcraft, Paricide, and breach of Religion, haue here and there enacted diuers punishments, and in all places some: but this most frequent crime is no where punished, and euery where improued. Neither absolue we the same: but whereas the iudgement of a thing vncertaine is difficult, wee haue only condemned it with hatred, and left it amongst those thinges which we referre to the iustice and iudgement of the Gods.

CHAP. VII.

Reasons to approue that ingratitude is not punishable by Law.

BVt many reasons offer themselues vnto mee, whereby it appeareth that this errour and crime is not punishable by Law. First of all, the better part of the benefit should perish, if a man should haue an action allowed him, as hee hath for lending money, or for bargaines of hyring, and letting out. For this is the greatest grace of a benefit, that we haue giuen it, although we should loose it, that we haue referred all to the curtesie of the receiuers. If I arrest him, and call him before the Iudge, it beginneth to bee a debt, and not a benefit. Againe, whereas it is a most commendable thing to requite, it ceaseth to be honest, if it be of necessitie. For no man will commend a thankefull person, more than him that hath restored a thing which was committed him to keepe, or discharged his debt without being sued. Thus corrupt and deface wee two thinges (than which in humane life there is nothing more worthie) that is to say, a gratefull man, and a bountifull giuer. For what honour, I pray you, shall hee haue in this, if hee giueth not a benefit, but lendeth it? or in that, if hee requite, not because hee will, but because hee must of necessitie? It is no glorious thing to bee gratefull,

gratefull, except it be a matter vnpunishable to be vngratefull: moreouer, this inconuenience would ensue, that all Courts would scarcely serue, and suffice this one law only; who is he that might not sue? who is he that might not bee sued? all men prise and praise their owne doings, all men enlarge those thinges they haue employed vpon others, be they neuer so little. Besides, whatsoeuer things fall into knowledge of the Iudges, may bee comprehended by them without giuing them infinite licence and libertie. And therefore the condition of a good cause seemeth to be better if it be restored to a Iudge, than if it bee remitted to compromise, because the Iudge is bound vnto an order, and hath his certaine bounds limited him, which he may not exceede; But the Vmpieres conscience being free and tied to no termes, may both adde, and take away, and order the sentence, not as law and iustice counselleth, but according as humanitie and pittie shall moue. An action of ingratitude would not oblige the Iudge, but set him at libertie to rule thinges as he listed. For it is not certaine what a benefit is; againe, how great soeuer it bee, it were much to the matter how fauourably the Iudge would construe it. No law defineth what an vnthankefull person is. Oft-times he that hath restored as much as he hath receiued, is vnthankefull, and hee that hath not requited, is thankefull. There bee some matters also which some vnskilfull Iudge may dismisse the Court of, as in cases where the parties confesse a deede, or no deede, where the opening of the euidence dispatcheth all doubts. But when as Reason must giue iudgment betweene two persons which debate, there ought our vnderstanding to vse coniecture and diuination: and when as a thing which only wisedome ought to determine, falleth in controuersie, a man cannot (in that case) take a Iudge of the number of those whom the Praetor chooseth, and such a one as is inrolled in the Register of the Iudges; because he hath therents and riches which a Romaine Knight ought to haue.

The Romaine Praetor was wont to commit some affaires of importance to bee determined to a certaine number of chosen men, selected out of the order of Knights.

CHAP. VIII.

THis thing therefore seemed not to bee very vnmeete to bee made a matter in law, but that no man could be found to be a competent Iudge in the case; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou consider throughly what puzzell and difficultie hee should finde who should enter into the ouer-ruling of such cases. Some one hath giuen a great summe of money; but such a one as is rich; but such a one as shall not feele the want thereof. An other hath giuen, but with the hazard of forgoing his whole inheritance. The summes are alike, but the benefit is not the same: Yea, let vs adde yet further; This man laid downe money for him that was adjudged a slaue vnto his creditour; but where hee had it at home lying by him. That other gaue as much; but hee tooke it vp vpon interest; or borrowed it with much intreatie; or deeply indangered himselfe to him that lent it. Thinkest thou that there was no difference betwixt him that bestowed his benefit at his ease, and that other that borrowed to giue the same? Some thinges are made great in time, and not the greatest. It is a benefit to giue possession whose fertilitie may ease the dearth of corne; one loafe of bread in time of scarcitie is a benefit. It is a benefit to giue whole Regions, through which many Riuers may runne able to beare ships. It is a benefit to those that are dried vp with thirst, and scarce able to draw them breath through their dried

dried jawes to shew them a fountaine: who shall distinguish these one from an other? who shall waigh them throughly? hard is the determination of that case, which requireth the force of a thing, and not the thing it selfe. Although they be the same, yet being differently giuen, they waigh not alike. This man did me a good turne, but he did it vnwillingly; but hee complained that he gaue it, but he beheld me more proudly than he was accustomed, but he gaue it so late, that it had beene better for me if he had quickly denied me. How can a Iudge make an estimate of these thinges? whereas the speech, the doubt, and the countenance of a man may destroy the grace of his merit?

CHAP. IX.

WHat shall wee say of some thinges, which because they are much desired, are held for benefits? and of others, which are not esteemed by the common sort, for such, although they are greater then they seeme. Thou callest it a benefit to haue giuen a man the freedome of a most rich and wealthy Citie, to haue made a man a Knight, and to haue placed him on the *fourteenth scaffold, destinated for the Romaine Knights, to behold the plaies and publique spectacles? and to haue defended him vpon an indictment of life and death: but what thinke you of it to haue giuen a man good counsaile? to haue hindered him from executing a wicked enterprise? to haue wrung the sword out of his hand, where-with hee would haue slaine himselfe? to haue comforted him in his sorrow by holesome counsailes? and to haue brought him back to the fellowship of life, from his willfull seeking and longing to accompanie his deceased friends in death: what thinke you it to be, to sit by a sick-mans bed, and since his euill came by fits and at certaine houres, to haue waighted a fit time to giue him meate? and to haue bathed his veines with wine when he fainted? to haue brought him a Phisitian euen then when hee exspected to die? who is hee that can iustly value these thinges? what Iudge shall he be that shall command these benefits to be recompenced with the like? Some man perchance hath giuen thee a house, but I haue foretold thee that thine owne is falling downe on thy head. Hee hath giuen thee a patrimonie: but I a planck to floate vpon, and saue thy life in shipwrack. He hath fought and hath beene wounded for thy cause: but I haue giuen thee thy life by my silence on the rack. Whereas a benefit is giuen one way, and recompenced an other: it is a hard matter to make them equall.

* These degrees or places of Knighthood amongst the Romaines were not obtained by antiquitie, but diligence and fauor: so may you gather from our Author here, and from Iustus Lipsius, lib. de Amphitheatro cap. 14.

CHAP. X.

FVrthermore, there is no day limited for recompencing a good turne, as there is for money lent: he therefore that hath not as yet requited, may requite. For tell me in what time may a man discouer an other to bee vngratefull? The greatest benefits haue no probation at all, they for the most part are hidden in the consciences of two. Shall wee bring the world to that passe that wee may not doe a good turne without testimonie? What punishment then shall we destinate for the vnthankefull? shall we prefixe one for all, where the benefits are different? or vnequall punishments, either greater or lesser, according to each mans benefit?

nefite? Goe to then; let the penaltie bee pecuniarie: why? Some benefits concerne life and are more greater than life; what penaltie will you propound against them? lesse than the benefit? that were not indifferent: equall, and to a pitall? what more inhumane, than that the issue of benefits should bee bloudie?

CHAP. XI.

CErtaine priuiledges (saith he) are giuen vnto Parents. And as there is an extraordinarie consideration had of these, so is it reasonable also that a respect should be had of other benefits. We haue hallowed and sacred the condition of Parents, because it was expedient that children should be bred and brought vp. They were to be encouraged to this trauell, because they were to vnder-goe an vncertaine fortune. It could not be said vpto them, which is spoken vnto those that giue benefits. *Be warie in thy choice to whom thou giuest: if thou hast beene once deceiued, seeke out hence-forward such a one as is worthie of thy benefits, and sufficient him.* In breeding and bringing vp children, the Parents iudgement preuaileth little, all that they may doe is but to wish well, and hope the best. Therefore that they might the more willingly aduenture this chance, it was reason that some prerogatiue should be giuen them. Againe, the case standeth otherwise with Parents, for they both doe and will bestow benefits vpon their children, although they haue done neuer so much for them alreadie: and it is not to bee feared that they will belie themselues in giuing. In others it ought to bee examined, not only whether they haue receiued, but also whether they haue giuen. But the merits of these consist in their confession, and because it is requisite for youth to be ruled, we haue constituted, as it were, certaine domesticall Magistrates ouer them, vnder whose gouernement they should bee restrained. Againe, the benefits of all Parents was equall and alike, and therefore it might be valued after one rate, but the rest were diuers, vnlike, and infinite oddes was betweene them, and therefore could they fall vnder no compasse of Law; so that it was more fitting to let them all alone, than to make them all equall.

CHAP. XII.

SOme things cost the giuers much, and some are much worth to the receiuers, and yet stand the giuers in nothing. Certaine curtesies are done to friends, some to strangers, and (although the gift be one) yet is it better imploied on him that then thou began'st to know, when thou vndertookest to succour him. This man giueth succours, that ornament; these other consolations. Thou shalt finde some that imagine nothing more pleasing in this world, or more great and agreeable, than to haue a friend that may succour, and to whom hee may discouer his miseries and calamities. Againe, you shall finde some man more ielous of his Honour, than his Securitie, and other some that suppose themselues more indebted to him, by whose meanes they may liue in repose, than to him by whose meanes they might liue in some honor and estimation. These things therefore would fall out greater or lesser, according as the Iudges minde were bent to the one or to

As the qualities of benefits are diuers: so also are they diuersly esteemed by those that receiue them.

to the other. Besides I choose my selfe a creditor: I often-times receiue a benefit at his handes, from whom I would not; and sometimes I am obliged ere I know thereof. What wilt thou doe? wilt thou call him vngratefull that had a good turne cast vpon him before hee knew it; and if hee had knowne thereof would not haue receiued it? and wilt thou not terme him vnthankefull which howsoeuer he receiued thy good turne, in no sort requited it?

CHAP. XIII.

SOme man hath done mee a friendship, and afterwards the same man hath offered me an injurie. Whether am I tied by one curtesie to suffer all injuries? or shall I be acquit, as if I had acknowledged the same, because hee hath defaced his former benefit by his succeeding injurie? how then canst thou determine whether the pleasure he hath receiued be greater, or the outrage that is afterwards offered him? The day would faile me if I should attempt to prosecute euery difficultie. Wee (saith hee) make men slower to doe good, when wee challenge not the things that are giuen, but suffer the deniers to escape vnpunished. But you must bethinke your selfe of this also on the contrarie part, that men will bee much loather to receiue benefits, if they should stand in perill of processe thereby, and if their innocence be no waies assured. Moreouer, by this meanes we our selues shall become loather to doe men good, for no man willingly giueth vnto those, who are vnwilling to receiue. But whosoeuer is prouoked to pleasure others of his owne good nature, and for the worthinesse of the thing it selfe, will giue willingly also euen vnto such as shall thinke themselues no more beholding to him than they list: For the glorie of that office is diminished, which carrieth a promise with it.

If vngratefull receiuers should be punished, few would entertaine benefits.

CHAP. XIIII.

SO shall there be fewer benefits; yea but they shall be truer. And what harme is it to haue the rashnesse of benefiting restrained? For this euen intended they that constituted no law for the same: that we should more circumspectly giue, and carefully choose those on whom wee bestowed our fauours. Consider diligently to whom thou giuest, so shall there be no suing, so shall there be no calling backe or repetition. Thou art deceiued if thou thinke that any Iudge can helpe thee. There is no Law that is able to set thee cleare againe. Only haue thou an eie to the thankefulnesse of the receiuer. By these meanes benefits hold their authoritie, and are magnificent: thou defilest them if thou make them a matter of law: In debt it is a most iustifiable speech, and answerable to the law of all Nations, to say, *Pay that which thou owest*. But this is the foulest word in benefiting that can be, to say, *Pay*: For what shall he pay? He oweth his Life, his Greatnesse, his Honours, the assurance of his Fortune, his Health. The greatest things cannot be requited. At leastwise (saith he) let him repay somewhat of like value. This is it that I said, that the estimation of so noble a thing should perish, if we make a merchandize of benefits. The minde is not to be incited to Auarice, to Processe,

cesse, or Debate: he runneth into these things of his owne accord. Let vs withstand them as much as we can, and cut off the occasions of complaining.

CHAP. XV.

I Would to God we could perswade them not to receiue againe the mony they had lent, saue only of such as were willing to repay. Would to God the buyers were neuer obliged to the sellers by any promise, nor bargaines and couenants were ratified vnder hand and seale; but that faith should rather keepe them, and a minde obseruing equitie. But men haue preferred profit before honestie, and had rather in force others to be faithfull, than behold them faithfull. Witnesses are employed, both on the one and the other side. This man lendeth his money vpon interest to many, whom he causeth to be bound by publique instruments. That other is not contented with sureties, except he haue a pawne in hand. O loathsome confession of humane fraud, and publique wickednesse. Our seales are more set by than our soules. To what purpose are these Worshipfull men called to record? why set they to their handes? namely, least hee should denie that which he had receiued. Thinkest thou these men to bee vpright, and that they would maintaine a truth? yea, but if they themselues would instantly borrow money of any man, they cannot get it, except they be obliged after the same manner. Had it not beene more honestie to let some passe with the breach of their credit, than that all men should be mistrusted of vnthankefulnesse, and perfidiousnesse. Auarice wanteth but one only thing, which is, That we should doe no man good without suretiship. It is the propertie of a generous and magnificent minde to helpe and profit others; he that giueth benefits, imitateth the Gods; he that redemandeth them, is as the Vsurers. Why then abase wee our selues to those vilest sort of rake-hells, by resembling them?

He reprehendeth the little faith and double dealing of men.

CHAP. XVI.

BVt if no action be liable against an vngratefull person, the number of the vngratefull will bee the more? nay rather they will bee the lesse; for men will bee more aduised in bestowing their benefits. Againe, it is not expedient to haue it knowne to the world, what a number of vnthankefull persons there be: For the multitude of offenders will take away the shame of the deed, and a common crime will cease to be accompted a reproch: Is there almost any woman in these daies that is ashamed of diuorce, since the time that certaine of the noble Ladies, and Gentle-women, haue made accompt of their yeares, not by the number of Consuls, but by the number of their husbands; and depart from them to bee married, and are married to bee diuorced? So long as diuorce was rare, so long was it feared, but after that few or no marriages were continued without diuorce, the often hearing of it taught them to vse it. Is any woman now a-daies ashamed of whordome, since the world is growne to that passe, that few take a husband but to cloake their whoredomes? Chastitie is an argument of deformitie, where shall a man finde a woman so miserable, or so loathsome, that will

The multitude of offenders cloudeth and maketh the crime lesse odious.

I pray God these Pagan errors together with diuorce bee not crept into England.

content her selfe with one paire of adulterers? except shee haue for euery houre one, and yet the day is not long enough to suffice all; except shee be carried to one friend, and dine with an other, nay shee doteth, and is too much of the old stampe, that knowes not that the keeping of one Lemman is good wedlocke. Like as the shame of these faults is vanished at this day, since the sinne beganne to get large scope, so shalt thou make the thankelesse sort both more and more bold, if they may once beginne to number themselues.

CHAP. XVII.

The punishment of ingratitude is contempt of all men.

The miserie of an vngratefull receiuer.

What then? shall the thankelesse person escape vnpunished? what then? shall he be vnchasticed that hath no pietie? the malicious, the couetous, hee that followeth and feedeth his owne desires, hee that delighteth in cruelties? Thinkest thou that they shall be vnpunished which are so hatefull? or supposest thou that any punishment is more grieuous than publique hatred? It is a punishment that he dare not take a good turne at any mans handes, that hee dare not doe a good turne to any, that he is a gazing-stock to all men, or at leastwise supposeth himselfe to be so, and that he hath lost the vnderstanding of the thing that was singularly good, and singularly sweet. Callest thou him vnhappie that wanteth his eye-light? or him whose eares are deafned by the meanes of sickenesse? and doest thou not accompt him wretched, that hath lost the force of benefits? He feareth the Gods, who are witnesses against all vngratefull men, the knowledge he hath how he is entercepted and excluded from benefiting, or doing curtesies, burneth and vexeth him inwardly: finally, this very punishment is great enough for him, that (as I said before) hee cannot reape the fruit and enjoy so pleasant a thing. But he that is delighted, and contented in that he hath receiued a good turne, enjoyeth equall and perpetuall pleasure, and rejoyceth in beholding the mind of him that gaue, and not the thing was giuen. A good turne continually delighteth a thankefull man, an vngratefull man but once. Besides this, let either of their liues bee compared with other. The one is alwaies sad and sorrowfull, and walketh like a cheater, and fraudulent person, who respecteth not the dutie hee oweth to his Parents which begot him, nor of those friends that bred him vp, nor of those Masters which instructed him. The other is alwaies joyfull and merrie, expecting an occasion to yeeld satisfaction, and conceiuing a great ioy in this very affection, not seeking meanes to make that appeare lesse which he hath receiued, but how hee may satisfie more fully and honorably, not only his Parents and Friends, but also other persons of meaner reckoning. For although hee hath receiued a benefit at his bond-mans hands, he considereth not from whom, but what he hath receiued.

CHAP. XVIII.

Although it be a question amongst some (amongst whom *Hecaton* is one) whether a bond-man can benefit his Master or no. For there are some that distinguish after this manner. That certaine thinges are benefits; certaine, duties, and certaine, seruices. They say that we ought to call that a benefit which we receiue from a stranger,

stranger, and we terme him a stranger that is not borne to doe vs any pleasure, except he please: They name that, dutie, which appertaineth properly to a Sonne, a Wife, and those persons who are prouoked by alliance, and tied by offices, to assist. They terme that, seruice, which belongeth to a slaue or bond-man, who is brought to this exigent by the condition of his fortune, so that he cannot in any sort challenge his Superiour for any thing, what soeuer hee hath done vnto him. This notwithstanding whosoeuer denieth, that bond-men may not sometimes doe their Masters a good turne, is ignorant of the Law of Nature, for it concerneth vs to consider, of what minde he is that giueth the benefit, not of what state or calling. Vertue hideth her selfe from no man, shee entertaineth and accepteth all men, shee inuiteth all; Gentlemen, Francklins, Bond-men, Kings, and banished Men; shee chooseth neither house nor reuenue, but is contented with the bare name. For what safeguard should there be against casualties, or what great thing could the minde promise it selfe, if fortune could change a certaine and setled vertue? if the bond-man giueth not a benefit to his Master, neither doth any Subject to his King, nor Souldier to his Captaine, for what skilleth it, in what state of subiection a man be, if he be vnder one which is Soueraigne? For if necessitie, and feare of extremitie doe barre a bond-man from attaining the name of desert, the same also will barre him that is vnder a King, or a Captaine, who haue the like power ouer him, although it be vnder a different Title: but men gratifie their Kings, and giue benefits to their Captaines, therefore slaues may doe curtesies to their Masters: A bond-man may be just, valiant, and couragious; *Ergo*, he may also giue a benefit. For this proceedeth only from vertue, and so may bond-men giue their Masters benefits, as they haue often-times made them their benefits. There is no doubt but that a bond-man may doe a curtesie to any man, why then may he not giue fauour and pleasure to his owne Master?

He reproueth this opinion and proueth the contrarie.

CHAP. XIX.

Obiections against the aboue said reasons.

All good offices in a slaue are but duties and no benefits.

Because (saith he) hee cannot become his Masters creditor, if hee should giue him his money; yet otherwise he daily obligeth his Master vnto him: he followeth him in his iournies, he ministreth vnto him in his sicknesses, hee reuerenceth him with great care, and labour: yet all these (which would bee thought benefits if an other should doe them) are but seruices as long as a bond-man doeth them. For that is a benefit (and is only rightly so called) that a man doeth, who was at libertie not to doe it. But a bond-man hath not the power of refusall, thus giueth he, and lendeth he nothing, but is only obedient to that which is commanded him: neither can hee boast of his doing, because he could not refuse to doe the same. Euen vnder these termes will I conquer thee, and confute thy opinion, and so farre will I plead the bond-mans cause, that in diuers acts he shall be esteemed free. Meane while, I pray you tell me, if I shew you a slaue fighting couragiously without feare of death, in defence of his Masters life, and without respect of his owne, wounded with infinite blowes, yet suffering his bloud to streame from his deepe wounds, euen to the last and vttermost drops; to the end that his Master in the meane time may finde an opportunitie to escape, purchasing the meanes by his owne death, to winne so much time as

he may, to saue his Masters life: Wouldest thou denie that he did his Master a friendship, because he is his bond-man? If I shew thee one, that by no tyrannicall premises could be corrupted, or threats terrified, or torments feared, to bewray his Masters secrets; but as much as in him lay, remoued all suspicions that were surmised, and employed all his forces to expresse his faith: wouldest thou denie (because he was a bond-man) that he did his Master a good turne? See rather, if it be not so much the greater kindnes, as the example of vertue is rather in bond-men; & consequently, so much the more worthy thanks: for that whereas superiority is commonly hated, and all constraint esteemed grieuous, yet the loue of some one toward his Master, hath surmounted the common hatred of bondage. So then, for that cause it ceaseth not to be a benefite because it proceeded from a bond-man: but therefore is it greater, because bondage it selfe could not deterre him from doing the same.

CHAP. XX.

THee is deceiued, whosoeuer thinketh that seruitude taketh possession ouer the whole man: the better part of him is exempted. The bodies are bred and subiect to their Masters, but the minde is priuiledged in it selfe: it is so free and restlesse, that it cannot be restrained in this prison, wherein it is inclosed: it cannot be held from vsing his forces, & performing great matters, & passing beyond all bounds, as companion of the celestiall Gods. It is the body therefore that Fortune hath submitted to the Master, This bought he, this selleth he: that interior part cannot be bought or sold, or suffer seruitude. What soeuer issueth from that is free: for neyther can we command them all things, neyther can our bond-men be compelled to obey vs in all things: they are not bound to execute that which shall be preiudiciall for the common weale: they are not tyed to assist any wicked and insolent action.

CHAP. XXI.

He yeeldeth a direct answer to the former reply.

THere are certaine things which the lawes neither command, nor forbid to be done: in these hath a bond-man matter of benefite. As long as he doth that which his Master may iustly command him to do, it is called and is seruice; when more then is necessary for a seruant to doe, a benefite: when it passeth into the affection of a friend, it ceaseth to be called a seruice. There are certaine things which a Master is bound to furnish his seruant with, namely, with meate, and drinke, and rayment: but no man will call this a benefite. But if he haue giuen him all that he would, if he haue nourished him as a free-man, if he haue instructed him in the liberall sciences: this ought to be called a benefite. The same contrariwise may be said in the person of a bond-man: whatsoeuer it be that exceedeth the duty and rule of a bond-mans seruice, it is not done of awe and command, but voluntarily and willingly, is a benefite, prouided alwayes, that it be such, that it may merrit the name, when another forraine person shall do it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Bondman (as *Chrysippus* saith) is a perpetuall hireling, now euen as he giueth a benefit, when he performeth more then that daies worke to which he was hired; so when as the bond-man (by reason of the loue and affection hee beareth his Master) surpasseth the termes of his miserable fortune, and performeth some extraordinarie and braue enterprise, which might bee held honorable in one more happily borne, and surmounteth the hope and expectation of his Master, then is it a benefit, which is found in his owne house. Seemeth it a matter iust and indifferent to thee, that if wee bee displeased with those that doe lesse then their dutie, we should not be thankefull vnto them, that performe more then either they should or are accustomed? wilt thou know when it is no benefit? then it is, when it may be said, what if he would not doe it? But when he performeth that which he might lawfully refuse; it is praise-worthie in him that he had a will to doe it. A benefit and an injurie are contraries. The slaue may pleasure his Master, if he may receiue an injurie at his hands: And yet there is an expresse Iudge appointed to heare the complaint of bond-men against their Masters, who may contract and represse their crueltie, lust, and hard dealing; and chastise the couetousnesse of those Lords, who refuse to allow their slaues ordinarie food, and necessarie garments. What then? doth the Master receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? ye, a man, from a man: To conclude, he hath done that which was in his power, hee hath giuen his Master a benefit; it is in thy choice whether thou wilt receiue it from a bond-man. But who is so great whom fortune may not compell to stand in need euen of the basest and poorest of his people? Now will I relate many and different examples of benefits, and some also contrarie to one another. Some one slaue hath saued his Masters life, another also gaue him his death. An other hath deliuered his Master at the instant when he should die, and (if this be but a small matter) by loosing his owne life hath saued his Masters. There haue beene some that haue helped their deaths, and others that haue preserued them by beguiling them.

CHAP. XXIII.

LAVDIVS QVADRIGARIVS in the eighteenth Booke of his *Chronickes* reporteth, that when the Citie *Grumentum* was beleagred, and brought into a desperate estate and extreme miserie: that two slaues fled vnto the Enemies camp, and performed an action worthie their labour and perill: For after the Citie was taken, and the victorious enemie ranged and reuelled euerie where, these two slaues (who knew all the by-wales) were the first that set forward to make bootie of that house wherein they had serued. And hauing surprised their Mistris, they rudely droue her before them: And being demanded what woman shee was: they answered that it was their Mistris, who had in times past most cruelly handled them; and that they dragged her out, to bring her to her death: and by this pollicie hauing gotten her out of the Citie, they carefully hid her: But afterwards when the Roman Souldiers were satisfied

with pillage, and reduced to their former diſcipline and manners, theſe ſlaues likewiſe returned to their former ſeruitude, and gaue their Miſtreſſe her wonted libertie. In acknowledgement whereof ſhee preſently ſet them both at libertie, and was not aſhamed to receiue her life at their handes, ouer whom ſhee had abſolute power both of life and death: Could ſhee haue more cauſe of contentment than hereby? for had ſhee beene otherwiſe preſerued, ſhee had but receiued an ordinarie curteſie and vulgar clemencie, (which is many times vſuall amongſt Souldiers) but being preſerued after this manner, it was a noble Storie, and an euerlaſting example, to both the Cities. In ſo great confuſion of the ſurpriſed Citie, when euery one minded his particular ſafetie, all fled from her, except her owne fugitiues. And they to expreſſe with what minde and intention they practiſed their former flight; fled from the Conquerors, to the Captiue; pretending the countenance of Murtherers, which was the greateſt point in that benefit. So much thought they it better to ſeeme Murtherers of their Miſtreſſe, leſt than that ſhee ſhould haue beene murthered indeede: It is not beleeue me, it is not I tell you, the act of a ſeruile minde, to buy a noble action by the fame and opinion they gaine of their wickednesſe: *Caius Vettius* the Prætor of the Marſes, was led vnto his death; his bond-man drew the ſword of that very Souldier that dragged him, and firſt of all ſlew his Maſter, and afterwards (it is time, ſaith he, to enfranchiſe and deliuer my ſelfe, ſince now alreadie I haue ſet my Maſter at libertie) at one ſtroke thruſt himſelfe through. Shew me any man that hath preſerued his Maſter more magnificently.

See Lipſius *notes, why this Tranſlation is vſed contrarie to the originall.*

CHAP. XXIIII.

CÆSAR beſieged **Corſinium*, and *Domitius* was ſhut vp in the ſame, who conſidering his danger, commanded a ſlaue of his (who was practiſed in Phiſique) to giue him poiſon: And perceiuing that by all meanes he ſought occaſion not to doe it, *Why delayeſt thou* (ſaith he) *as if all this were in thy power? armed, I intreat thee, to yeeld me death.* Hereupon his ſlaue promiſed to performe it, and gaue him a harmeleſſe potion to drinke vp, wherewith being laid a-ſleepe, hee came vnto his ſonne and ſaid. *Command me to be kept in ſure hold, till by the euent thou vnderſtandeſt, whether I haue giuen thy Father poiſon or no.* Domitius liued, and was ſaued by *Cæſar*; but yet his bond-man had ſaued him firſt.

* *The Romans now call it,* Campe del Santo Pelino.

CHAP. XXV.

DVring the time of the ciuill Warres, a bond-man hid his Maſter who was proſcribed, and hauing fitted his rings on his fingers, and put on his garment, he preſented himſelfe to the Sergeants, and told them that hee required no fauour at their handes, but that they boldly might performe that which they were commanded; and therewithall held out his necke for them to hew off. How great a mans part was this for a ſlaue to be willing to die for his Maſter in ſuch a time, as it were rare fidelitie not to wiſh his Maſters death? in publique crueltie to bee found gentle? in publique perfidiouſneſſe faithfull? when great rewards were publiſhed for euery one that would betray, to deſire death as the reward of his fidelitie?

CHAP. XXVI.

IWill not ouerſlip the examples of our Age: vnder *Tiberius Cæſar* there was an ordinarie licence, and almoſt a publique rage in appeaching and accuſing, which (farre more grieuous than any ciuill Warre) conſumed and deſtroied both the Senate and Nobilitie. Exceptions were taken againſt drunken mens words, and thinges ſpoken in jeſt were cenſured in earneſt: nothing was ſecure, and all occaſion of crueltie was pleaſing; neither now expected men what their penaltie ſhould be who were accuſed, where all were puniſhed after the ſame ſort. In that time *Paulus* who had beene a Prætor before-times, ſupped at a certaine banquet, hauing on his finger a rich ſtone, whereon was engrauen the Image of the Emperour *Tiberius*: I ſhould play the foole too much if I ſhould ſeeke for ſome more cleanely words to expreſſe vnto you, how hee tooke the chamber-pot: This was preſently obſerued by *Maro* (who was one of the Spies, and moſt noted informers of that time.) But his ſlaue (againſt whom this treaſon was plotted) ſecretly ſtole away the ring from his Maſters finger who was drunke: and when as *Maro* afterwards would take witneſſe of thoſe that were at the banquet, how *Paulus* had handled his members (not to be named without modeſtie) with the Emperours Image, and importuning them to ſubſcribe to that accuſation, the ſlaue ſhewed before all the companie, that his Maſters ring was on his finger. Whoſoeuer ſhall tearme this man a ſlaue, he ſhould alſo call that other Spie an honeſt gueſt.

CHAP. XXVII.

VNder *Auguſtus Cæſar*, mens words were not as yet dangerous vnto them; yet beganne they alreadie to diſpleaſe: *Rufus* a Senator, as hee ſate at ſupper, wiſhed that *Cæſar* might not returne in ſafetie and health from that progreſſe hee then intended; and added this further-more, That all the Bulls and Calues of the Countrie deſired no leſſe: Some there were that diligently obſerued his words: The next morning, as ſoone as it was day, a ſeruant and bond-man of his, that had attended at his feete, reported vnto him thoſe words he had ſpoken in his drunkenneſſe the night before, and counſailed him preſently to goe and ſeeke out *Cæſar*, and to bee his owne firſt accuſer. According to this his counſaile his Maſter met *Cæſar* at his firſt comming downe. And when he had ſworne vnto him that he was not well in his wits ouer night, and wiſhed that the euill he had vttered might fall vpon him, and vpon his children, and beſought *Cæſar* that he would pardon him, and receiue him into his fauor againe: After that the Emperour had aſſured him that hee would willingly doe it; *no man will beleeue*, ſaid Rvfvs, *that thou haſt admitted mee againe into thy fauour, except thou giue mee ſomewhat*, and thereupon hee required no ſmall ſumme of money, at reconciled *Cæſars* hands, and obtained the ſame, who therewithall ſaid vnto him. *For mine owne ſake I will endeuour neuer to bee angrie with thee*

without

without an occasion. Caesar behaued himselfe honestly in pardoning him, and besides annexed this liberality to his clemencie. Whosoeuer shall heare this example reported, he must needly praise *Cæsar*, but it must be after he hath praised the bond-man. Except you meane that I should show you that he was made free for this seruice he did. He was so; but not without ransome, for *Cæsar* had payed the money for his freedome.

CHAP. XXVIII.

After so many examples, is there any doubt but that a Master may sometimes receiue a benefit at his bond-mans hands? why should the person rather lessen the dignitie of a thing, then the thing ennoble the person? All men haue the same beginnings, and the same original, no man is more noble then another, except it be such an one that hath a better wit, and is more apt to good Arts. They that set forth their Pedigrees, and their ancestors in a long row, interlined with many branches of collaterall descents on the forefront of their houses, are rather noted then noble: we haue all of vs but one parent, which is the world, whether it be by famous, or bare descent; euery man conueyes his first pedigree from it. There is no cause why these should deceiue thee, who when they reckon vp their ancestors: where soeuer some noble name faileth them, they presently faine a god. Despise no man, though his pedigree be worne out of remembrance, and hee finally furthered by vnfriendly fortune, whether our predecessors were freemen, or bond, or forrainers. Couragiously aduance ye your mindes; and whatsoeuer baseneſſe lieth in the way, leape ye ouer it. Great nobilitie attendeth for you at the last. Why with pride are we lifted vp vnto so great vanitie, that from seruants we disdaine to receiue benefits; and looke vpon their sort, forgetting deserts? Doest thou call any one a seruant, thou being a seruant of lust and of gluttonie, and of an adulteresse, yea a common slaue of adulteresses? Calleſt thou any one a seruant? Whither now art thou dragged by these groomes, who beare about this thy litter? Whether do these in liuery-cloaks, who counterfeit a souldier-like, and no vulgar attire indeed? Whither, I say, doe these carrie thee abroad? to the doore of some doore-keeper, to the gardens of some, who doth not indeed beare office in ordinarie. And yet denieſt thou, that a benefit can bee giuen to thee by thy seruant, to whom it is a benefit to haue a kisse from the seruant of another man? What so great discord of minde is this? At the same time thou despiſeſt and reuerenceſt seruants. Within doores thou art imperious and out-ragious, base abroad; and as well contemned, as contemning. For neuer doe any more abase their minds, then they who wickedly lift them vp: and none are more readie to treade vpon other men, then they who haue learned to proffer reproch, by receiuing it.

CHAP. XXIX.

These things were to be spoken to represse the insolencie of men depending vpon fortune, and to approue the right of a benefit to be giuen by a seruant, that also it might be approued to be giuen by a son. For it is in question, whether children at any time can giue greater benefits to their parents, then they haue receiued. This is granted, that many children haue beene greater, and more mightie then their

their parents, as also better and more vertuous then they: which being true; It may be also that they haue done more for them that bred them; whereas both their fortune was greater, and their will better: But what soeuer it be (saith he) that the sonne giueth the father, it is lesse then his father hath done for him, because of duty he oweth this power of giuing to his father. So as hee can neuer properly be ouercome in benefits who hath giuen another the meanes to exceed him in the same. For some things take their beginning from others, and yet they are greater then their beginnings, neither is any thing therfore greater then that from whence it had his beginning, for that it could not haue growne to that greatnes except it had begun. There is almost nothing but far exceedeth his first originall. Seedes and graines are the causes of all that which groweth in this world; yet are they the least parts of those things which come of them. Looke vpon the *Rhine*, looke vpon *Euphrates*, finally doe but obserue all other riuers so renounced, and what are they if you estimate them by their head-springs from whence they flow? whatsoeuer they be feared for, wherein soeuer they be renowned, they haue purchased it in their course and progresse. Take away rootes and the Forrests will neuer grow nor ouerspread, neither shall the toppes of the mountaines be couered with woods. Looke vpon these Timber-trees, whether you regard their great height, or their wonderfull solidity and broad spreading of their branches, how small a thing, in comparison of these, is that which the roote in small and tender spreadings comprehendeth. The Temples are builded vpon their foundations, as also these great walles of *Rome*, are, and yet that which was first laide to sustaine this whole worke, lies hidden vnder earth. The like falleth out in all other things. The greatnesse that they attaine vnto in time, doth alwaies obscure their beginnings. I could not haue attained to any thing, if the benifite of my parents had not gone before; yet followeth it not for all this, that that which I haue obtayned is lesse then that same which gaue mee the meanes to acquire it: Except my nurse had suckled mee in infancie, I could haue performed none of those things, which I haue sithence acted by my counsell and valour, neither should I haue obtained this dignitie and honour, which I haue risen vnto by ciuill and militarie demerit: but wilt thou for this cause more prize my nurses first endeuours, then the great actes I haue atchieued by my so many vertuous attempts. And then what difference wilt thou find herein, considering that I could not encrease in honor, without the tender care of my nurse, no lesse then without my fathers benefit?

CHAP. XXX.

But if I owe wholly to my beginning, whatsoeuer I more can do, thinke you that neither my father is my true beginning, nor my Grand-father indeed. For alwaies there will be somewhat more ancient, from which the originall of the neareſt originall may descend. But no man is said to owe more to them that are vnknowne, and to ancestors which haue beene before memorie of man, then to a father. But, I owe more, if my father, because he hath begotten me, owneth this very thing vnto his ancestors. Whatsoeuer I haue done for my father, how great soeuer it be, it is nothing to be esteemed in respect of the benefit he hath done me, for I had not bin, had he not begotten me. And by the same reason, if any man hath healed my father, being sicke and readie to die, I should be able to doe nothing for him

him that were not to be esteemed lesse, then the benefit he did vnto my father: for had he not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But see if this carie not a more likelyhood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should be esteemed as mine own, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt finde it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preserued and kept my Father aliue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honour, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably atchieued; but also haue giuen him an assured meanes to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his handes an easie meanes to obtayne much honour and glorie: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all what soeuer mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authority, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell me now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is altogether so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed only to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen me that which is common to me, with bruite beasts, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot eyther breed or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: in so doing likewise I haue surmounted thy benefit, because I know what I giue, and thou that which thou receiuedst: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or with my pleasure, when seeing it is so much more estimable to be able to retain and conserue life, then to receiue the same, by how much it is lesse dreadfull and terrible to die, then to apprehend the feare and conceit of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

I Gaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou wert in danger of death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfite life: thou hast engendred mee depriued of reason and iudgement, and no otherwise but to be a burthen to others armes. Wilt thou know how small a benefite it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast mee forth, then in that case it had beene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefit that can be, except other things accompany it, that must prosecute the beginning of this benefite, and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say, I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this onely is thine, that I liue. If thou imputest vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boastest thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou imputest to me such a good, which is common as well to wormes and flies, as to me. Moreouer, not to vaunt of any other thing, but onely in that I haue endeuoured my selfe to learne the liberall sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue discreetly

A Christian doctrine from a Heathen Stoick.

discreetly by this means, thou hast in this receiued a greater benefite then thou gauest mee. For thou gauest mee vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou maist reioyce that euer thou begotest me.

CHAP. XXXII.

MY father nourished me, if I doe no lesse for him, herein I am more beneficiall vnto him, because he not onely conceiueth ioy, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, & greater pleasure and contentment he receiueth in my good will, then he doth in the gift it selfe. The meate which he gaue me, onely nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so far aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiualrie, he should grow famous in forraine countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so, by his lustre dispelled the obscurity and cloudie darkenesse of his base birth; hath he not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vnestimable benefit vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne *Ariston* and *Grillus*, had it not beene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their sons? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniscus* his name from oblitiion and death. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but, in that their children eternized their memories, by their own famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his sonnes greatnesse was scarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefit, or *Agrippa* the son to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and were neuer equalled by any after? Whether did *Octauius* giue his son *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefit, or the Emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in som sort obscured the benefit of *Octauius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, he had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in security & peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleeue the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom oblitiion had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreouer, we enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? And although the examples of those which herto I haue related, do not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpasse the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet Nature may make vs see, that hereafter, which hath not as yet beene seene by the ages forepassed. If one onely benefit cannot surmonnt the greatnesse of parents deserts, it may be that many put together may out-strip them.

CHAP.

him that were not to be esteemed lesse, then the benefit he did vnto my father: for had he not receiued his health, my father had neuer begotten me. But see if this carie not a more likelyhood of truth, that the things which I could both doe, and haue done, should be esteemed as mine own, and in mine owne power, and at mine owne will. That I am borne (if thou consider what a thing it is in it selfe) thou shalt finde it a small and vncertaine matter, and the common subiect of good and euill, and vndoubtedly the first step to all things; but yet not therefore greater then all, because the first. I haue preserued and kept my Father aliue, I haue preferred and exalted him to the highest degree of honour, and haue made him a Prince in his Citie: I haue enobled him, not onely by those my vertuous enterprises, which I haue honourably atchieued; but also haue giuen him an assured meanes to aduance himselfe, I haue put into his handes an easie meanes to obtayne much honour and glorie: I haue heaped together vpon him dignities and riches, and all whatsoeuer mens ambition can desire. And where I surpassed all others in authority, I submitted my selfe to him: Tell me now, I pray thee, if thou couldest doe all these things, except it were by thy fathers meanes? I will briefly answer, and tell thee, that it is altogether so, if to the performance of so many worthy things it sufficed only to be borne. But if to liue well and vertuously a naked life is the least part, and if thou hast but giuen me that which is common to me, with bruite beasts, yea, with the least, the most despised, and the most loathsome: I beseech thee attribute not that to thy selfe, which proceedeth not alone from thy benefits, although in some sort also, it cannot eyther breed or be without thine. Suppose that for the life which thou hast giuen, I haue restored thy life: in so doing likewise I haue surmounted thy benefit, because I know what I giue, and thou that which thou receiuedst: whereas I gaue thee life, not for my pleasure sake, or with my pleasure, when seeing it is so much more estimable to be able to retain and conserue life, then to receiue the same, by how much it is lesse dreadfull and terrible to die, then to apprehend the feare and conceit of death.

CHAP. XXXI.

IGaue thee a life, that thou mightst presently vse: thou gauest me a life, when I knew not whether I should enioy it, or no. I gaue thee life, when thou wert in danger of death: thou hast giuen me life, to the end I might die. I haue giuen thee a consummate and perfite life: thou hast engendred mee depriued of reason and iudgement, and no otherwise but to be a burthen to others armes. Wilt thou know how small a benefite it is to giue life in such sort? If thou hadst cast mee forth, then in that case it had beene iniurie to haue begotten me. Whereby I gather, that our begetting by father and mother, is the least benefit that can be, except other things accompany it, that must prosecute the beginning of this benefite, and so ratifie the same by other offices. It is no good thing to liue, but to liue well. But you will say, I liue well: yea, but so I might also haue liued ill: therefore this onely is thine, that I liue. If thou imputest vnto me a life in it selfe, naked and destitute of counsell, and boastest thereof, as if it were a good and great thing: thinke with thy selfe, that thou imputest to me such a good, which is common as well to wormes and flies, as to me. Moreouer, not to vaunt of any other thing, but onely in that I haue endeuoured my selfe to learne the liberall sciences, to the end I might direct the rest of my life in the right way: if I liue discreetly

A Christian doctrine from a Heathen Stoick.

discreetly by this means, thou hast in this receiued a greater benefite then thou gauest mee. For thou gauest mee vnto my selfe both rude and ignorant, and I gaue my selfe to thee such a sonne, as thou maist reioyce that euer thou begottest me.

CHAP. XXXII.

MY father nourished me, if I doe no lesse for him, herein I am more beneficiall vnto him, because he not onely conceiueth ioy, in that he is nourished, but because he is nourished by his sonne, & greater pleasure and contentment he receiueth in my good will, then he doth in the gift it selfe. The meate which he gaue me, onely nourished my bodie. What if a man hath so far aduanced his owne fortunes, that either for his eloquence, his iustice, or his chiualrie, he should grow famous in forraine countries, and had also made his father highly renowned, and so, by his lustre dispelled the obscurity and cloudie darkenesse of his base birth: hath he not, thinke you, herein bestowed an vnestimable benefit vpon his parents? Should any man euer haue knowne *Ariston* and *Grillus*, had it not beene for *Xenophon* and *Plato* their sons? *Socrates* exempteth *Sophroniscus* his name from oblition and death. It were too long to reckon vp all the rest, who liue by no other meanes, but, in that their children eternized their memories, by their owne famous actions. Whether did *Agrippa* the father (who after his sonnes greatnesse was scarcely knowne in *Rome*) giue a greater benefit, or *Agrippa* the son to his father, who alone was honoured with a Nauall Crowne (which was the greatest honour that was accustomed to be giuen to men of warre) who raised so many sumptuous buildings in the Citie, which both exceeded all former magnificence, and were neuer equalled by any after? Whether did *Octauius* giue his son *Augustus* the Emperor a greater benefit, or the Emperor *Augustus* to his father, although the shadow of adoptiue father had in som sort obscured the benefit of *Octauius*? What ioy and contentment had he conceiued, if after the extirpation of a ciuill warre, he had seene him command and gouerne the Romane Empire in security & peace? Who doubteth, but that he could hardly acknowledge his owne good, or sufficiently beleeue the same, and as often as he considered his owne meane estate, conceiue that such a man as he could be borne in his house? Why should I now prosecute the rest, whom obliuion had already swallowed vp, except their childrens glory had deliuered them out of this forgetfull darkenesse? Moreouer, we enquire not whether any sonne hath giuen greater benefits to his father then he receiued at his hands; but, whether any sonne can yeeld greater? And although the examples of those which hitherto I haue related, do not as yet suffice and satisfie, neither surpasse the good which they haue receiued at their fathers hands; yet Nature may make vs see, that hereafter, which hath not as yet beene seene by the ages foregone. If onp onely benefit cannot surmount the greatnesse of parents deserts, it may be that many put together may out-strip them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Scipio then but a boy, in a certaine battell set spurs to his horse, and charging the enemie, saued his fathers life: And is it but a small matter, when, to make good the place where his father fought, he contemned so many dangers, that he prest so many great Captaines, that he brake through as many oppolites as he found before him: in the first seruice that euer he had seene, and being as yet but a raw souldier, he for forward and charged before the oldest seruitors, and performed many valorous actions, farre exceeding the forces of his age? Adde hereunto, that he defended his father, being accused of a capitall crime, and deliuered him from the conspiracy of his mighty enemies, that he gaue him a second and third consulate, and other honours also, which they who before time haue beene Consuls, might wish and craue for: and seeing him poore, gaue him those goods which he had gotten by right of warre; and that which a man who maketh profession of armes esteemeth most honourable also: hee enriched him with those spoyles which he had gotten from his enemies. If this as yet seeme but little vnto thee, thou mayst adde the Prouinces which he gaue him, and the gouernments and extraordinary charges, which were afterwards continued vnto him by his meanes. Adde further, that after he had razed so many great cities, how this braue man (the defender & founder of the Roman Empire, that was to be extended from the East vnto the West, without a Riual) enobled him the more, who was already noble. Say that he was *Scipios* father, yet vndoubtedly the common and ordinary good that parents doe in begetting children, hath beene farre surmounted by *Scipio* incomparable piety and vertue, who I know not whether he brought the Citie more defence or honor.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Lev Pappia, or Poppea.

WHen if these examples seeme little vnto thee; admit that some man hath deliuered his father from torments, suppose that hee himselfe hath suffered the same to deliuer him. For thou maiest dilate and extend the childrens benefits as farre as thou wilt. Whereas contrariwise the fathers benefit in procreation is not only simple and easie, but further not voluntarie also in him that giueth: what neede we so many words? The father hath giuen being to those, to whom hee knoweth not, whether he hath giuen being or no, wherin he hath his wife a consort and partaker, wherein he respecteth the law of his Countrie, the praise and reward of Parents, the perpetuitie of his house and familie, and all things rather then him to whom he gaue the same: what if any one (hauing obtained wisedome) hath informed and instructed his father therein, shall wee now grow in question whether he hath giuen any thing greater then he receiued? Considering that hee hath giuen his father a happie life, hauing receiued at his fathers hands but a baddelife only; but saith hee, it is the fathers benefit what soeuer thou doest, or whatsoeuer thou canst returne vnto him againe. So is it the benefit of my Master, if I haue profited in liberall studies: and yet we may transcend and surpasse those goods, we haue receiued from those, who haue taught vs, as we also doe their benefits, who haue taught vs to reade, and to know our first elements. And although without them no man can learne any thing, yet all

all that which he hath afterwards learned is not the inferiour to the same: There is a great difference betwixt the first and the greatest things: neither therefore are the first comparable to the greatest, because without the first the greatest cannot bee.

CHAP. XXXV.

IT is time now, if I may so terme it, to produce some peeces of our owne coine. He that hath bestowed such a benefit, aboue which there may be somewhat found better, may bee ouer-come in benefits: The Father gaue life vnto his Sonne; but there is something better then life, so the father may be ouercome in a benefit by the sonne, because the sonne may giue something better and greater then the father. Furthermore, hee that hath giuen life to an other man; if once or twice he were deliuered by the same man from death, he hath receiued a greater benefit then that which he gaue; so the father hath giuen life; but if he be oft-times deliuered from the perill of death by his sonne, hee shall receiue a greater benefit then he gaue him. He that hath receiued a good turne, the more he needeth that which he hath receiued, he hath receiued the greater good turne: but he that liueth, hath more want of life, then he that is not borne (as of whom he cannot properly say, to haue neede of any thing.) The father therefore hath receiued a greater good turne, if he hath receiued life at his sonnes hands, then the sonne from the father, in that he is borne: But the parents benefits cannot be surmounted by these good offices, the child performeth vnto him, why? because he hath receiued his life from his father, which had hee not receiued hee could not haue giuen a benefit. This is then but common to the father, and all those who haue at any time giuen life to any man. For had they not receiued life, they could not haue returned beneficiall gratitude: Therefore greater satisfaction is not intended to the Physitian, though the Physitian likewise is wont to giue life; nor to the Mariner though hee hath saued from shipwrack, so that a man may surmount the benefits both of the one and the other, who hath by any meanes saued our lifes; and consequently then the benefits of our parents may be also exceeded: if any man hath done mee a good turne which serueth me to no vse, except it be assisted and seconded by the fauours of diuers other persons, and if afterwards I haue done him an other courtesie, that hath no neede of other mens assistance, I haue giuen a greater good turne then that which I haue receiued: The father hath giuen life to his child, which he should loose instantly, were it not sustained by diuers other succours: But if the sonne hath saued his fathers life, he hath giuen him such a life, as hath no neede of any other assistance to sustaine it selfe of itselfe. *Ergo* the father receiuing life at his sonnes hands, receiueth a greater benefit, then that was which the father hath giuen him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Note the authors prudence.

THese things destroy not the reuerence which is due vnto parents, neither make they their children to become worse vnto them, but rather better: for vertue is of a glorious and noble disposition, and deserueth to out-strip the formost. The pietie and affection of children will be more forward, if they may hope to surmount the kindnesse and fauour their parents haue done them. If this should happen to parents willing and glad of the same (because in many things it is for our owne good to be ouer-come) whence can wee imagine to ensue so acceptable a contention, whence so great happinesse to parents, as to confesse that they cannot equall their childrens benefits? If we be not thus minded, we giue our children meanes to excuse themselues, and we shall make them more slow and retchlesse in acknowledging their fathers benefits, whereas we ought to excite them the more, and say vnto them, *Doe this worthy children.* An honest contention is raised betwixt parents and their children, to know which of them hath giuen the greatest benefits, or who hath receiued the most. The fathers haue not therefore preuailed, because they haue giuen the first. Take heart yong men worthy your selues, take heede you loose not your courage to ouer-come those who desire no other thing then to bee ouer-come: You want no Captaines to vndertake so braue a conflict, and to encourage you to follow them, who command you but to goe the same course for to obtaine these victories, which they haue often gained against their parents.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Two yong men of Sicily the one called Amphinomus, the other Anapus.

AEneas ouer-came his father in curtesie, for his father carried him in his armes when hee was an Infant (a waighe neither dangerous nor heauie) wher the other bare him on his shoulders, loden with age, through the midst of the armed enemie, and through the falling ruines of his Citie, at such time as the deuout old man embraced be wixt his armes his domestique Gods, and the sacred Reliques of his house, loding his sonnes shoulders with more then his owne person, yet went hee onward with much adoe: carrying him through the flames and ruines of the Citie (what is it not, but the pietie and loue of a sonne may preserue) and bringing him out of all danger, ranked him afterwards amongst the Gods, and placed him in the number of those first founders of the Roman Empire, to be honored and reuerenced with them. The yong men of *Sicily* ouer-came and surmounted their fathers. For at such time as Mount *Ætna* was so highly enflamed, that it vomited fire vpon the Cities and neighbouring Plaines, and had consumed the greater part of the Isle, they carried their fathers thence vpon their backs: It is beleeued that the fire miraculously separated and diuided it selfe, and that the flames retiring themselues on both sides, opened a large passage to suffer those vertuous yong men to trauell through it, to the end that without danger they might safely performe their great attempt: *Antigonus* sonne also ouer-came in this kinde, who when as in a great battell he had discomfited his enemie, transferred the treasures & wealth of the conquest, to his father, and with it gaue him the Empire of *Cipres*. This is

is a Kingdome in minde to refuse gouernement, when it is in thy hands. *Titus Manlius* also ouer-came his Lordly and Imperious father; who although hee had beene driuen out of his fathers house for a time, and sent into the Country, because in his youth hee was somewhat hard in apprehension, yet came hee to the Tribune of the people (who had adioyned his father to appeare in person to answere to a capitall crime) and asking him what time of appearance, he had assigned his father. The Tribune hoping that hee would betray his hated father, supposing that hee had done herein a thankefull office for the yong man, he suffered him to see, (amongst other crimes he accused him of) how hee had banished and driuen him out of his house: which when the yong man discouered, getting him alone in a secret place, he drew his dagger which he had hidden in his bosome, and said; *Except thou sweare to reuoke this personall adiournment of my father, I will thrust thee through with this weapon: It lyeth in thy power to choose which of these two waies, my father shall haue no accuser.* The Tribune swore and kept touch with him: but hee made it knowne in an assembly of the Roman people, why he had desisted from this accusation. It had not beene possible for any other man to haue ouer-ruled the Tribune after this manner, and to escape vnpunished.

See Cicero 3. de Officijs, and Liuie in his 7. Booke, as touching this Manlius.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

DIuers examples might I produce of many other memorable children, who haue deliuered their parents from danger, that from a base degree haue raised them to high estate, and from the meanest and ignobleſt race of men, haue giuen them eternall and indefinite honors: It cannot be expressed by any force of words or facultie of wit, how great a worke it is, how praise worthy, and how perdurable and lasting in mens memorie; iustly to be able to say, thus much I haue obeied my parents: I haue fulfilled their commandements in what soeuer it were, either right, or wrong; I haue shewed my selfe obseruant and submissiue, in this only thing I haue beene wilfull, that I would not be ouer-come by them in benefits: Fight valiantly therefore, I pray you yong men, and though you were defeated, yet reinforce the fight anew. Those that ouer-come shall be happie. They that shall bee ouer-come shall bee no lesse blessed; what person can euer receiue more honor? then that yong man, who may say vnto himselfe (for it is not lawfull for him to say it to an other) I haue ouer-come my father in well-doing? Is there any old man more happie, then he that may vaunt in all places, and before the whole world, that he hath beene ouer-come by his sonne in well-doing and benefiting? What greater happinesse is there for a man so to yeeld vnto himselfe?

The end of the third Booke.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE handled curious matters for the moſt part, but (according to his vſuall cuſtome) intermixed with thoſe that are profitable. Hee demandeth whether a benefit or fauour may be ſimplie in it ſelfe deſired? He proueth the affirmatiue againſt the Epicures, who meaſured all things by their profit. Amongſt other arguments he teacheth by this, that the Gods alſo giue benefits, which he proueth very amply againſt thoſe that deny the Gods. Then he remoueth ſome obiections, which ſeeme to teach, that profit is common in benefitting. And ſo he commeth to thanke (giuing, and ſheweth that it is only to be yeelded in regard of honeſtie, not of profit. Then he demandeth whether a benefit is to bee giuen to him whom thou knoweſt will be vngratefull: he diſtinguiſheth in this point, and partly affirmeth, and partly denieth.

CHAP. I.

OF all thoſe things (my *Æbutius Liberalis*) whereof we haue entreated, there is nothing ſo neceſſarie to be knowne, or (as *Saluſt* ſaith) more carefully to bee taught, then that which is now in hand; namely, whether to giue a benefit, and to reſtore the like, be things which ought to bee deſired for the loue of themſelues. Some men there are which reſpect not honeſty, but for profit ſake, and admit not vertue without aduantage (which hath nothing magnificent in it ſelfe, if it hath any thing that is mercinarie.) For what is more loathſome, then for a man to make reckoning how much we ought to eſtimate an honeſt man, when as vertue is neither inuited with gaine, nor terrified with loſſe, and is ſo farre from corrupting any with hope or promiſe, that contrariwiſe ſhe commandeth men to ſpend all their ſubſtance on her, and for her ſake; and more often contenteth her ſelfe with that which is giuen freely without demand? To follow her, a man muſt tread all profit vnder foote: whither ſo-

euer she calleth, whither soeuer she sendeth, hee ought to goe, without respect or interest of his estate or priuate affaires: and sometimes also hee must set forward with the hazard of his owne blood and life, neither must hee euer refuse her commandements. What reward shall I then haue saieth thou, if I doe this thing valiantly, or that thing gratefully? Onely this, that thou hast done it; vertue promiseth thee nothing beside her selfe. If any profit casually befall thee, account it amongst thine accessarie good happes. The price of honest things is in themselues, if then that which is honest be to be desired for it selfe, and a benefit being honest, the condition thereof cannot be different from honestie, because they are both of one nature. But that the thing which is honest is to be desired for it selfe, it is often and abundantly proued alreadie.

CHAP. II.

IN this point I must wage warre with the nice and effeminate troope of Epicures, that talke of Philosophie onely at their banquet, with whom vertue is the vassal and hand-maid of vicious pleasure; them shee obeyeth, them shee serueth, them shee beholdeth preferred aboue her selfe. There is no pleasure (saith he) without vertue. But why is voluptuousnesse aduanced before vertue? Thinkest thou we dispute of the order betweene them, no, the question is of the whole matter, and the power thereof, it is not vertue if it dance attendance after delight. The chiefest place is hers, she it is that must leade, command, and haue the chiefest place: thou biddest her aske the watch-word. What skilleth it thee, saith the Epicure? I also maintaine, that a blessed life cannot bee without vertue. I condemne and contemne the pleasure it selfe which I follow, and to which I haue made my selfe a bondslaue, if vertue be remoued from it. The onely question is in this, whether vertue be the cause of the chiefest good, or the chiefest good it selfe. Admit that this be the only thing in question, thinkest thou that there is but the onely change of place and order onely betweene them, that breedeth the difference? This is a very confusion, this is a manifest blindnesse, to preferre the last before the first. I am not displeased because vertue is placed after pleasure, but because it is any wayes or at all compared, or paralelled with pleasures. Vertue is the despiser and enemie of delight, and estrangeth her selfe farre from her, more familiar with labour and sorrow, more fitly to be inserted into manly incommodities, then into this effeminate felicitie.

CHAP. III.

THese things (my *Liberalis*) were to be spoken of, because a benefit, (whereof we now entreate) is an act of vertue, and foule shame it were to giue it for any other respect, then to haue giuē it only. For if we do a curtesie in expectation of a recompence, then should we do it to the wealthiest, and not to the worthiest. Now we prefer a poore man vnable to requite, before a rich man. It is no benefit that hath reference to Fortune, or hope of interest. Besides, if onely profite should entice vs to do good, they should doe least good, that haue most meanes. Such as are rich men, powerfull men, and Kings, because they haue least need of other mens helpe.

helpe. But the Gods likewise should withdraw their so many liberalities, which, without intermission, day and night they powre vpon vs. For why, their proper nature and being sufficeth them in all things, and maketh them abundant, secure, and inuiolable euery way. To none therefore should they giue their benefits, if their only cause of giuing proceeded from no other intention, then to think on themselues and their own priuat commodities. This is no benefit, but a loane vpon vse, to respect not where you may best bestow it, but where you may place it most gainfully, whence you may most readily receiue it. Which intention, seeing it is farre estranged from the Gods: it followeth that they are diuinely liberall. For if the only cause of giuing a benefit, were the giuers profit, and no profit is to bee hoped or expected by God at our hands; there is no cause why God should be bountifull vnto vs.

CAAP. IIII.

Theese are the Epicures venoms, full of blasphemie and impietie.

DO I know well what answere is made hereunto, which is, that God bestoweth no good vpon vs, but is altogether careless and regardlesse of vs, and not daring to cast his eyes vpon this world, busieth himselfe about other matters or (which seemeth to the Epicure to be the chiefest felicitie) hee doth nothing, neither do benefits or iniuries touch him. He that thus saith, heareth not the vowes of those that pray, neither the cries nor vowes which euery one maketh, as well in priuate, as in publike, lifting vp their ioyned hands vnto heauen: which vndoubtedly would not be done, neither would all mankind consent vnto this madnesse, to implore a deafe deitie, and inuocate such gods as had no power to helpe them, if they knew not assuredly that the Gods giue benefits, sometimes of their owne proper motion, otherwhiles vpon prayers, that it is they, from whom we receiue so many great graces in their due times and seasons, and that by their assistance we are put out of feare, of such imminent and eminent mischieses, as daily threaten vs: who is hee that is so miserable, and reiected by heauen? who is he that is so disgraced, and borne to continuall affliction and trauell? that hath not sometimes felt these great fauours and liberalities of the Gods? Doe but behold, I pray you, euen those who inceissantly complaine of their miseries, and who liue so mal-contented with their fortunes, yet shalt thou finde, that they are not wholly exempted, and destitute of succours from heauen, and that there is no man on whom there hath not fallen some droppes from this sweet and gracious fountaine. Thinkest thou that it is a small matter which is equally distributed to all those that are borne in this world? And (to omit those things which the Gods bestow at their pleasure, with all proportion of measure) is it a small matter that nature hath giuen vs, when she hath giuen vs her selfe?

CHAP. V.

In this Chapter followeth a noble contemplation of Gods benefits, and mens negligence, and careleese consideration therof.

DOth not God bestow all benefits vpon vs? From whence then hast thou all those things whereof thou art possessed? which thou giuest? which thou denyest? which thou keepest? which thou takest vniustly? From whence come the infinitnesse of things that delight the eyes, affect the care, and please the vnderstanding? From whence is this abundance, that furnisheth our voyotons excesse?

ceſſe? For they haue not onely prouided for our neceſſities, but we are tendered by them euen vnto delicacie alſo. From whence haue wee ſo many trees, bearing ſundrie ſorts of ſauourie fruit, ſo many wholeſome herbes, for the maintenance of our healths, ſuch varietie of meats, ſtrong for al ſeaſons through the whole yeare, that an idle ſluggard may finde by caſualtie ſufficient ſuſtenance vpon the earth to feed and nouriſh him. Whence come ſo many ſorts of beaſts? whereof ſome are bread on the earth, other ſome in the water, and others deſcending from the aire, to the end there might not be any part of nature, that ſhould not be tributarie vnto vs of ſome rent? The Riuers likewiſe, wherof ſome enuiron the plaines, with their pleaſant reuolutions and roundneſſe, other ſtreame thorow their hollow and nauigable channels, bring vs merchandize from forren ſeas, of which ſome at certaine prefixed times take wonderfull encreaſe, ſo as the ſudden force of the Sommers floud moiſteneth and watereth thoſe grounds which are ſituate and planted vnder the droughtie and burning Zoane. What ſhall I ſay of the vaines of ſome medicinable waters? What ſhall I ſpeake of the bubling and boyling vp of hot Bathes euen vpon the verie ſhoares?

2. Georg. *And what of thee O mightie Lake, and thee*
Proud billowed Benac ſwelling like the See.

CHAP. VI.

IF a man had giuen thee a few acres of land, thou wouldeſt ſay that thou hadeſt receiued a benefit at his hands, and denieſt thou that the vnmeaſurable extent of the barren earth is no benefit? If a man ſhould giue thee money, and fill thy coffer (for that ſeemeth a great thing in thy ſight) thou wouldeſt terme it a benefit. And thinkeſt thou it no fauour, that God hath hidden ſo many mettals in the earth, ſpread ſo many riuers on the ſands, which floating, diſcouer ingots of maſſie gold, ſiluer, braſſe, and iron, which he hath hidden euery where; that he hath giuen thee meanes and knowledge to finde it out, by ſetting markes of his couert riches on the vpper face of the earth? If a mã ſhould giue thee a houſe enriched with marble pillars, if the couer thereof were reſplendent, and painted with gold and goodly colours, thou wouldeſt highly eſteeme this preſent of his? God hath builded thee a great palace, without any danger of feare or falling downe, wherein thou ſeeſt not little peeces, ſmaller then the chizell it ſelfe, wherewith they were carued, but entire huge maſſes of precious ſtone, all faſtened and faſhioned after a diuers and different maner, the leaſt peece whereof maketh thee wonder at the beautie of the ſame: the roofe whereof ſhineth after one ſort by day, and after another by night: and wilt thou then deny that thou haſt receiued any benefit at all? Againe, whereas thou ſetteſt great ſtore by that which thou haſt, thinkeſt thou (which is the point of a thankleſſe perſon) that thou art beholding to no body for them? Whence haſt thou this breath which thou draweſt? Whence commeth this light, whereby thou diſpoſeſt and ordereſt the actions of thy life? From whence haſt thou thy blood, in the motion and flowing whereof, thy naturall heate is maintained? Whence come theſe meates, which by their delicate taſtes and pleaſing ſauours, inuite thee to eate farre more then thy ſtomacke can diſgeſt? Whence come theſe things

things which awaken thy pleaſures and delights, when thou art wearied? Whence commeth this quiet and repoſe, wherein thou reſteſt and withereſt away? Wilt thou not ſay, if thou beeſt thankfull:

Virg. 1. Eclog. *From God ſprings this repoſe, and euermore*
Him for my God le honor and adore.
Vpon his Altar, to perform my vow,
A fat ſilling Lambe my paſtures ſhall allow:
For lie it le, as thou doſt plainly ſee,
That yeelds my wandring teame their paſture free,
He lets me tune at pleaſure, as they feed,
My country layes vpon mine oaten reed.

It is that God, which hath not onely permitted vs to feede a ſmall number of meate, but that hath filled the whole world with great troopes of cattell, that nouriſheth all beaſts which wander heere and there, in ſo many and diuers places; that giueth them new paſtures in Sommer time, after they haue eaten vp their Winter prouiſion: which hath not onely taught vs to play vpon a reed, and after ſome manner to tune a reede, and delightfully ſing to it; but alſo hath inuented ſo many artes, ſo many varieties of voices, and ſo many ſounds, to yeeld ſundry tunes, ſome by force of our owne breath, and ſome by a borrowed and externall aire. For thou canſt not call thoſe things ours, which we haue inuented, no more then thou canſt call it our owne doing that wee grow, or that the bodie hath his full proportion, according to his determinate times. Now our teeth fall in our infancie, anone after wee paſſe into an age, which in a few yeares giueth vs all our encreaſe, againe, ripe age after our yong and ſpringing yeares, making vs become more ſtrong, ſetteth vs in a perfect and manly age. Finally, we are come to the laſt period, which maketh an end of the care and courſe of our life. The ſeeds of all ages and ſciences are hidden in vs from our birth, and that great work-man God produceth out of the hidden all naturall inſtincts.

CHAP. VII.

IT is nature, ſaith he, that communicateth and giueth me all theſe things. Vnderſtandeſt thou not that in ſpeaking after this manner, thou changeſt the name of God? For what elſe is nature but God, and a diuine being and reaſon, which by his ſearching diſſiſtance reſideth in the world, and all the parts thereof? As often as thou liſteſt thou mayeſt call him, ſometimes the Author of all things, and ſometimes *Ioue*, (moſt good and moſt mightie.) Thou mayeſt alſo well rearme him the Thunderer, and eſtabliſher, who had not that name giuen him, becauſe (as the Hiſtoriographers write) that after the Romans had made their vowes vnto him, he reinforced their hearts, and diſcomforted armies in their behalfe: but becauſe all things ſtand and are eſtabliſhed by his benefit, he is therefore ſo called. Thou ſhalt not alſo lie, if thou call him Deſtiny, for wherein Fate and Deſtiny is but an immutable ordinance, which holdeth all cauſes tied and chained together: he it is that is the firſt of all, and he on whom all the reſt that follow doe depend. Thou mayeſt fit him with any other names whatſoeuer thou wilt,

wilt, prouided that they signifie and containe the force and effects of celestiall things. In briefe, he may haue as many names, as he hath attributes of graces, wherewith he bestoweth vs.

CHAP. VIII.

VVr men likewise suppose that he is Father *Liber*, that he is *Hercules* and *Mercurie*, Father *Liber*, because all things haue had their being and originall from him. Because that by his meanes wee first of all found out, and knew the power and vertue of seeds, which should afterwards nourish vs with a sweete and honest pleasure. *Hercules*, because his force is inuincible, which when it shall be wearied in performing actions, and producing inferiour things, shall returne into fire. *Mercurie*, because it is hee from whom reason proceedeth, and the iudgement, numbers, rankes and order of things, and all those sciences, which wee terme Liberall. Whither soeuer thou turnest thee, there shalt thou see him meete with thee: nothing is voide of him. He himselfe filleth his worke to the full. Thou preuailest nothing then (thou vngratefullest man of the world) when thou auowest, that thou art no wayes indebted to God, but to Nature: for neither is Nature without God, nor God without Nature. Both these two are but one, and differ not. If thou shouldest confesse that thou owest to *Annæus* or to *Lucius*, that which *Seneca* hath lent thee, thou shouldest only change the name, but not the Creditour. For whether thou callest him by his name or surname, it is alwaies one man, . Call him then as thou pleasest, either Nature or Fate, or Fortune, it makes no matter, because they all are the names of the selfe-same God, who diuersely vseth his diuine prouidence. Euen as Iustice, Integritie, Prudence, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and the goods and vertues of the soule, if any of these please thee, it is then the soule that pleaseth thee also.

CHAP. IX.

BVt left by these discourses I should wander, I say that God bestoweth many and mightie benefits, expences without hope of interest or recompence: for he hath no need of our tributes, neither can we also giue him any thing. A benefit therefore ought to be desired, for the loue of it selfe; the only thing that is respected therein, is the profit of the receiuer: herein let vs employ our selues, forgetting our owne priuate commodities. You say (saith he) that we ought to make diligent election of those on whom we wil bestow our benefits, (cõsidering the labourers and husband-men themselues, will not commit their seeds vnto the sands) which if it be true, we regard in giuing benefits, as we doe in labouring and sowing our land: for to sow is not a thing that should be desired onely of it selfe. Furthermore, you aske vs to whom we ought to giue our benefits? which should not be done, if to giue a benefit were a thing to be desired of it it selfe, in what place soeuer, after what manner soeuer it was giuen, it was a benefit: for we follow that which is honest, for no other respect, but for the loue of it selfe. Yet although no other thing be to be followed, we require what we shall doe, and when, and how, for that honestie consisteth of these circumstances. When therefore

therefore I make choice of a man on whom I will bestow a courtesie, I doe it to the end that I may neuer faile to doe a benefit. Because if it be bestowed vpon an vnworthie man, it can be neither honest, nor a benefit.

CHAP. X.

The method of restitution.

TO restore a thing which a man is put in trust withall, is a thing to be desired of it selfe; yet ought I not to restore it alwaies, nor in all places, nor at all times. Sometimes it skilleth not whether I deny, or whether I restore the same in all mens sight, I will respect his profit to whom I am to restore it, and perceiuing that by my restitution I shall doe him iniurie, I will deny him his right. The same will I doe in a benefit: I will see when I giue, to whom I giue, how I giue, and why I giue. For nothing is to be done without reason: it is no good turne, except it be done vpon reason, because reason ought to accompany all honest things. How often haue we heard men, that haue reproued their owne inconsiderate larges, and cast forth these words, *I had rather haue lost it, then to haue giuen it to such a one.* It is the most vilanous manner of losing that may be, for a man to giue foolishly and without consideration: and it is much more distastefull to haue employed a benefit badly, then not to haue receiued any. For it is another mans fault, if we receiue not, but it is our owne, that we made better election and choice in bestowing it. In making my choice, I will respect nothing lesse then thou thinkest, namely from whom I shall receiue satisfaction. Oftentimes he that neuer requiteth is gratefull, and he vngratefull that hath made requitall; my estimation aimeth at nothing but the minde and heart. And therefore will I ouerpasse the rich vnworthy man, and will bestow my courtesies on the poore good man: for in his greatest wants he will be thankfull, and when all things faile him, his mind and true heart shall not faile him. I seeke to raise no profit for my courtesies, neither affect I pleasure or glory: I content my self that I can pleasure one man. I will giue to this onely intent and end, that I may giue that which I ought: and that which I ought to doe, is not to bee done without choice and election; which, of what qualitie it shall be, doe you aske me the question?

CHAP. XI.

I Will chuse an honest, simple, mindfull, and gratefull man, that vsurpeth not vpon another mans fortunes, nor niggardly hoardeth vp his owne, or intendeth euill vnto any man. When I haue made this election, although Fortune hath left this man no power to yeeld any satisfaction, yet haue I accomplished my desire, and obtained my wish. If profit or base consideration maketh me liberall, if I profit no man, but to the end that he may pleasure me: I will not giue a gratuitie to him that trauaileth into diuers and forren Countries: I will not giue vnto him that will be alwaies absent; I will not giue vnto such a one, who is so sicke, that there is no hope of his recouery. I will not giue, whereas I am dying my selfe, for I shall haue no time to receiue friendship againe. But to let thee know, that a benefit is a thing that ought to be desired for the loue of it selfe: wee succour strangers, that are vpon the instant cast vpon our coasts, and will presently depart for another:

ther: we must giue and rigge ship to such a one that hath suffered shipwracke, that it may carie him backe againe into his owne country. He departeth suddenly, scarcely knowing him that was the author of his safetie, and making no reckoning euer more to return or reuisit him againe. He assigneth the payment of his debt vnto the gods, and beseecheth them, that since he hath no meanes of satisfaction, that it will please them to bee thankefull in his behalfe: meane while the conscience of a barren benefit doth content vs. Seest thou now, that at such time when we are at deaths dore, we make our last Will and Testament, and dispose our goods and possessions, although we can reape no profite thereby? How much time is spent: how long are we secretly deliberating how much and to whom we shall giue? For what skils it to whom we giue, if we shall receiue of none? And yet we neuer giue any thing more diligently, wee neuer more trauel and racke our iudgements, then when as setting all profite aside, we onely set honestie before our eyes: for so long are we euill judges of our owne offices, as long as hope, feare, and pleasure (the dishonestest vice of all) depraueth our iudgemtnts. But when the assurance of death hath made vs lose the hope of all things, and hath *sent a iust and vncorrupted Iudge to giue sentence, then seeke we out the most worthy, to whom we may deliuer our inheritance; neyther dispose we any thing with more circumspection and regard, then those our possessions which appertaine no longer vnto vs.

*That is, our selues dying. See Lipsius his note.

CHAP. XII.

AND vndoubtedly, euen then conceiueth a man the greatest contentment, when he thinketh with himselfe; *I will make such a one more rich then he is, by giuing him a peece of my possessions: I will increase the honour and nobilitie of his house*: In briefe, if we neuer giue, but when we hope to receiue againe, we must die intestate. Thou maintaynest (saith he) that a benefite is a debt vnrepayable: but a debt is not a thing to be desired for it selfe, *Ergo*, benefiting or good doing, is not a thing to be desired of it selfe. When we call it a debt, we vse a comparison and translation. So likewise say we that the lawe is a rule of iust and vniust; and yet the rule is not to be desired as a thing of it selfe, but we are constrained to vse these words, the better to expresse our intent and meaning. When I say a debt, it is to be vnderstood as a thing trusted. Wilt thou know all? I adde further, vnrepayable, which shall neuer be satisfied; although there be not any debt, but eyther may or ought to be paid. It is so farre from it, that we ought to doe a pleasure for our profits sake; that for the most part (as I haue said) we ought to doe it, though it were to our losse and perill. As for example; I rescue a man circumuented by theeues, to the end he may be permitted to passe in security: I defend a guilty person, disgraced and oppressed by the credit of his aduersaries, and purchase to my selfe the displeasure and faction of great men for my labour, to receiue perchance by the meanes of the same, accusers, the disgraces and miseries I freed the poore man of: whereas I might haue beene partie against him, or beheld a far off, and with all assurance the debates & contentions which were entertained by other men: I giue caution for my friend adiudged, and suffer not execution to be serued vpon his goods, but offer my selfe to be bound for him to his creditors, and to saue him from the prescription, I come in danger to be out-lawed my selfe. No man determineth to buy a place neere *Tusce*, or *Tiburtine* for his health sake, or

Good deeds are not to be done and performed eyther for affectation or vaine-glory, but for vertues sake.

or for the sweetnesse of the ayre, and auoyding the summer heats, that debateth for how many years he shall buy it: but when he hath bought it, he must keepe it. The same reason is in benefites. For if you shall aske me, what profit will accrue thereby: I will answer, a good conscience. Askest thou what profit is yeelded by benefiting? I aske thee likewise, what profiteth it to doe iustly, to liue innocently, to be valiant and stout in honourable dangers, to liue chastly, to be temperate, if thou seekest any other interest then themselues?

CHAP. XIII.

TO what end continueth the heauen his daily and vsuall course? To what end is it, that the Sunne enlargeth and shortneth the day? All these are but benefits, for they are made for our profit. Euen as it is the office of this Vniuerse, to turn about and dispose of the order of all things: as it is the office of the Sunne, where he may arise, and where he may set, and to performe all these faire, profitable, and wholsome effects for our sake, without hope of any profit from vs: so is it the dutie of one man, amongst other things, to doe good vnto another. Askest thou me, why he giueth these benefits? Forsooth to this end, that he may not be vpbraided with euing nothing, & that he may not lose the occasion of well-doing. But all your pleasure and delight, is to accustome your delicate bodies to a lazie idlenesse, and to long for a security, resembling that of sleepe, to couch and lie hidden vnder a close couert and arbor, and to entertaine the dulnesse of your decayed mindes, and to honor them with sweet and agreeable thoughts, which you call tranquility, and repose of spirit, to pamper your vnwieldy carcasses while they wax wanne with meates and drinks, in the caues and cabinets of your gardens. Contrariwise, we feele a pleasure truly worthy a man in giuing benefits: although that they breed vs much sorrow and labour, prouided they set them out of trouble for whom we doe them: although they be full of danger, prouided that we relieue others from their miserie: although all be to the losse & diminution of our substance, prouided that another mans pouertie and necessitie be relieued. What haue I doe to receiue benefites at another mans hands? When I haue receiued them, I must imploy and bestow them. A benefite respecteth not our particular, but onely his profite to whom it is giuen; otherwise we giue vnto our selues, and not vnto others. And by this reason manie things which breed another man great profit, lose their grace, because they are done for gaine. The Merchant is very profitable for the Citie, the Physitian for the sicke, and the *Regrater for goods that are to be solde. But because all these are not profitable to any, but to enrich themselues, they oblige not those who receiue good by them.

*Mango is one that properly selleth slaues, young boyes or girls, as their old custome was.

CHAP. XIIII.

IT is no benefite that is imployed to profit. This will I giue, this will I take, is but open sale and chaffering. I will not call her modest that repulsed her louer, to the end to enkindle his loue the greater, that feared the lawe or displeasure of her husband: for as *Ouid* saith,

She gaue that did not giue because she could not.

Not vndeseruedly is she numbred amongst the dishonored women that rather consecrateth her honestie to feare, then to the respect of her owne selfe: In like manner he that hath giuen a benefit to the intent hee might receiue a requitall, hath not giuen it. Shall we say that we doe good vnto beasts, when wee fatten them for our seruice, or nourish them to yeeld vs foode? That we doe good to our fruit-trees, or the Gardens, wherein they grow; when wee digge about them, least through dryneſſe or hardneſſe of the earth (if they were not well looked vnto, or timely, and oft-times remoued) they should grow barren & withered? no man manureth his fields for this cause only; because to labour is a thing good in it selfe: nor doth any other businesse, without hope of interest or gaine. A couetous thought, and addicted to gaine, will neuer breede in vs a desire to doe good: but a humane and liberall heart, which after it hath giuen any thing, desireth still to giue more, and redouble new curtesies vpon the old: a heart that thinketh not what profit shall arise to him that giueth: for otherwise it is a base contemptible and abiect matter to do good vnto an other, for a mans particular interest and profit: what magnificence is it for a man to loue himselfe? to thinke on nothing but his owne thrift? to trauaile no waies but for himselfe? But the true desire of doing good vnto an other, withdraweth vs from all this; and laying hold on vs, draweth vs to our losse, and disdayning our particular good, highly reioyceth in the act of well-doing only.

CHAP. XV.

CAn it be doubted, but that iniurie is contrarie to a benefit? Like as to do an iniurie is a thing to be esteemed and shunned of it selfe; euen so to doe good is a thing to be coueted for it selfe. In the one the feare of dishonour hath more power ouer vs, then all the recompences that may moue vs to doe any thing that is euill: and in the other the appearance of honestie, which hath great power and efficacie of it selfe, sufficiently inuiteth vs. I shall not lie if I say that there is not any one but loueth his owne, and that there is not any man of so mortified a will, that conceiueth not a great contentment, to see him whom he hath oft-times pleasured, and hath not a desire to further him farther, because hee hath done for him once before. Which thing could neuer come to passe, except we naturally tooke pleasure in our goods deedes. How often-times maiest thou heare some say: *I cannot abandon him whose life I haue saued, and whom I haue alreadie drawne out of danger? he beseecheth me to maintaine his cause against his aduersaries, who haue great fauour and authoritie: I will not: but what shall I then doe?* See you not how in this case, there is a certaine peculiar vertue and power that constraineth vs to succour him, and further to doe him this good in his vtmost necessitie; first, because it behoueth vs to doe it; secondly, because before times wee haue done him the like pleasure? And although at the beginning wee had no reason to succour him, yet at this time we will assist him, because wee haue already done it at another time. So farre is it that profit should impell vs to doe a pleasure, that contrariwise we perseuer to maintayne and nourish those things that are vnprofitable, and conserue them for the only loue we beare to our owne benefits. And if we haue beene vnhappie in doing pleasure to any one, yet is there as great reason to pardon him, as to forgiue our graceleſſe children.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

THese Epicures confesse that they themselues do yeeld thanks, not for that it is honest so to doe, but because it is profitable, yet with little labour we may easily approue that it is farre otherwise. For by these very arguments, wherby we proue, that to giue benefits is a thing to be desired in it selfe; by the same also we shall gather and conclude this: That it is a thing most assured, and from whence we gather all our proofes for all this dispute, that we prise not honestie, but only because it is honest. Who therefore dare draw it into question, that to remunerate a curtesie is not an honest thing? who is hee that detesteth not an vngratefull man, who is only vnprofitable to himselfe? But what wilt thou say of him (when thou heareſt it reported) who is vngratefull and vnthankfull to his friend for his many and mightie benefits? how wilt thou indure him, and interpret it, whether he haue plaied an vnhonest part in so doing, or that hee hath dealt fondly, in omitting that which was for his commoditie and profit? I thinke thou wilt accompt him a wicked man, and imagine that hee rather deserueth some punishment, then needeth an ouer-seer to order his estate to his profit. Which thing should not fall out so, vnlesse honestie were a thing both honest and to bee desired of it selfe. Other things perhaps haue not their excellence and dignitie so apparant, and haue neede of an interpreter to expresse whether they be honest or no. But this is so apparant and so beautifull, that it can not be doubted, but that the clearnesse thereof will shine very brightly. What thing is so laudable, what so equally entertained and allowed in al mens iudgements, as to be thankfull for benefits?

CHAP. XVII.

TEll me what cause induceth vs hereunto? Is it gaine? It is impossible, for he that despiseth not the same is vngratefull. Is it ambition? It cannot be, because to repay that which a man oweth, is no matter of glorie, or occasion to bring it. Is it feare? The vngratefull man hath none, and therefore the Common-weale prefixeth no lawes for giuing thanks, because that nature hath sufficiently commanded vs, and enioyned vs to be gratefull. As also there is no law that biddeth vs to loue our parents, nor to tender and cherish children. It should be but losse labour to constraine vs, to doe that whereunto nature commoneth vs of her selfe. And like as no man needeth to bee incited to selfe-loue, because hee hath it by kinde: so is no man to be exhorted to follow honest things of himselfe, seeing it is so pleasing and gratious of her owne nature, that the wickedder sort also haue a certaine instinct to approue the better. Who is hee that would not seeme to be bountifull? who is he that desireth not to be accompted good, euen hee which he doth most wickednesse and wrong? and when he hath most exercised his tyrannie and crueltie, would not shadow the same vnder some surface or pretence, that striueth not also to make men thinke that he hath done good vnto those whom he hath most of all offended? And therefore they suffer themselues to be entertained at their hands, whom they haue most of all afflicted, & faine themselues to be good and liberall, because they cannot approue themselues such: which they

An vngratefull man neither feareth nor oweth.

they would not doe, except the loue of honestie, which is to be desired for it selfe, compelled them to seeke a contrarie reputation to their corrupt manners, and to conceale and cloake their wickednesse, the fruit whereof is desired, but the thing it selfe is shamefull and odious to them: neither is there any man so farre estranged and sequestred from the law of nature, and degenerated from manhood, that would bee naught for his mindes sake only. Aske any of these Gallants that liue by rapine and spoile, if they had not rather get their goods by any honest meanes, then by robbing and stealing? Hee that inricheth himselfe by spoiling and killing passengers, will rather wish to finde those things he hath purchased, then take them by force; you shall finde no man but had rather enioy the fruits of his wickednesse, without performing the wickednesse it selfe: wee haue this great benefit at natures hands, that vertue permitteth each mans minde to bee illuminated with her beames; and they which follow her not, haue a full view of her.

CHAP. XVIII.

AND to let thee know, that the affection of a gratefull minde is to be desired for it selfe, it is certaine that ingratitude ought to bee fled and eschewed in it selfe. Because there is nothing that so much dismembreth and dissipateth mens friendship, as this vice. For in what other thing are we secure but in this, that we are helped by mutuall offices, and interchangeable friendships? by this one and only commerce of benefits our life is not only assured, but better defended against all sodaine incursions. Single vs alone, what are we? but a pray and sacrifice for rauenous beasts, neither is there any bloud more vile or easier to be spilt: for other beasts haue sufficient force to maintayne and defend themselues. What soeuer beasts are bred to wander vp and downe, and to leade a solitarie and separated life, are armed, weaknesse girteth in and gauleth man on euery side: the force of his nailes, the sharpnesse of his teeth hath not made him terrible to the rest, being naked and informe: societie assureth and defenceth him. Two things hath shee giuen him, to wit, reason and societie, which make him, (although he be exposed to all other dangers) most powerfull and puissant. And thus he, that being alone and separated, was the least and feeblest of all the rest, is become the Master of all things. Societie gaue him the dominion ouer all liuing creatures, Societie whereas he was borne for the Land, hath transmitted him into a soueraigntie of an other nature, and made him Lord of the Sea likewise. Societie hath represt the violence of infirmities, purueied succours and assistance for old age, and giuen comfort against sorrow. Shee it is that giueth vs forces, and animateth vs to resist fortune. Take Societie away, and thou shalt extinguish and cut off the vnitie of mankinde, whereby life is sustained. But you take it away, if you bring to passe that a thankelesse minde is not to be esteemed for it selfe: but because that hee ought to feare, least a greater mischiefe befall him. For how many vngratefull men are they, that may bee vngratefull without punishment. To conclude, I call him vngratefull whosoeuer is gratefull for feare.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

NO man of sound vnderstanding hath euer feared the Gods, for it is a madnesse to feare these, from whom we receiue all our good and happinesse, neither doth any man loue those whom hee feareth. Finally, thou Epicure, thou hast disarmed God, thou hast dispoiled him of his armes and power, and least he should be feared by any man, thou hast turned him out of the world. Being then after this manner begirt and inuironed with a strong and impregnable wall, separated and retired out of the sight, and touch of mortal men, thou oughtest to haue no feare of him, because he hath no meanes to doe either good or euill. But remaining alone betwixt the space and distance, which is betweene one Heauen and another, abandoned of all companie of creatures and men, disfurnished of all things, hee is out of danger of the ruines of the world, which hee seeth fall aboue him, and about him, not making any reckoning of our vowes and prayers, neither hauing any care of vs. And yet such as he is, thy desire is that we should thinke that thou worshippest him, and that thou owest him as much reuerence, as thou doest to thy father. All which thou doest, in my iudgement, to this end only, that thou might not be accompted vngratefull: Or if thou doest it not to this end, if thou wilt not haue vs suppose that thou art thankefull, because thou thinkest that thou hast receiued no benefit at his hands, and that happily thy little *Atomes* and mites, which thou hast fantastically coined in thy braine, haue rashly and vnfurely formed and fashioned thee such as thou art, why doest thou worship him? It is (thou wilt answere) for the excellencie of his great Majestie, and for his wonderous nature; I put the case that this be thus, at least wise thou doest it without hope of any good, and without any perswasion or appearance of profit. There is therefore somewhat that is to be desired for it selfe, the dignitie whereof inuiteth and draweth thee to loue the same, and truly, that is, honestie. For what is more honest then to bee gratefull? the matter of this vertue extendeth it selfe as farre as our life.

It is not intended that the iust shall hath no feare of God, if feare be taken for one of the seuen guifts of the holy Ghost: but this place is to be vnderstood that loue, which is not capatible with that loue wherewith good men loue God, but with him is a seruile feare, which is not of children, but of slaues.

CHAP. XX.

BVt in this good, saith he, there is some profit likewise: for in what vertue is it not? But that is said to be desired for it selfe, which although it haue some commodities without it selfe, is not withstanding well pleasing and acceptable, euen when those commodities be remoued and taken away. It is profitable for me to bee thankefull, yet will I be thankefull although it bee to my harme: what seeketh he that is thankefull? Is it to the end that his acknowledgement may get him new friends, and more benefits? what if in so doing he should purchase other mens displeasure? if a man bee assured that hee shall gaine nothing in restoring the good which he hath receiued, but contrariwise that hee shall lose much of that he hath alreadie gotten, and hoarded vp in his coffers, would hee willingly light vpon this losse? vndoubtedly, that man is vngratefull that fixeth the eye of his desire vpon a second good turne, when hee satisfieth the first; hoping to make profit of that pleasure, whereof he acquiteth himselfe. I call him vngratefull that sitteth by a sick man, and continually attendeth by him, because he is

to make his last will and testament, or hath so much leasure as to thinke of any inheritance or legacie. Although he doe all things which a good friend (or such a one as is mindfull of his duetie) ought to doe, if hee conceiue in himselfe any interessable hope, he layeth a snare, or as a fisherman armeth his bait, if he expect and linger after the death of the partie, and houer about his carkasse like carion crowes, which stand spying neere at hand for the fall of some cattell by the rot, he will giue an occasion for each man to thinke, that he doth but expect the death of his good friend, and doth but houer and haunt about his person. A thankefull heart conceiueth no pleasure, but in the onely vertue of his good intent.

CHAP. XXI.

Wilt thou know that this is true, and that a thankfull man is not corrupted by profit? there are two sorts of thankfull men. He is said to be thankfull, that maketh satisfaction in some sort for that he hath receiued. This man peraduenture may vaunt himselfe, he hath somewhat whereof to boast, and to speake of. He likewise is called thankfull, that hath receiued a benefit with a good minde, and oweth it with as good. This man hideth himselfe in his owne conscience: but what profit may he reape of an affection so deepely hidden? But that other man, although he wanteth meanes to do more, yet is he thankful: he loueth, he oweth, he desireth to yeeld satisfaction, what aske you more? he is not wanting to himselfe. A workeman is a workeman, although he want his tooles to exercise his Art; and a cunning Musitian is a Musitian, although his very voice cannot be heard for muttering and noise that is made about him. I will giue thankes for the good that is done me: after this there remaineth something for me to doe, not that I may be thankfull, but really acquit of my obligation. For oftentimes hee that recompenceth is not thankefull, and contrariwise, many that doe it not, are thankfull. For as of all other vertues, so the whole estimation of this hath reference to the minde, if she be obseruant of that which concerneth her, whatsoeuer otherwise is deficient, is the errour of Fortune. Euen as a man ceaseth not to be eloquent, although he be silent, nor strong, although his hands be bound and fettered, neither a good Pilate, although hee be vpon the firme land, because hee wanteth no perfection in his science, although there be some impediment that letteth them from vsing the same. Euen so also is hee thankfull, that hath onely a will to bee thankfull, and hath no other witnesse of his willingnesse, but himselfe. Nay I will say thus much more, sometimes euen he is thankfull, which seemeth vnthankfull, and whom misdeeming opinion traduceth for the contrarie. Wherein then reposeth this man his trust, but in his conscience, which reioyceth in it selfe, although it bee oppressed, which reclaimeth and gain-sayeth all that eloquence can vrge, or fauour detract: and reposeth all things in her selfe? And though she seeth neuer so huge a multitude of men that reproue her intentions, she maketh no reckoning of the contrary opinions, but thinketh to iustifie her selfe in her owne secret iudgement. And albeit she perceiue, that her faithfulnes beare the punishment of perfidiousnes, yet she abateth no whit of her courage, neither is abashed thereat, but standeth still aloft, aboue her punishment.

The mind and intent crowneth the action.

A good conscience contemneth oppression being erect and confirmed in it selfe.

CHAP. XXII.

Haue (saith he) that which I would, and that which I desired I haue not as yet repented me; neither will I euer repent my selfe: neither shall Fortune (how aduerse soeuer she be) finde in me this pusillanimitie, as to make me say: *What is that I intended? to what hath my good will now profited me?* It profitteth me when I am on the racke: it profitteth me being in the middest of the fire, which if it should be applied to euery member of my bodie, and by little and little should enuirone and deuoure the same on euery side, although my body (fraught ed with a good conscience) should be put into a flaming fire, and tortured and burned therein, yet would the fire be pleasing to me, because thorow it my spotlesse faith would shine and appeare. I will now once more reinforce that argument which I haue vsed in times past. Why is it, that when we die we are desirous to be gratefull? Why examine we euery particular mans deserts? Why endeuour we to refresh the memorie of all our life past, to this intent, that we might seeme to be forgetfull of no mans kindnesse. At that time there remaineth nothing for hope to linger vpon, and yet standing at the pits brim, our desire is to depart this world, to euery mans satisfaction. The reason is, because the proper act of thanksgiuing draweth with it a most great reward of it selfe, and the force of vertue is very great, to draw mens hearts vnto it, and the beautie of honestie so enuironeth and surpriseth mens mindes, that it rauisheth them with the admiration of the light and brightnesse thereof, yea many commodities ensue thereby. For the life of such as are honest is more secured and innocent; which is accompanied with a thankefull soule, and out of feare. Nature had dealt vniustly with vs, if she had made vs partakers of so great a benefit, with miserie, danger, and vncertaintie. But, consider I pray you, although thou mightest easily, and without danger attaine very often to this vertue by an assured and easie way, whether thou couldest not find in thy heart to make thy way thereunto, by vnaccessible rockes, through stony wayes, full of Serpents and sauage beasts?

Innocence in danger is confident, in prosperitie milde, in all encounters happy.

CHAP. XXIII.

Yet ought we not to say, that a thing should not be desired for the loue of it selfe, because it is accompanied with some forraine profit that attendeth it. For wee see almost daily, that the fairest things are accompanied with accessary endowments, but yet so as they draw these commodities after them, and they themselues goe before. May it be doubted, but that the course and circular motion of Sunne and Moone, doe temperate this dwelling place of mankind by their diuers changes? Or that by the heate of the Sunne, all bodies are cherished, the earth is relaxed and opened, superfluous moistures abated, and the irkesomenes of Winter that bindeth all things allayed, or that by the effectuall and piercing warmth of the Moone the ripening fruits are moistened? Or that the fruitfulnes of man is answerable and correspondent to her course: or that the Sunne by his proper motion maketh the yeare discerneable, and the Moone by her circumuolution in shorter space maketh the month. But admit you take these vertues from the Moone, were not the Sunne of it selfe worthy to bee beheld and admired

admired in our sight, though he did but swiftly passe before our eyes. Were not the Moone to be admired by vs, although shee ranne by vs but as an idle Star? When the heauen by night time darteth out his lights, when we behold such an infinity of Starres shine vpon vs, who is hee that is not rauished to behold them? Who is he that seeing himselfe to be surprised by so great a wonder, hath leisure at that time to thinke on the good and profit that they bring? Behold, those Starres that glide aloft in the still firmament, after what sort hide they their swiftnesse, vnder an appearance of a standing and immooueable worke? How much is done this night, which thou obseruest onely for a reckoning and difference from the dayes? What a troope of things are vnfolded vnder this silence? What an order of destinies doth this certaine bound bring forth? These things which thou beholdest no otherwise, but as matters dispersed for beautifying, are euery one of them occupied in working. For thou canst not imagine that the seuen Planets onely haue their designed motions, and the rest stand fixed, will comprehend the motion of very fewe. But there is an infinite number of * gods, which are farre scuered and withdrawen from our sight, which both goe and come. And of those which are subiect to our sight there are diuers, that haue obscure motions and hidden courses. What then shouldest thou not bee strooken with admiration to behold so huge a worke, yea though it ruled thee not, preserued thee not, cherished thee not, ingendered thee not by his winds, and moystned thee not by the ayre?

Admiration of those things accompanied with deuotion, what admirable effects worke they in the Soule?

* *A Stoicall error, who ascribe Deitie to the Starres.*

CHAP. XXIIII.

NOw, euen as these things, although they haue their first and principall vses, and are both necessarie and profitable for our life yet it is the maiestie of them that occupieth the whole minde. Euen so all vertue (and especially the vertue of gratefulnesse) yeeldeth very much profit, yet will it not be loued for the same; for it hath yet a further thing in it, neither is it sufficiently vnderstood by him, which accounteth it amongst gainefull things. Is a man thankfull because it concerneth his owne profit? *Ergo*, also he is thankefull, but for so much as implieth his profit. Vertue entertaineth not a couetous and base minded Louer, shee will bee courted with open hands and a liberall heart. The vngratefull man thinketh thus: *I would faine requite the curtesie I haue received, but I feare the charge and expence, I feare the perill, I am affraide of displeasure, I will rather doe that which is more profitable and secure for me.* One and the same cause and reason, cannot make a man thankefull, and vngratefull: as their actions are diuers, so their intentions are different. The one is vngratefull although it behoueth him not, because it is for his profit, the other is gratefull although it bee against his profit, because he ought so to be.

CHAP. XXV.

WEe are resolued to liue conformable and agreeable to nature, and to follow the example of the gods. But in all that whatsoeuer the gods doe, they follow nothing else, but the reason of doing that they doe; except hapily thou imaginest, that they receiue the fruit of their labours out of the smoake of intrailes, and the odour

odour of the incense which is consumed in their sacrifices. Consider how great things they atchiue and compasse daily, with what aboundant fruites they replenish the earth, with how seasonable and fauourable winds (fitly seruing to conuey vs into all forraine Coasts) turne they and moone they the Seas, with how many and sudden showers mollifie they and moysten they the earth, and replenish the dried vaines and fountaines, and renew them by infusing nutriment, by the hidden and secret Spring-heads. All these things doe they without any recompence, and without any profit that may accrue vnto them. This example also ought our reason to obserue (if it disagree not from this patterne and president) lest it follow honest things, as if hired and engaged. Let vs bee shamed to sell the least courtesie that we do. The Gods expect no recompence for that they doe. If thou wilt imitate the Gods (saith hee) thou must pleasure euen those that are vnthankfull: for the Sunne riseth vpon the wicked, and Pirats haue the sea open vnto them.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN this place they demand whether a good man may imploy his benefits on an vnthankfull man, knowing him to be such a one? Giue me leaue to speake somewhat by the way, lest I be entangled with a doubtfull question. There are, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, two sorts of vngratefull men: The one vngratefull, because he is a foole, and wanteth iudgement; but he that is a foole, is consequently euill, and an euill man is replenished with all kinds of vices, and therefore is vngratefull. In like manner wee terme euill men intemperate and dissolute, couetous, prodigall, and malicious, not that these great and notorious vices are incident to euery euill man, but because they may be, and are in them, though vndiscouered. The other is vngratefull, which in all mens iudgement and voices is termed so; and for that by nature he is prone and inclined thereunto. To that vngratefull man, that so is not free from this vice, as he is free from no vice, a good man may doe a courtesie and kindnesse: for should he but reiect those of this condition, he should doe good vnto no man? But vnto this vngratefull man, which is a defrauder of benefits, who naturally hath his heart addicted to ingratitude, he shall no more giue a benefit, then to trust his money to a banquerout, or leaue a pledge in his hands, who hath heretofore defrauded many others of their right. We call him coward who is a foole; for this followeth those wicked persons, who are indifferently seazed of all kinds of vices: but properly we account and call him a coward, who naturally is affrighted with the the least trifling noice he heareth. So a foole hath all vices, but is not naturally wicked vnto all: one is subiect to auarice, the other to prodigalitie and outragious expences, the other to shamelesse petulancie and wantonnesse.

What a burthen hath iniquitie on his backe?

CHAP. XXVII.

THey then are deceiued, who question with the Stoickes after this manner. What then, is *Achilles* a coward? What then, is *Aristides* (to whom Iustice gaue his name) vniust? What then, is *Fabius* (who by cunctations and delay, restored his decaying Common-weale) rash? What then, feareth *Decius* death? is *Mutius*

The description of a coward.

For he was called Aristides Iustus.

An apt similitude.

Mutius a traytor? is *Camillus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say we that all sorts of vices are so inseparably vnited in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a foolish and wicked man is subiect and enclined to all vices, in so much as we acquit not the bold man of feare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his fiue sences, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Lynceus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordinate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in euery man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousnesse, this man to lust, that man she addicteth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is he so formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seeds of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marieth her to a contumelious and often-diuorced husband: and as hee is esteemed an ill husband and housholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and gouernment of his patrimony to one alreadie condemned for ill managing his masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueth such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath beene a spoiler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee be reputed to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choice of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will be lost.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Gods also (saith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but these, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill also, because they cannot be separated. And more reason is it to profit the euill for the goods sake, then to abandon the good for the euils sake. So those things thou speakest of the day, the Sun, the entercourse of Winter and Sommer, the temperate swectenes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-springs, and the ordinarie blasts of windes; were deuised by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not seuer and separate them, onely for those they intended good to. The King giueth honors to those that are worthie, but he oftentimes yeeldeth publike larges, and presents of victuals to those that deserue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwayes that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, which is monthly giuen to the people of *Rome*, without respect of his manners, when there is any thing that is to be bestowed simply, as vpon a Courtizen, and not vpon a good Citizen, both the good and bad receiue the same indifferently. God likewise hath giuen some things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the windes should be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the seas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it should not as well water and ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniust. There are certaine things which are common, both

both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good, as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are published and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine ministreth helpe euen to the most debauched. No man euer concealed the composition of wholesome medicines, for feare lest the vnworthie should bee healed. Seeke thou a strict account and valuation of persons, in those things which are giuen seuerally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in these things which confusedly admit the common sort. For there is a great difference betwixt chusing a man, and not repulsing him. The law is open to all men, the murtherers themselues enuie the peace, and they which haue stolne another mans goods, recouer their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to strike any man in time of peace, are defended from the enemie with a wall in time of warre. Those that haue most oftentimes offended the lawes, are maintained and conserued with all assurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. In briefe there are some, though of that nature, that they could not be applied to some persons in particular, except they were granted vnto all in common. There is no cause therefore, why thou shouldest dispute of these things, whereunto we are publikely induced. That which in my choice and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully prouide that I cast it not away on such a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIX.

WIlt thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires: nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldest thou doe these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this point, or at least-wise I will endeuour to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concurre in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who euer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money, or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things do a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the basenes of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessitie of the time maketh them needfull. Againe, we ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I do it for loue of that person, to whom I would giue my benefit, and whom I account worthy to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feele in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for we bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelessely as small things, and we giue it not vnto the man, but vnto humanitie.

The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

CHAP.

An apt similitude.

Mutius a traytor? is *Camillus* a forsaken? Noe, we intend no such matter; neither say we that all sorts of vices are so inseparably vnited in all men, as in some there are particular faults, and they more eminent. But this we say, that a foolish and wicked man is subiect and enclined to all vices, in so much as we acquit not the bold man of feare, nor discharge the prodigall man of niggardize. Euen as man is naturally endowed with all his fiue sences, and yet all men are not so quick-sighted as *Lynceus*: so he that is a foole hath not all vices, so vehement and disordinate as some of them, haue some vices. All vices are in all men; yet are not all of them eminent in euery man. Nature impelleth one man vnto couetousnesse, this man to lust, that man she addicteth to wine, or if not as yet addicted, yet is he so formed, that his disposition draweth him thereunto. For this cause (that I may returne vnto my purpose) I say that there is no man that is not stained with ingratitude, and that is euill: for hee hath all the seeds of wickednesse in him, yet properly he is called vngratefull, who is more inclined to that vice. On such a one therefore will I bestow no benefit. For like as hee hath very little care of his daughter, that marieth her to a contumelious and often-diuorced husband: and as hee is esteemed an ill husband and housholder, who preferreth to the stewardship of his house, and gouernment of his patrimony to one alreadie condemned for ill managing his masters businesse. And as he committeth a great folly, and maketh a mad will, that leaueth such a one Tutor and gouernour of his heire, that hath beene a spoiler, an ouerthrow of innocent Orphelins. So shall hee be reputed to bestow his courtesies very inconsiderately, who maketh his choice of vngratefull men, on whom hee may bestow that which is sure will be lost.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Gods also (saith he) giue many things to vngratefull men: but these, had they prepared for the good, yet befall they the euill also, because they cannot be separated. And more reason is it to profit the euill for the goods sake, then to abandon the good for the euils sake. So those things thou speakest of the day, the Sun, the entercourse of Winter and Sommer, the temperate sweetenes of the Spring and Autumne, the raines, the water-springs, and the ordinarie blasts of windes; were deuised by the Gods for all men in generall, they could not seuer and separate them, onely for those they intended good to. The King giueth honors to those that are worthie, but he oftentimes yeeldeth publike larges, and presents of victuals to those that deserue it not. The theefe, the periured man, the adulterer (prouided alwayes that he be a Citizen) receiued the publike larges of wheat, which is monthly giuen to the people of *Rome*, without respect of his manners, when there is any thing that is to be bestowed simply, as vpon a Courtizen, and not vpon a good Citizen, both the good and bad receiue the same indifferently. God likewise hath giuen some things in generall to all mankind, from whence no man is excluded. For it could not be, that the windes should be fauourable to the good, and contrary to the wicked. It was the good and profit of all nations, that the seas were open and nauigable, for the good of the merchants traffique, and to extend the Kingdome of mankind. Neither could there a law be prefixed to the raine, that it should not as well water and ouerflow the lands of the wicked and vniust. There are certaine things which are common, both

both to the one, and to the other. Cities are built, as well to entertaine the good, as the euill: the monuments of learned mens wits are published and vented abroad, to be read as well to the reprobate, as the vertuous. Medicine ministreth helpe euen to the most debauched. No man euer concealed the composition of wholesome medicines, for feare lest the vnworthie should bee healed. Seeke thou a strict account and valuation of persons, in those things which are giuen seuerally vnto a man, as a man worthie, and not in these things which confusedly admit the common sort. For there is a great difference betwixt chusing a man, and not repulling him. The law is open to all men, the murtherers themselues enuie the peace, and they which haue stolne another mans goods, recouer their owne. Such as are quarrellers, and readie to strike any man in time of peace, are defended from the enemie with a wall in time of warre. Those that haue most oftentimes offended the lawes, are maintained and conserued with all assurance, vnder the authoritie thereof. In briefe there are some, though of that nature, that they could not be applied to some persons in particular, except they were granted vnto all in common. There is no cause therefore, why thou shouldest dispute of these things, whereunto we are publikely induced. That which in my choice and iudgement I would giue to any vertuous man, I will carefully prouide that I cast it not away on such a one, whom I know to be vngratefull.

CHAP. XXIX.

WIlt thou not then (saith hee) giue counsell to an vngratefull man, who would take thine aduice in his affaires; nor permit him to draw water out of thy fountaines: nor shew him the way if he be out of it? or wouldest thou doe these things for an vngratefull man, yet refuse him afterwards all other sorts of good? I will distinguish in this point, or at least-wise I will endeuour to distinguish the same. A benefit is a profitable worke, but euery profitable worke is not a benefit. For some things are of so small moment, that they deserue not the name of a benefit. Two things must concurre in making of a benefit. First, the greatnesse of the thing, for some things there are, that vndergoe the measure of this name: who euer accounted it a benefit, to haue giuen a shiue of bread, or a peece of bare money; or to haue permitted a neighbour to enter and kindle fire in his house? And yet sometimes these things do a man more pleasure then farre greater: but the basenes of them diminisheth their reputation, euen then, when the necessitie of the time maketh them needfull. Againe, we ought to consider that which is principall and of greatest force: which is first of all, that I do it for loue of that person, to whom I would giue my benefit, and whom I account worthy to receiue the same. Finally, that I doe it with a good will, and that I feele in my selfe a great ioy and pleasure that I doe it. Of which points there are none at all in these things that we speake of; for we bestow them not as vpon worthy men, but carelessely in small things, and we giue it not vnto the man, but vnto humanitie.

The difference betweene a profitable worke and a benefit.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

IDenie not but that sometimes I may bestow some things on those that are vnworthy for other mens sakes. As oft-times in the pursuit of honours and dignities, the ancient Nobilitie of houses hath beene the cause, that those men were preferred, who were vnprofitable, and of base estimation, before those that were learned and of good spirits. Not without cause is the memorie of great vertues sacred; and many men affect goodnesse with greater delight, when they perceiue that the honor of good men dieth not with them. What merit made *Ciceroes* sonne Consull, but the memorie of his father? What thing is it that caused *Cinna* of late (returning from the Enemies campe) to be honored with the Consulship? why was *Sextus Pompey*, and the rest, that haue borne the name of the *Pompeis*, preferred in the like maner, but for the excellencie and vertue of one onely man, whose greatnesse was so great, that his ruine & death could raise so many of his posteritie, to so worthie estimation? What made *Fabius Persicus* lately (that was so hateful in the most abiectest mens eies, that they disdayn'd to kisse him) attain vnto the Priesthood of so many Colledges, but only the fame of the *Verrucosians* and *Allobrogicks*, & of those three hundred, that opposed one familie against the intrusion of their enemies in their Countries defence? So much are we indebted vnto vertues, that we ought to respect them, not only while they be present, but also when they are most distant & out of sight. Euen as those vertues wrought this effect, that they profited not only one age, but left their benefits behinde them to all ages: so let vs not be gratefull to one age only. This man hath begotten noble children, he is then worthy of good turnes what soeuer he himselfe is, because he hath brought forth such. Another is borne of noble Ancestors, what soeuer he himselfe is, let him be shrouded vnder the shadow of his Ancestors. Like as obscure and vncleane places are lightned by the repercussion of the Sunne-beames, so let idle and vnworthy men bee illustrated by the light of their forefathers.

Honour enkindleth good spirits, and maketh labour pleasing.

This Sextus Pompey was the Sonne of Sextus Pompeius, who was Consul the yeare 1218.

These were of the Fabian Familie.

It is some part of happinesse to be borne of good parents.

CHAP. XXXI.

IN this place, my *Liberalis*, I intend to excuse the goddes. For sometimes we are wont to say, Wherat aymed the prouidence of the goddes, when they committed the gouernement of a Kingdome to * *Aridæus* handes? Thinkest thou it was giuen him? It befell him for his fathers and his brothers sake. Why gaue thee the Empire of the whole world to *Caius Caligula*, a man so insatiate of mans bloud, that he commanded the same to bee shed before his eies, as if hee had a desire to drinke and deuoure it with his mouth? What, thinkest thou, that this greatnesse was giuen him for his owne merit? No, it was giuen to his father *Germanicus*; it was for his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers sake, and to others no lesse famous men their predecessors, although they led a priuate and ordinary life. What, when thou madest *Scaurus Mamercus* Consull, didst thou not know, that he receiued with open mouth the monthly excrements of his vnchaste chamber-maids? For did he dissemble? Would he seeme to be pure? I will relate vnto thee a speech of his owne, which was ordinarie in euery mans mouth in my remembrance, and was commended in his owne presence: *Asinius Pollio* being on a time laid vpon his bed, the said vnto him (but with wordes vnworthy to be named) that he would do that vnto him, which he had rather suffer himselfe. And seeing that *Pollio* was displeased therewith, and that hee began to bend his brows: *If I haue spoken anything* (said he) *I would willingly vpon the spot on my head.* This saying of his he himselfe blasted abroad: that thou admitted a man so openly shamelesse & iniust vnto the Maistery and Tribunal of Consuls? Verily, when thou bethought'st the Image of that old Warrior the Prince or prime man of the Senate in times past, thou couldst not suffer his race and posteritie to be abused or extinguished.

* Alexanders Brother.

* *This speech is obiected, not to Liberalis, but to prouidence.*

CHAP. XXXII.

LAst it is for vs to perceiue how the goddes deale moral fauourably with some for the merits and deserts of their fathers, and predecessors, and with other some for the towardnesse that shall be in their children, and childrens children; and in those that hereafter shall descend from their posteritie. For they know the successiue order of their workes, and they haue an infallible science of all those things which are to passe thorow their hands, although they are farre remote from our knowledge and vnderstanding. The things that we suppose to be casuall and sudden, are foreseene and familiar to them. Let these be Kings (say they) because their ancestors haue not beene, but imagined it to be a true Kingdome, to be iust and abstinent. And because they haue not vsed the common-weale for their profits, but dedicated their persons to the seruice and increase thereof. Let these men raigne because some good man was their great grand-father, whose mind was greater then his fortune, who in ciuill discentions chose rather to be vanquished, then to vanquish; because it stood with the profit of the Common-wealth. His goodnesse could not be requited all this while. In respect of that man, let this man haue prehominence ouer others, not because he is of knowledge and ability how to vse it, but because the other hath deserued it for him: for peraduenture this man is in body misshapen, in countenance loathsom, and will be a slander to the place and persons of his aduancement. Now will men finde fault with me, and say, that I am blinde, and rash, and ignorant where to bestow the things that are due to the chiefest and excellentest persons. But I know that the giuing of this thing to the one, is a satisfaction of it to the other, to whom it was due long since. Whereby doe they know such a certaine man, who was such a contemner of glorie, when it followed him, that he aduentured vpon perill with the same countenance that others escape it, and that neuer made difference betwixt his owne profite and the profite of the Common-wealth? Where is this man? who is he? how know you him? Those reckonings of such receipts and payments are striken out of my bookes. I know what and to whom I owe. To some I make payment after long time, to other some I giue aforehand, or else I deale with them according as occasion and the vtility of my common-wealth requireth.

All these reasons he vrgeth in the person of God.

* *From hence, to the end of the Chapter all is disiointed.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

SOme things I will then giue to an vngratefull man, yet will I not giue it for his owne sake. But if (saith he) thou knowest not whether he be thankefull or vngratefull; wilt thou expect vntill thou know the same? or wilt thou not lose the opportunity of giuing the benefite? It is too long to expect: for (as *Plato* saith) it is hard to coniecture what a mans mind is, and not to exspect is rashnesse. To him we will answere, that we will neuer expect a certaine comprehension and knowledge of things, because it is a difficult matter to finde out the truth; but that we follow that way whereunto the similitude of truth leadeth vs. All mens offices and actions proceed this way; vnder this hope we sow our lands: thus saile we, thus vndertake we war, thus marrie we, thus bring we vp our children; wherns the euent of all these is vncertaine. To those things addresse we our enterprises, whereof we beleeue that we may hope the best. For who can warrant a rich harueſt to him that soweth, a safe Port to him that saileth, victory to him that warreth, a modest wife to him that marrieth, toward children to him that begat them? We follow those things whereunto reason induceth vs, not those whereunto truth draweth vs. If thou expectest to do nothing except thou be secured of the good succesſe, if thou lingerest vntill such time as thou hast found out the truth, thy life will become vnprofitable and idle, neyther shalt thou euer dare or attempt any thing: whilst the appearance of truth impelleth me to doe this or that, I will not feare to giue a benefite to him, who in my opinion and in all likelyhood, will approue himselfe thankefull.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

MAnie things may chance (saith he) wherby we may take a bad man to be good, a good man to be bad, because the appearances of things whereunto we giue credite, do oftentimes deceiue vs. Who denieth this? But I find nothing else, by which I should gouerne my thoughts. By these foot-steps must I pursue the truth; more assured I haue none. This will I endeauor to examine with all diligence, neyther will I assent vnto them ouer quickly. For so may it fall out in warre, that being deceiued by some false appearance, I may aime mine arrow against my fellow Souldier, leauing mine enemie vntouched and in safetie, but this both seldom times falleth out, and not by mine error: whose purpose was to wound mine enemie, and defend my fellow Citizen. If I know him to be vngratefull I will giue him no benefit. But he cosened me, he deceiued me; here is no fault of him that giueth, for I gaue it as to a thankefull man. But if (saith hee) thou hast promised to doe a man a pleasure, and afterwards thou findest him to bee vngratefull, wilt thou giue it or no? if thou doest it thou offendest willingly, for thou giuest to him, thou oughtest not to giue: if thou denieſt, in this case likewise thou offendest, because thou performest not that which thou hast firmely promised. Your sect in this place staggereth and trippeth, and that proud promise of theirs, that a wise man neuer repenteth himselfe of that which hee hath done; neither euer reformeth his actions, nor changeth his counsaile, beginneth to be shaken. A wiseman changeth not his counsaile, as long as the cause and

Sapientis est mutare consilia.

and circumstances continue the same, as they were when he determined. And therefore neuer repenteth he himselfe in any thing, because nothing could bee better done at that time then was done, nor nothing better ordered then that which was ordered. Finally, all things hee vndertaketh, he attempteth them with this condition, if nothing fall out that may interrupt his sage delignes. And therefore say we, that all things befall him to his wish, that nothing hath befalne him contrarie to his expectation, because he presumeth in his minde, that sundrie things may fall out which may crosse his purpose. Fooles are they, that are too confident, and who promise vnto themselues ouer peremptorily, that Fortune will fauour them, but a wise man considereth her both wayes, hee knoweth very well what sway she beareth, how vncertaine worldly things be, and how many things hinder mens determinations: he followeth variable Fortune, and the hazards of humane affaires, with an vncertaine and doubtfull hope, expecting with assured counsaile the vncertaine ends therof. But the conditions, without which he beginneth and enterpriseth nothing, warrantise him sufficiently herein.

CHAP. XXXV.

IHaue promised to doe a pleasure, except there fall out some occasion wherby I am letted from giuing that I intended: but what if the Common-weale command me to giue that vnto her which I haue promised my friend, if a publique law bee made that no man shall do that which I haue promised my friend to performe. I haue past my word to giue thee my Daughter in marriage, and afterwards thou art conuicted to be a forrainer, with whom wee are forbidden to contract matrimonie. The law that prohibiteth, that, defendeth also my cause: then shall I breake my word, then shall I bee iustly taxed with inconstancie; if all the circumstances continuing as they were when I promised, I neglect to performe the same: Because other wise what soeuer thing is changed, giueth me liberty to determine anew, and discharged mee of my former obligation. I haue promised to pleade thy cause, and afterwards I finde that the prosecution thereof will in the end redound to my fathers preiudice. I haue promised thee to take a long iourney with thee, but afterwards vpon better instructions, I vnderstand that the way is dangerous and full of theeues, I intended presently to come and visit thee about thine instant businesse, but my childs sickneſſe, or my wifes falling in labour, kept me at home. All things ought to be in the same estate, they were, when I promised thee, if thou wilt that my faith bee obliged vnto thee. But what greater change may there happen then if hereafter I am informed that thou art an vngratefull and wicked man? That which I gaue thee, as to a worthy man, I will refuse thee as a man vnworthy, and further more I shall haue a iust cause to be angrie with thee, because thou hast deceiued me.

The law of bountie is limited by circumstances.

CHAP. XXXVI.

YEt will I nearely examine the greatneſſe of that I haue promiſed. The valew of the thing, which I haue promiſed to beſtow, ſhall giue mee counſaile. If it be a ſmall matter, I will giue it; not becauſe hee is worthy, but becauſe I haue promiſed. Neither will I giue it as a benefit, but only to redeeme my word, and hereafter will I take better heede, and by my loſſe I will chaſtiſe my raſhneſſe in promiſing; and to the end I may haue a more feeling and ſenſible apprehenſion of the ſame, and henceforward be more circumſpect in that I ſpeake, I will, (as the common prouerbe ſaith) pay a fine for my tongue. But if it be a thing of greater price, I would not, (as *Mecenas* ſaith) ſpend two hundreth and fiftie thouſand crownes, to buy mine owne blame: I will diligently compare both theſe things betweene themſelues. It is ſomething to keepe a mans word when hee hath promiſed, and againe it importeth very much to take care that wee giue to ſuch a one as deſerueth the ſame: yet muſt we cõſider how great our promiſe is: If it be a thing of ſmall valew, I will giue it as though I winked thereat. But if it may be either greatly to my loſſe, or greatly to my ſhame. I had rather excuſe my ſelfe once for not doing it, then condemne my ſelfe alwaies for giuing it. In briefe, all the waight of the matter conſiſteth (as I ſay) in this to know of what valew and eſtimate the promiſe is that I haue made. For I will not only retaine that which I haue raſhly promiſed, but I will redemand alſo that which I haue giuen amiſſe. He is out of his wits, that binds his faith for an error.

CHAP. XXXVII.

PHilip of *Macedon* had a valiant and braue Souldier, who had faithfully ſerued him in all his warres, to whom in remuneration of his vertue, he had often-times giuen a good part of that which he had taken from the enemie, & incouraged him with rewards, he being a man of a mercinarie minde. It fortuned that this Souldier was ſhipwracke and caſt away at Sea, and that the tempeſt and billowes caſt him on the ſhoare neare to a certaine *Macedonians* dwelling place, who being aduertiſed of this his fortune, ranne vnto him, and recouered him to life, being well-nigh dead. He caried him vnto his owne houſe, he lodged him in his owne bedde: he entertained this forlorne man ſo carefully and kindly, that hee recouered his forces, he maintayned him thirtie dayes at his owne charge, hee relieued his neceſſitie, and gaue him monie and meanes to bring him backe againe to the armie. This Souldier, vpon his departure, told him this very often; *If I euer chance to ſee my Prince againe, I will requite this thy kinde entertainement.* Certaine dayes after being arriued at the campe, hee failed not to tell *Philip* of his vnhappie ſhipwrack, but he concealed who had ſuccoured him, and forthwith beſought him to giue him a certaine mans lands, and this was his heritage who had ſo graciouſly entertained him, and with ſo much care and diligence had preſerued him from death. You may ſee (by the way) how Kings now and then, (but eſpecially in warre) giue many things, their eyes being ſhut: no one man

man alone is able to ſatisfie ſo many armed deſires; there is not any man that at one time can be a good man, and a good Generall. How ſhall ſo many thouſands of vnſatiable men bee ſatisfied? what ſhall they haue if euery man may keepe his owne? This ſaid *Philip* to himſelfe, when he commanded him to bee put in poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands he demanded. This man thus violently thruſt out of his poſſeſſions, ſmothered and ſmoothed vp this iniurie, not as a Clowne, but with much ſilence & ſufferance, contenting himſelfe with this; that though they had vſurped his poſſeſſions, they had not reſtrained him of his libertie, and priuily wrote a ſhort and ſtout letter vnto *Philip*, wherein he diſcouered the iniury which was done him, vpon the reading whereof, *Philip* was ſo diſpleaſed, that he preſently commanded *Pauſanias* to reſtore the land to the former Lord, and as for the other reprobate and diſtoneſt Souldier, vngratefull gueſt, and couetous caſt-away, to brand him in the forehead, to witneſſe that hee was an vngratefull and vnthankefull gueſt. Truly, he was worthy, not that theſe letters ſhould be written, but engrauen on his forehead, that expulſed and expoſed his Hoſt, like to a naked and ſhipwrackt-wretch, on that very ſhore, where once he had ſuccoured him. We ſhall afterwards ſee what more greater puniſhment he deſerued: meane while thoſe goods were to be taken from him, which hee had ſo iniuriouſly vſurped. And who would be moued at his puniſhment, who had committed ſuch a hainous crime, that might be the cauſe, that no man hereafter would count miſerable the miſerie of the moſt miſerable?

A leſſon for Princes that are oftentimes thus deluded and blinded.

The reaſon why this vngratefull man was to be puniſhed.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SHall *Philip* be cõſtrained to performe his word vnto thee, becauſe he hath promiſed thee, although he ought not to do that, though he iniury another man, thongh he cõmit a hainous crime, although by this one act of his, he locketh vp the hauens, and ſhutteth vp the ports againſt thoſe that are ſhipwrackt? It is no point either of lightneſſe or inconſtancie, for a man to forſake a knowne and condemned error. And a man ought ingeniouſly to confeſſe and ſay, I thought otherwiſe, I am deceiued. But this is a perſeuerance in an arrogant fooliſhneſſe to ſay, That which I haue ſpoken once, whatſoeuer it bee, I will abide by it, and make good my word. It is no ſhame to change a mans opinion, when the buſineſſe is changed. Go to, if *Philip* had left him in poſſeſſion of theſe demeaſnes, and that ſea-coaſt which he had gotten by his ſhipwracke, had he not barred all miſerable men from reliefe? It is better (ſaith he) that thou ſhouldeſt carry throughout my kingdome theſe letters ingrauen in thy moſt ſhameleſſe forehead, more worthy to be written in thine eyes. Shew thou in thy puniſhment, how ſacred a thing the table of hoſpitalitie is. Let all the world reade this my law, entegiſtred in thy countenance, by which is decreed, that it is no capitall matter, to entertaine any miſerable perſon into a mans houſe. So ſhall this conſtitution of mine bee more ſtrongly ratified, then if I had engrauen the ſame in braſſe.

CHAP. XXXIX.

WHy then (saith he) did your *Zeno*, when he had promised a certain man to lend him fiue hundred pence, and had found him to bee insufficient, and not able to repay him, contrary to the aduice of his friends, who cousselled him not to do it, persеuered in trusting him, because he had promised him? First there is one condition in a debt, another in a benefit. If I haue lent my money to an euill debter, yet haue I meanes to recouer it againe: I may call any debter into iustice, when the terme of payment is come, and if he break or play the banquerupt, I shal haue a portion of my debt, but the benefit is wholly lost instàtly. Moreouer, this is the act of an euil man, that of a bad husband. Again, neither would *Zeno* haue persеuered to credit him, if the summe had bin greater, it was but fiue hũdred pence; put case (as it is commonly said) that he had spent it in a sicknes, was it so much worth not to reuoke his promise. I will come to supper (although it bee cold) because I haue promised, but if it snowed or were bad weather, I would not step out of my doores. I will arise out of my bed to accompany a Bridall, because I haue promised (although I haue not sufficiently slept or disgested my meat) but not at all, if a fauor surprise me. I will come and giue my word for thee, because I haue promised, but not if thou wouldest make me stand bound for an vncertain thing, or if thou wilt bind me to the Exchequer. I tell thee there is alwayes a secret condition implied; so I be able; so it bee lawfull. If thou wilt haue mee keepe my promise, set the matter in the same state, that it was in when thou demandedst, that it was in when I promised. It can be no point of lightnesse to disappoint one, if there happen any alteration by the way: why wonderest thou if I change my counsell, when the conditions of my promise are changed? I am readie at this time to be the same I was then, if thou shew me all things in that estate I left them: wee promise to make appearance for my friend, yet is it not performed. For if there be any one that is hindered by force, or by a lawfull cause he is excused by essoyne.

The condition of the Prince may alter the Counsell.

CHAP. XL.

THe same also will serue for an answere to this demand; whether a courtesie is to be requited in any wise, or whether a benefit bee euery way to be restored? I am bound to yeeld a thankfull heart, but sometimes mine infelicitie suffereth me not to make requitall; and sometimes his felicitie, to whom I am indebted: for what can I, being poore, restore to a King or a rich man? whereas some suppose it to be an iniurie to receiue a benefit, and benefits doe alwayes burthen the receiuer with other benefits. What other satisfaction can I make vnto such a person, then to be willing to acknowledge their goodnesse. For I ought not to reiect his new benefit, because I haue not satisfied for the former, I wil receiue as willingly as it is giuen me: I will offer my selfe vnto my friend as a sufficient matter, to exercise vpon me all his good thoughts, and liberalitie. He that will not receiue new courtesies, is offended with the old. I, but I render not the like: what is that to the purpose? the delay is not in me, if either occasion faile, or abilitie be wanting: when he did me a pleasure, he had the meanes and the commoditie. He

He that hath done it, is either a good or an euill man; if he be a good man, my case and cause is good enough; if hee bee an euill man, I will not pleade before him: neither thinke I it meete also to be ouer hastie in yeelding recompence, contrary to the minde of those who haue done vs pleasure, or that we importune them to receiue, when they are vnwilling to take it. It is no requitall of a good turne, to render that which thou hast willingly receiued, to him that is vnwilling to accept the same. There are some, who if a friend send them some little present, doe suddenly after requite them with another, to the end they may vaunt they are not any wayes obliged. This is a kinde of refusall, when a man will make requitall so soone, and by this meanes deface so suddenly one present by another. Sometimes also I will not restore a benefit, when I am able; namely, when I shall detract more from my selfe, and doe my selfe, more hinderance, then I shall profit him; when as he shall feele himselfe nothing amended by receiuing it, and I shall finde my selfe greatly impaired by forgoing it. He then that hasteth to restore and requite a kindnesse, hath not the minde of a gratefull man, but of a debter. And to conclude in few words, he that is desirous to pay ouer soone, doth owe vnwillingly; hee that vnwillingly oweth, is vn gratefull.

Hastie returne of fauour is rather a defacing of a benefit, then a satisfaction.

The end of the fourth Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE FIFT BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe two speciall parts being concluded and determined. How a benefit should be giuen, and how it ought to be receiued. He saith that he passeth ouer to certaine things, that are not so much in the matter as of the matter, and both neare and vnited to the same. Then annexeth hee certaine questions, and first of all this. Whether it be a loathsome matter to be ouer-come in benefits? He denyeth that he may be ouer-come, and approueth him to be alwaies equall, that is desirous to make recompence in good will, if in act he cannot. The second question is: Whether any man may giue himselfe a benefit? He denyeth it, yet argueth the matter on both sides. The third question he vseth is, Whether any man according to the Stoicks doctrine may be called vngratefull? hee affirmeth and teacheth it. His fourth question is, Whether all are vngratefull? he saith no; although he confesse many. Then as depending of the said question: How farre and whither we are bound one for an other, as the Sonne for the Father, and such like? He answereth by a distinction, and rather denyeth. The fift question is, Whether an vnpleasing benefit may bee giuen to a man vnwilling to receiue? It may. The last question, Whether a benefit may bee redemanded?

IN these my former bookes, me thought, I had consummated and accomplished my principall intent, when as I had intreated and discouered, after what manner a good turne is to bee done, and in what sort it is to be receiued, because these two points are the Poles, on which the Sphere of this discourse is moued. What soeuer I intreat of, or linger on further, is not of the necessitie of the matter, neither much impertinent thereunto, which wee ought to follow, not only whither it leadeth vs, but also whither it inuiteth vs. For continually there will some arguments arise, that will allure and entertaine our minde with the sweetnesse thereof, which is rather not necessarie then superfluous. But since you will haue it so, hauing ended all that which appertayned to the

the matter; let vs perseuer to search out these things, that are annexed vnto it, but not coherent, which whosoeuer doth curiously looke into, neither performeth a matter of great moment, neither looseth his labour. But vnto thee (my *Æbutius Liberalis*), who art a man of the best nature, and so inclined to curtesie, no praise of these benefits may suffice. I neuer saw any man so fauourable an esteemer of the smallest good offices, as thou art. And thy bountie hath alreadie attayned so farre, that thou esteemest the curtesie done vnto thy selfe, which is imploied on any other man. Thou art alwaies readie to giue satisfaction for the vngratefull, least any man should repent him of his bountie and kindnesse: and so farre art thou from all arrogancie and ostentation, so desirous art thou to disburthen those whom thou hast obliged, that whatsoeuer thou bestowest on any man, thou wouldest not seeme to haue giuen it as a benefit, but to haue repaied it as a debt. And therefore, such things as thou bestowest after this manner, returne vnto thee more plentifully. For commonly good turnes attend vpon him, that intendeth not to redemand them. And as glorie and reputation, doe most of all fasten vpon; and follow those who flie from the same; so the fruit of benefits is more graciously correspondent vnto those as giue men leaue to be thankelesse, if they list. It shall not bee through thy default, but that they who haue receiued benefits at thy hands, may freely redemand the other, neither wilt thou refuse the former, which are either suppressed or dissembled by thee. The intent of a generous man, and such a one as hath a noble minde, is so long to forbeare, and winke at an vngratefull person, vntill he hath made him thankefull: neither will this manner of dealing deceiue thee euer; for naturally vices submit themselues vnto vertue, and loose their courage, if thou hasten not too much to hate them.

An extraordinarie commendation of Æbutius Liberalis.

Bountie is redoubled in the worthy benefactor.

This is intended as a debt, not as a guift.

CHAP. II.

THou conceiuest likewise a singular pleasure, to heare this magnificent saying, that *it is a shame to be ouer-come in giuing benefits*, which whether it bee true or no, it is wont to bee enquired vpon a good ground, and I thinke it farre different from that which thou imaginest. For neuer needest thou to feare any affront or dishonour in suffering thy selfe to be ouer-come in the noble competencie of vertuous actions, if so be thou forsake not thine armes, but being once ouer-come hast a will to ouer-come againe. Euery man in a good purpose hath not the same forces, the same faculties, and the same fortune: which only temperateth the ends of the best actions. The will of him that keepeth the right way, deserueth to be praised, although a more swifter runner hath set foote before him. It is not in this case as it is in the publique prizes, set out for spectacle, wherein the victorie proclaimeth the better man; although in them also casualtie hath often preserued the worst. When we speake of dutie, and both the one and the other desire to acquit themselues fully; if the one of them hath had more meanes; if hee haue had matter at hand correspondent to his minde, if fortune hath permitted him to doe what him listeth: And contrariwise, if the other hath had as good a will, although that which hee hath restored is of lesse valew then that which he hath receiued, or if he haue not satisfied at all, yet if hee haue a good minde to make a future satisfaction, if hee bend himselfe wholly to that businesse, if he duly thinke on nothing but the same, he is no more ouercome then he

he that dieth manfully fighting, whom his enemie could sooner kill then put to flight. That which thou supposest to be dishonorable or dishoneſt, cannot befall a good man; that is to say, to be vanquished: neuer will his heart faile him, neuer will he giue ouer, hee will be alwayes readie to acknowledge euen vntill the last houre of his life. He will doe in this station, and will confesse himselfe to haue receiued great benefits, and wil protest that he hath a desire to repay them with the like.

CHAP. III.

* Pancratiastes was he, that not only with naked hands and fists, but with his feete and whole bodie entertaineth the fight. Cestus was hee, that with armed hand, or heauy buttons or weights of brasse, iron, or lead, charged his aduersarie.

THe * *Lacedemonians*, forbad their Citizens to fight at buffets or braces, where he confessing himself to be vanquished, doth shew him to be the weaker man. The runner that first obtaineth the goale, out-strippeth his companion in swiftnesse, but not in courage. The wrestler that hath fallen, and been foiled three times, hath lost the palme, but hath not yeelded it to his aduersarie. Whereupon the *Lacedemonians* being desirous aboue all other things, that their Citizens should be inuincible, they inhibited and forbad them the vse of all such games, in which the victory is giuen not by the opinion of the iudges, or by the issue of the game, but by the voice of him that yeeldeth, and his that commandeth him to submit and yeeld. Vertue and a good heart giue vnto all men that which the *Lacedemonians* doe obserue amongst their Citizens, vertue and good will yeeldeth all men that they shall neuer be vanquished, because euen amongst those that are ouercome the minde continueth inuincible. No man therefore saith, that the three hundred *Fabij* were conquered, but slaine. And *Regulus* was Captaine amongst the *Carthagenians*, but not conquered, and all else whatsoeuer oppressed by the force and waight of enraged and cruell Fortune. The care is all one in benefits, he that hath receiued more great, more precious, and more often, is not for all this vanquished. It may be that the benefits of one, are ouercome by those of another, in respect of those things that are giuen, and are receiued. But if thou wilt make a comparison betwixt the giuer and him that receiueth (whose mindes must be estimate also by themselues) there is neither of them shall haue the palme. For wee are accustomed to say, that hee who is wounded in diuers parts, and he that hath but a slight hurt, haue departed on euen hand from the combate, although one may seeme to haue receiued the foile.

CHAP. IIII.

The will to recompence redeemeth the want.

NO man therefore can be ouercome in benefits, if he know that he oweth, if he haue a will to recompence, and if that which he cannot attaine in act, he equalleth in minde and will. This man, as long as he is constant herein, as long as he hath a good intent, approuing his gratefull minde by outward signes: what skilleth it on whether part more presents may bee numbered? Thou hast the power to giue much, and I only the power to receiue the same: good fortune is on thy side, and good will on mine, yet am I so equal with thee, as some naked, or slightly armed, are equall to some that are armed at all points. No man therefore is ouercome in benefits. For euery one is as thankfull, as he would be. For if it be an

affront and dishonour to be ouercome in kinde offices, wee ought not to receiue a benefit at mightie mens hands, to whom we can in no sort yeeld any satisfaction. I speake of Kings and Princes, whom Fortune hath entertained in that estate, that they may doe much, and bestow great largesse, but they cannot receiue but very little, and farre inferiour to their owne gifts. I say, Kings and Princes, to whom notwithstanding there may be seruice done, whose greatnes and power is not sustained but by affection, and the common consent which their subiects haue to obey them. But there are some that are vnattainted with any couetousnes, that are scarcely touched with any humane desires; to whom Fortune her selfe can giue nothing. I must needs be ouercome by *Socrates* in benefits. I must confesse the like of *Diogenes*, who marched naked amiddest the riches and most precious moueables of the Macedonians, and trampled their Kingly treasures vnder his feete. Did not he then (yea and that deserued) both in his owne eyes, and other mens sight (whose eyes were not sealed vp from seeing the truth) seeme more eminent aboue him, vnder whose greatnes all things lay subiect. He was then more powerfull and more rich then *Alexander*, who at that time possessed all things, for there was more that this man would not receiue, then he was able to giue.

CHAP. V.

IT is no shame to bee ouercome by such as these, for neither am I lesse valiant, though you match me in fight with an enemie that cannot be wounded. Neither therefore can the fire burne lesse, if it light vpon a matter inuiolable by fire. Neither therefore hath the toole lost his force in caruing, if the stone be so hard that it cannot be pierced, and if naturally it be so rebellious against all things that are hard, that it will rather breake in peeces then yeeld. The same doe I answere of a thankful man, it is no dishonor for him to be ouercome by the benefits which he hath receiued at their hands, whose fortune is so great and mightie, and vertue so excellent, that it hath barred all returne of benefits vnto him. We are for the most part ouercome by our parents, for so long do we hate them, as long as we iudge them to be troublesome and insupportable, and as long as wee vnderstand not their benefits. When as our yeares haue taught vs some experience, and we begin to perceiue, that they ought to be beloued by vs, for those things for which they were misliked; I meane their admonitions, their seueritie and diligent ouer-sight of our inconsiderate youth, then are they snatched and taken from vs. Few there are that haue liued so long as to reape the true fruit of their childrens towardnesse, the rest haue felt a burthen by them, and discontent: yet is it no shame for children to be surmounted by their parents. And why should it be shamefull to be surmounted by them, since it is no disgrace to be vanquished by any whatsoeuer? For sometimes we are equall and vnequall to one and the same person; we are equall in good will, which is only required, which we onely promise and professe: but we are vnequall in fortune, for want whereof, if a man be hindered from being thankfull, he ought not for that cause to be ashamed & blush, because he is vanquished. It is no dishonor to be vnable to ouertake, so a man pursue and follow still. Sometimes wee are enforced before we haue restored the old, to craue new benefits. Neither therefore surceasse we to aske, or demand we disgracefully and dishonestly, because we runne further

The miserable man then is to be esteemed, who is not blinde by nature, but by his owne faultie in not using sanctification

ther in debt, before wee bee able to repay the former, because the fault is not through our default, but for that disabilitie preuenteth our gratuitie. But some thing will fall out other waies, which will keepe vs from satisfying, yet will wee not bee ouer-matched in minde, neither will wee bee shamefully ouer-come in these things, which are not in our power.

CHAP. VI.

ALEXANDER King of Macedon, was oftentimes wont to boast, that neuer any man could ouercome him in benefits. There is no cause why this ouer-haughty minded Prince, should cast his eyes on the Macedons, Greekes, Carians, Persians, and other nations which were bound vnto him by way of conquest. He should not thinke that that great Kingdome, which extended it selfe from the furthest confines of Thrace, to the banks of the vnknown Sea, had giuen him the meanes to accomplish and do this. *Socrates* himselfe might vaunt that he had done as much, and *Diogenes* also, by whom he was ouercome. Why should he not be ouercome that very day, wherein the man swelling aboue measure with humane pride, he saw a man to whom he could neyther giue, nor from whom hee could euer take any thing? King *Archelaus* intreated *Socrates* to come and visit him; to whom (as it is reported) *Socrates* returned this answer: *That he would not come vnto him from whom he should receiue a benefite, which he could not requite againe.* First of all, it was in his power not to receiue any thing: secondly, it was he that began to giue a benefite. For he came vnto him vpon his request, and gaue that which the King could neuer equall or satisfie. Moreouer, *Archelaus* was to giue him golde and siluer, but was himselfe to receiue the contempt of golde and siluer. Could not *Socrates* therfore requite *Archelaus* courtesie? Had he not equalled the good which he was to receiue, had he made him see a man perfect in the skill of liuing and dying, knowing the true ends of them both? If he had taught the King (who saw not at mid-day) the secrets of Nature, whereof he was so ignorant, that vpon a day when the Sunne was in Eclips, he caused the dores of his Palace to be shut; and (as men were wont to doe in time of mourning & great miserie) he cut off his sons haire: How great a benefit had it beene if he had drawne him loaden with teare out of the lurking places where he lay hidden, and had encouraged him, saying, This is no defection or obscuring of the Sunne, but the encounter of two Planets, when as the Moone, shaping her course more lower then the Sunne, hath placed her Orbe vnder him, and by her interposition holdeth his light obscured from our sight: sometimes couereth no more then a small part of his bodie, when in the coniunction shee passeth no more but on one side; otherwhiles shee eclipseth a greater part of his light, when she setteth her selfe in his front, and before him; otherwhiles she couereth him wholly, if with a iust and equall counterpoise, shee intirely settle her selfe opposite betwixt the Sunne and the earth: yet the swiftnesse of these starres shall suddenly separate the one from the other, the earth heereby shall recouer her light: and this order shall continue in all ages to come. There are certaine and destinated dayes, wherein the Moone shall by her intercourse hinder the Sunne, not from shooting forth the fulnes of his beames. Stay but a while, and thou shalt suddenly see him breake forth, thou shalt see him discharge himselfe of the Moone as it were of a cloud, and (shaking off as it were those

This is a iust allowance: neuer was Eclipse at full Moone vniuersally, but in Conicke death supernaturally.

those impediments that detaine him) thou shalt see him send forth his desired light most freely againe. Might not *Socrates* then haue requited *Archelaus*, if he had giuen him instructions how to gouerne his Kingdome? As little as you make of it, it had beene a great benefit in *Socrates*, and greater any wayes then *Archelaus* could haue giuen him. Why then said *Socrates* thus? Forsooth, because hee tooke a pleasure to passe the time in figuratiue mercie, and iesting discourse, he mocked the whole world, but especially great men, and had rather denie him subtilly, then arrogantly and proudly. He said that he would receiue no benefits at his hands, to whom hee could not returne an answerable recompence. He feared happily least he should bee compelled to take that which hee would not, hee feared least hee should receiue something that were vnworthy, *Socrates*. But some man will say, that he might haue denyed the same, if he misliked it, but by this meanes he had incensed an insolent King against him, who would haue all that which came from his hands, highly esteemed. It is nothing to the purpose, whether thou refusest to giue any thing to that King, or receiue ought at his hands, he construeth and conceiteth the one repulse, as badly as the other, and to a proude man it is more distastfull to be disdained, then not to bee feared. Wilt thou know what he truly and really intended, hee would not entertaine a voluntarie seruitude, whose libertie a free Citie could not endure.

CHAP. VII.

WE haue, as I suppose, sufficiently debated vpon this part, whither it were a dishonour to be ouer-come in benefiting. Which whosoeuer draweth in question, hee knoweth that men are not wont to giue themselues benefits; for it had beene manifest that it is no shame for a man to be vanquished by himselfe. Notwithstanding amongst some Stoicks, this also is brought in question, whether a man may giue himselfe a benefit, and whether he ought to yeeld himselfe thanks? The causes why this matter seemed to bee disputable, were these that follow: Weeare wont to say, *I thanke my selfe, and I can complaine of no man but my selfe, I am angrie with my selfe, and I will be reuenged of my selfe, and I hate my selfe*, and many other such things besides, whereby euery one speaketh of himselfe, as if it were of an other. If (saith he) I can hurt my selfe, wherefore can I not benefit my selfe likewise? Besides, if those kindnesses which I haue bestowed vpon an other, should be called benefits, why should they not retaine the same name, if they were imployed on my selfe? Had I receiued them of an other, I should owe the same, why then had I giuen them to my selfe, should I not owe them to my selfe? why should I be vngratefull to my selfe? whereas it is no lesse dishonourable and dishoneſt for me, then to be niggardly to my selfe, then to be cruell and tyrannous toward my selfe, and neglectfull of my selfe? As infamous is the band of anothers beautie, as shee that setteth her owne to sale: wee reprehend a flatterer, and an applauder of other mens sayings, and such a one as is alwaies readie to yeeld a false lustre and laud to euery thing: So likewise is he most iustly reprehended that pleaseth himselfe, admireth himselfe, and (if I may say so) flattereth himselfe. Vices are not onely hatefull, when they sinne abroade, but when they are retorted vpon themselues. Whom wilt thou more admire then him that gouerneth himselfe, and that alwaies carrieth in his hands the bridle of his owne motions and affections? It is more easie to gouerne Barbarians,

ans, and such as are impatient of forraine gouernement, then to contayne a mans minde: and make it subiect to it selfe. *Plato* (saith hee) thanketh *Socrates* because he taught him. Why should not *Socrates* thanke himselfe for teaching himselfe? *Marcus Cato* saith: *That which thou wantest, borrow of thy selfe.* Why can I not giue it my selfe, if I can lend it my selfe? There are innumerable things wherein custome of discourse diuideth vs from our selues. We are wont to say, *Let thou me alone, I will speake with my selfe, and I will pull my selfe by the eare*: Which if they bee true, euen as any man ought to bee angrie with himselfe, so ought he to thanke himselfe: as he may rebuke himselfe, so may he praise himselfe: as he may harme himselfe, so may he profit himselfe. An iniurie and a benefit are contraries: if we say of any man, he hath wronged himselfe, wee may likewise say, he hath done himselfe a good turne.

CHAP. VIII.

NO man is indebted to himselfe; but by the order of nature: we must first owe, before we pay. There is no debter without a creditor, no more then there is a husband without a wife, or rather a Father without a Sonne. There must be some one to giue, if there be any to receiue. It is neither to giue, nor receiue, to turne out of the right hand into the left: Euen as no man beareth himselfe, although hee moue and remoue his body: As no man, although hee hath pleaded his owne cause, is said to haue beene his owne Aduocate, neither raiseth hee a statue to himselfe, as if he had beene his owne Patron. As the sick man, when as by his owne diligence hee hath recouered his health, requireth no recompence from himselfe: so in all affaires, yea euen in those wherein a man hath deserued well of himselfe, yet ought he not yeeld himselfe thanks, because he hath not any to whom he may yeeld thanks: and if I grant thee that any man may do himselfe a pleasure: I say, that in giuing the same, he receiueth also. Admit I grant thee that any one receiueth a pleasure from himselfe, in receiuing the same, he satisfieth for the same likewise. This cloaking and changing of persons (as the common prouerbe runneth) is made in thine owne house, and passeth away forthwith as a fained and idle debt. For hee that giueth is none other then he that receiueth, and both are but one. This word, to owe, hath place, but betweene two seuerall persons: how then may it consist in him only, which in that very instant requiteth when he is obliged? Euen as in a Bowle or Ball there is neither high nor low, nor first nor last, because that in tossing and turning the same, the order of these things are changed: so as that they which went behinde are now before, and those things that fell, mount vp againe; and all things in fine returne vnto one point, in what sort soeuer they bee remoued; euen so must thou thinke that it falleth out in man: when thou hast changed him into diuers fashions, he is but one and the same man. He hath beaten himselfe: he hath no man to sue for doing him iniurie. He hath bound and shut himselfe vp in prison: he cannot complaine of the iniustice and force he hath done vnto himselfe. He hath gratified himselfe, and hath forthwith restored, euen when it was done, and a doing. Nature, the Mother of all things, is said to loose nothing; for whatsoeuer is taken from her, returneth to her againe: neither can any thing perish, because it can finde no place where to issue out of it selfe, but returneth thither from whence it departed. But what resemblance (saith hee) hath this example to

to our matter in question? I will tell thee: Put case thou beeing vngratefull to thy selfe, the benefit will not bee lost, because hee that gaue it retaineth it still: Put case thou wilt not receiue it, it is in thy possession, before it is repaid thee. Thou canst loose nothing; for that which is taken from thee, is notwithstanding gotten for thee. The wheele is turned within thy selfe; receiuing thou giuest, and giuing thou receiuest.

CHAP. IX.

A Man (saith he) must doe good vnto himselfe, and consequently he must be thankefull to himselfe. First, that is false whereon the sequell dependeth. For no man giueth himselfe a benefit, but obeyeth his owne nature, by whom hee is composed and framed to loue himselfe, whence there groweth in him an especiall care to auoide those things that are harmefull, and to desire those things that are profitable. For which cause, neither is he liberall, that giueth to himselfe, nor pittifull, that pardoneth himselfe, nor mercifull, that is touched with his owne miseries. That which (were it imployed on other men) might iustly be called liberalitie, clemencie, and mercie: in regard of our selues, is but nature. A benefit is a voluntarie thing, but to profit a mans selfe, is a necessarie matter. The more benefits a man hath giuen, the more bountifull is he. Who euer was applauded for succouring himselfe? for deliuering himselfe out of the danger of thieues? no man giueth himselfe a benefit, no more then hee entertaineth himselfe in his owne house, no man giueth to himselfe, no more then he lendeth to himselfe. If any man giueth himselfe a benefit, hee alwaies giueth, hee giueth without intermission, hee can neuer keepe iust reckoning of the number of his benefits. How can hee then returne a recompence, when as in that very thing wherein he satisfieth, he giueth a benefit? for how can he discerne whither he giue or restore vnto himselfe a benefit? whereas the matter concerneth but one only man? I haue deliuered my selfe out of danger: haue I giuen my selfe a benefit? Once more I preserue my selfe in perill, do I my selfe a good turne, or doe I restore it? Moreouer, although I should grant that first, that we giue a benefit to our selues, yet will I not grant the consequent. For although wee giue, wee owe not. Why? because we presently receiue: First, must wo receiue a benefite, and then owe it, and then requite it. But here is no time of owing, in so much as we receiue againe without any delay. No man giueth but to an other man, no man oweth but to an other man, no man restoreth but to another man. All that which in this sort requireth two persons, cannot be done in one.

CHAP. X.

A Benefit is that whereby something is profitably giuen, but this word, to haue giuen, appertayneth to others. Shall he not be supposed to be a mad man, that saith, hee hath sold any thing to himselfe? because a sale is an alienation of a mans substance and right, and a translation thereof vnto an other. But euen as in selling, so in buying any thing we ought to make a reall surrender of the thing, and to leaue that which a man hath, to suffer an other to enioy the same. Well, if benefiting bee of the same

ſame nature, then can no man benefit himſelfe, becauſe no man can giue ought to himſelfe. For then ſhould two contraries concurre in one, ſo as giuing and taking ſhould be all one thing. But there is great difference betwixt giuing and taking. And good cauſe why, conſidering that both theſe wordes are placed as contraries, the one againſt the other, but if a man may giue himſelfe a benefit, there is no difference betwixt giuing & receiuing. I ſaid a little before, that there were ſome wordes that appertayned to others, and are ſo formed that their whole ſignification departed from our ſelues. I am a brother, but an other mans brother: For no man can bee his owne brother. I am equall and like; but to ſome man: for who is equall with himſelfe? That which is compared, is not to be vnderſtood without an other, that which is vnited, cannot be without an other: If both, that which is giuen, is not without an other, ſo likewiſe a benefit is not without a receiuer. And this appeareth in the word it ſelfe, wherein this is contayned to haue benefited. But no man benefiteth himſelfe, no more then hee ſauoureth himſelfe, or taketh part with himſelfe: I might proſecute this thing longer, and with larger examples, and why not? when as a benefit is numbred amongſt thoſe things, which require a ſecond perſon. Some things which are honeſt, praiſe-worthy, and of great vertue, haue no place, but with another. Faithfulneſſe and integritie, is commended and praiſed by euery man, and are eſteemed amongſt the greateſt bleſſings which appertaine to mankinde, and yet haue you euer heard, that any man hath beene faithfull to himſelfe?

CHAP. XI.

I Come now to the laſt part. He that requiteth a good turne, muſt imploy ſomewhat of his owne, as he doth who repayeth the monie he oweth: but he layeth out nothing who ſatisfieth himſelfe, no more then he giueth, who giueth to himſelfe. A benefit and a remuneration muſt paſſe from one vnto an other: for in one perſon there is no viciſſitude or change: He therefore that requiteth a good turne pleaſureth him againe, from whom hee hath receiued any thing. Hee that is gratefull to himſelfe, whom profiteth he? himſelfe. But what man is hee that thinketh not that acknowledgement of a fauour is in one place, and the benefit in an other? He that requiteth himſelfe; profiteth himſelfe; but what vngratefull man was there euer that would not doe this? nay rather who was not vngratefull that he might doe this? if we (ſaith he) ought to thanke our ſelues for that we haue done wel, we ought likwiſe to yeeld ſome recõpence to our ſelues. But we ſay, *I thanke my ſelfe, becauſe I married not that wife, and for that I contracted not ſocietie with that man.* When we ſay thus, wee praiſe our ſelues, and to approue our fact, we abuſe the wordes of thoſe that giue thanks. A benefit is ſuch a thing which may not be reſtored, euen then when it is giuen, he that giueth himſelfe a benefit, cannot chooſe but receiue that which he gaue, *Ergo*, it is no benefit. A good turne is entertained at one time, and recompenced at an other; And in a benefit the thing that is moſt probable, and of greateſt repute, is, that hee forgetteth his owne profit to doe an other man good, and taketh from himſelfe, to giue vnto a ſecond; this doeth hee not that giueth himſelfe a benefit. To giue a benefit is a ſociable thing. It ioyneth that mans fauour, and

and obligeth this mans friendſhip: To giue to a mans ſelfe is no ſociable thing, it ioyneth no man, it obligeth no man, it encourageth no man to ſay, This man deſerueth to be honored, he did ſuch a man a good turne, and will doe mee the like. A benefit is that which a man giueth, not for his owne ſake, but for his to whom he giueth it: he that giueth himſelfe a benefit, giueth it for his owne ſake. *Ergo*, it is no benefit.

CHAP. XII.

SVppoſeſt thou that I lie and grow deficient in that which I promiſed in the * beginning? ſayeſt thou that in ſtead of performing ſome laudible thing, I runne at random, and thinking to do well, haue loſt my labour? Expect a little I pray thee, and thou ſhalt ſay this more truely, (as ſoone as I haue led thee into theſe labo-rinthes, from whence, when thou haſt eſcaped, thou ſhalt attaine no more, then to flie thoſe difficulties into which it was in thine owne choice not to deſcend: what profit receiueſt thou to vnlooſe thoſe knots which thou haſt expreſſely knit with much trauaile, to the end thou mighteſt, when thou haſt tied them, buſie thy ſelfe to looſen them? But euen as ſome of them are ſo faſtened (for delight and meriment ſake) that it is a hard matter for an vnskilfull man to looſen them, whereas hee who hath tied them, may eaſily ſlacke them, becauſe he knoweth the ſtops and entanglings thereof, and yet notwithſtanding thoſe haue ſome pleaſure in them, for they trie the ſharpnes of mens wits, and awaken them to more diligence: ſo theſe things which in appearance are ſubtill and deceitfull exile ſecuritie, dulneſſe and ſloth from mens mindes, to which ſometimes eaſie paſſages are to be laid open, in which they may wander, ſometimes ſomewhat difficult and dangerous is to be ſet in their way, through which they may hardly creepe without trauell, or in which they may not walke without difficultie. It is ſaid that no man is vngratefull, and this is thus concluded. A benefit is that which profiteth, but no man can profit an euill man (as you Stoicks ſay) therefore an euill man receiueth no benefit, and conſequently alſo he cannot be vngratefull: Furthermore, a benefit is an honeſt and probable thing: with a wicked man there is no place, either for that which is honeſt or profitable, therefore not for a benefit, which if he cannot receiue, he ought not to reſtore, and therefore is he not vngratefull. Againe, as you ſay, A good man doth all things iuſtly; if he doth all things iuſtly, he cannot be vngratefull. A good man reſtoreth a benefit, an euill man cannot accept it. Which if it be ſo, neither any good or euill man is vngratefull: and conſequently, this name of vngratefull is but a friuolous and imaginary name in this world. There is but only one good with vs, and that is honeſtie. This cannot an euill man apprehend, for he ceaſeth to be euill, if vertue enter into him, but as long as he is euill, no man can giue him a benefit, becauſe good and euill things are at oddes, and cannot be reconciled: therefore no man profiteth him, for whatſoeuer befalleth him, he corrupteth it with euill vſe. For euen as the ſtomacke being troubled and corrupted by long ſickneſſe, and oppreſſed by choller, changeth whatſoeuer meates it receiueth, and conuerteth all the nutriment it receiueth into the cauſe of his griefe: euen ſo a blinded minde, whatſoeuer thou committeſt to him, it maketh the ſame his burthen, his bane, and the occaſion of his miſerie. They then which haue moſt riches, and poſſeſſe moſt goods, are ſubiect to moſt ſtormes

* *He ſaid in the beginning of the firſt chapter of this firſt Booke, that although he had not to entreate of things neceſſarie yet the labour ſhould not be loſt.*

and tempests, and the lesse finde they themselues, the more they fall into a greater occasion of impietie and disturbance: nothing therefore may befall the euill that may profit them, nay rather, nothing that doth not hurt them. For what-soeuer befalleth them, they conuert into their owne nature, and those things which in outward appearance are pleasing and profitable, if they were giuen to a better man, are pestiferous and harmefull to them. Therefore also can they not giue a benefit, because no man can giue that which hee hath not, and for that they want a will to doe good.

CHAP. XIII.

BVt although all this were true, yet may an euill man receiue such things as haue a similitude and resemblance of benefits, which being vnrecompenced, hee shall bee iustly termed vngratefull. There are goods of the minde, goods of the body, and goods of fortune. Those goods of the minde are such, as foolish and bad men are vncapable of them. To these is he admitted, who can both receiue the same, and is tied to restore them; and if he restoreth them not, he is vngratefull. And this is not our constitution only, it is of the Stoicks doctrine. The Peripateticques also (who prefix such large and ample bounds to humane felicitie) say, that the smaller sort of benefits befall the euill men, that whosoeuer restoreth not, hee is vngratefull. Wee therefore esteeme them no benefits, which cannot better and enoble the mind, yet deny we not, but that they are commodities, and such as are to bee desired, these may an euill man giue, and receiue from a good man; as money, garments, honour, life, which if he requite not, he falleth into the name of an vngratefull man. But how call you him vngratefull, for not restoring that, which thou denieſt to bee a benefit? There are some things, which although they are not truly such, yet for the similitude and likenesse they haue with them, are comprehended vnder the same word. So call we a box, both of that which is of gold, as that which is of siluer: so terme wee him vnlearned, that is not wholly rude, but as yet vntrained and taught in higher discipline: so hee that seeth a man ill clothed, and in ragged garments, saith that he hath seene a naked man. These are no benefits, yet haue they a resemblance of benefits. As these are but benefits in appearance, so seemeth he to be vngratefull, yet is not he vngratefull. This is false, because that hee that giueth, and hee that receiueth calleth them benefits. So also he that hath deceiued vnder pretence and colour of a true benefit, is as vngratefull as he is held to be a poysoner, that giueth a stupifying medicine, when he beleeued it was poison.

As Pyxis is called a Box, from the Box-tree, of which boxes first were made, it answeres to the Greeke word πυξὶς.

CHAP. XIIII.

LEANTHES vrgeth this more vehemently; Although (saith he) it be not a benefit which he receiueth, yet is he vngratefull, because he would not haue restored it, although hee had receiued it. So is he a theefe (yea euen then before he hath polluted his hands) because hee is alreadie armed to kill, and hath a will to spoile and murther: wickednesse beginneth not, but is exercised and opened in the action. That which he receiued was no benefit, but was so called. Sacrilegious

gious persons are punished, although they lay not their hands on the Gods! How (saith he) may a man be vngratefull towards a wicked man, when as a benefit cannot be giuen to a wicked man? Verily in that respect, because he receiueth of him some of those things, which amongst vulgar and ignorant persons are called goods, whereof, if euill men haue abundance, he also in the like matter ought to be gratefull, and restore those things, what soeuer they be, for good, whereas hee receiued them for good: hee is said to owe another mans money, both hee that oweth gold, and he that oweth lether coyned with the publike stampe, such as was currant amongst the *Lacedemonians*, that standeth in stead of readie money: in that kinde thou art obliged, in the same to yeeld satisfaction.

CHAP. XV.

WHat benefits are, and whether the greatnesse and dignitie of a name so honorable should bee imployed in this abiect, and humble matter; it appertayneth not to you, a true benefit belongeth vnto others. Compose you your mindes to the resemblance of a true benefit, and whilest you say that thing is honest, whatsoeuer it be, if it be reputed and esteemed for honest, esteeme and praise that: Euen as (saith hee) no man in your iudgement is vngratefull, so againe by your reckoning all men are vngratefull. For as you say, all fooles are euill men, but he that hath one vice is possessed of all, and all men are fooles and euill; therefore all men are vngratefull. What then? doth not the reproch generally light vpon all mankinde? Is it not a publike complaint that benefits are lost, and that there are few which requite not euill, for such as haue deserued well? neither hast thou cause to conceiue that this is our particular misconceit, or deceit, and that wee alone repute all things euill, and depraued that fall not out euen and iust, with the rule of right. Behold I know not what veine it is, or whence it is sent, which crieth not out of the Philosophers house, but from the midst of the multitude, condemning People and Nations.

Nor from the Hoste the guest can be secured,
Nor from his Sonn in-law the Father freed,
Nor Brother from his Brother be assured:
Both Man and wife haue either's death decreed.

But this now is more, benefits are turned into banes, and their blood is not spared, for whose defence we ought to spend our owne. Wee follow and gratifie benefits with Sword and Poison. At this time it is reputed dignitie and greatnesse, to violate and spoile a mans Countrey, and to oppresse her with her owne authoritie. *He that hath not troden the Common-wealth vnder his feete, supposeth himselfe the basest and ignoblest in the same.* These Armies that were leuied by her, are armed against her, and her imperious voice is applauded and listned to, that saith. Fight against your wiues, draw your Swords against your children, destroy your Temples, raize downe your houses, and cast your houshold gods on the ground. You that should not enter *Rome* (no not to triumph) without permission and commaund of the Senate, and to whom bringing home their victorious Armies, audience was giuen in the Senate without the Citie walles, enter the Citie now with displayed ensignes, murthering the Citizens, and bathed

thed in the blood of your neereſt kinſfolkes. Let libertie bee ſilent amidſt theſe warlike enſignes. And let that conquering Nation, and that people which hath eſtabliſhed peace thorow their whole Empire; and driuen warres out of their Prouinces, and allayed all terrour and feare, now beſieged and terrified within their owne walles, beaffraide of their owne Standards and Eagles.

CHAP. XVI.

VNgratefull was [a] *Coriolanus*, to late pious and penitent after his wickednesse commited: he laide aſide his Armes, yet ſo laide he them aſide, that it was in the height and midſt of ciuill parricide. Vngratefull was [b] *Catiline*. It is a ſmall matter with him to ſurpriſe his Countrie, except he vtterly ruinate it: except he leade the regiments of the *Sauoyes* and *Dalphinois* to ſpoyle the ſame; and theſe enemies whom he had leuied on the other ſide of the *Alpes*, had ſatisfied and glutted their old and mortall hatreds: except the Romaine Captaines had paied their long-due anniuerſaries of infernall ſacrifice to the Sepulchres of the *Gaules*. Ingratefull was [c] *Caius Marius*, who was raiſed from a common Souldier to a Conſular: who except hee had equalled the Romane Funerals with the Cimbrian ſlaughters, except hee had not onely giuen a ſigne of ciuill ſlaughter and murther, but himſelfe had beene the murtherer, he would haue ſuppoſed that his fortune had beene changed very little, and that he had not growen greater: but was buried in his former obſcuritie. Ingratefull was *Lucius Sylla*, who healed his Countrie with harder remedies then the dangers were; who when hee had marched from the tower of *Præneſte* to the gate *Collina*, through the blood of ſlaughtered ſouldiers, waged new battels in the Citie, executed new ſlaughters, and ſlew two legions (O crueltie) after victorie, and (that which was moſt impious) when he had driuen and gathered them into a ſtrait, hee murthered them notwithſtanding, after he had faithfully promiſed them their pardon, and inuented a proſcription (O ſoueraigne Gods) that hee who had ſlaine a Romaine Citizen, ſhould not only be diſcharged and exempted from puniſhments, but receiue reward, and which is more receiue the reward done to him that preſerued a Citizen. Ingratefull is [d] *Cneus Pompey*, who for his three Conſulſhips, for his three triumphes, for ſo many honors; which for the moſt part were thruſt vpon him, during his immature and yong yeares, returned the Common-weale this requitall, that hee ſeazed others of the poſſeſſion of the ſame, ſuppoſing thereby to diſcharge himſelfe of that enuie, that might be conceited againſt his greatneſſe and authoritie, if that which were lawfull for no man might bee admitted in many, whileſt hee longed after extraordinary chaunges and commaundes, whileſt hee diſtributeth Prouinces, to make choice of that which beſt liked him, whileſt in ſuch ſort hee diuided the Common-weale into the hands of the Tribunes, that two parts thereof remained alwayes in his owne houſe, hee reduced the Romane people to that extreame, that they could not be diſcharged or ſecured, but by their ſeruitude and loſſe of libertie: Ingratefull was he, who was both *Pompeyes* enemie and conquerer, who drew the warre from the vttermoſt bounds of *Germany* and *France*, before the wals of *Rome*. He it was (that pretending popularitie, and ſo great loue and tender

a *This was a valiant Captain amongſt the Romanes, who being baniſhed vpon certaine occaſions out of the Citie (as* Titus Liuius *reporteth in his ſecond booke,* Ab vrbe Condita.) *Was ſo wilfull to enter and inſinuate himſelfe amongſt the* Volſcians, *that leuying an Armie of them, he began to inuade his Countrie, vntill being mooued by his Mothers Prayers and teares, he ceaſed from the battell.*

b *This was another rebellious Citizen of Rome, who leuying an Armie both of his naturall Countrey-men and ſtrangers, intended to deſtroy the ſame, had he not beene preuented by* Ciceros *wiſedome, as* Saluſt *witneſſeth in the warres of* Catiline.

c *This was another Romane Citizen, who being obſcurely borne, and of a ruſtique converſation, became Conſull in Rome ſeuen times, and ouer-came a nation called the* Cymbrians, *and afterward being incenſed againſt his citizens, for baniſhing him for a certaine ſpace into* Affricke, *hee committed huge murthers in the Citie.*

d *He was exerciſed in the affaires of the Common-wealth, when he was but twentie three yeares old.*

tender care of the Comminaltie) that pitched his tents in the [e] *Flaminian round*, neerer then the place where [f] *Porſenna* encamped. True it is that hee tempered the power which the law of armes and victorie allotted him, and performed that which he was wont to ſay, and neuer ſlew any, except ſuch a one as was armed and addreſſed to fight againſt him. But what importeth all this? The reſt exerciſed armes more cruelly then he did, yet were they ſatisfied at length, and laid them downe, but this man ſheathed his ſword quickly, but neuer laid it aſide. Ingratefull was *Anthony* towards his [g] *Dictator*, whom he pronounced to be iuſtly ſlaine, and aſſigned to his murtherers great Prouinces and gouernments: and hauing torne and tired his country with proſcriptions, incurſions, and ciuill warres after ſo many euils, he decreed that, that generous Common-weale, which in times paſt had giuen liberties, exemptions, and particular priuiledges to the people of *Achaia*, and the *Rhodians*, and many other famous Cities, ſhould her ſelfe become tributarie, not to Romane Kings, but to infamous Eunuches and Geldings.

e *The Romans had in their Citie three round Courts, or Circles, whither they reſorted to ſee their ſports and plaies, whereof this was one which was therfore called the Flaminian circle or round, becauſe a Conſul called* Flaminius *builded the ſame.*

f *This was a King of the Etrurians, who waged warre againſt the Romanes: vnto whom* Horatius Cocles *the valiant Romane Captaine ſtood alone in the bridge, vntill the bridge was broken behind him, and then he leaped into the riuer and ſwam ouer.*

g *Dictator was the higheſt dignitie and Magiſtracie that was in the Romane Common-weale. See* Aldus *in his booke* De legibus Romanis.

CHAP. XVII.

THe day would faile mee, if I ſhould reckon vp all thoſe that were vngratefull, euen with the vtter deſtruction of their Countries. And no leſſe endleſſe labour would it be, if I ſhould beginne to relate how vngratefull our Common-weale hath beene towards the beſt, and moſt tenderly affected Citizens ſhee had, and how as often ſhee hath ſinned in ingratitude her ſelfe, as others haue ſinned againſt her. Shee ſent [a] *Camillus* into exile, diſmiſſed *Scipio*, baniſhed *Cicero* after *Catilines* conſpiracie, ſhee raced his houſe, ſpoiled his goods, and exerciſed againſt him all thoſe cruelties which *Cateline* himſelfe could haue done, had hee beene Conquerer. *Rutilius*, in reward of his innocencie, was baniſhed into *Aſia*, to liue there in obſcuritie. The Roman people denied *Cato* the Prætorſhip, and would neuer grant him the dignitie of a Conſull. In briefe, wee are all of vs generally vngratefull. Let euery one examine himſelfe; there is not any man that will not complaine of ſome ones ingratitude. And it cannot be that all men ſhould complaine, except there were ſome cauſe alſo to complaine of all men. All men therefore are vngratefull. Is this all? and are they thus only. All are couetous, the world likewiſe is ſubiect to auarice, all are malicious, all fearefull, and they eſpecially who ſeeme to be moſt confident. Furthermore, all men are ambitious, and all men are wicked: But thou muſt not bee diſpleaſed and agrieued hereat, all of them are mad. I will not recall thee to vncertainties, as to ſay vnto thee, ſee how vngratefull youth is. Who is he (be he neuer ſo innocent) that wiſheth not that his Father had breathed his laſt? who is he (how modeſt ſoeuer he be) that gapes not after his death? who is he (how religious and pittifull ſoeuer hee bereputed) that thinketh not of his Fathers death? what huſband ſo feareth the death of a good wife, as he counteth not the gaine he ſhal receiue if ſhe die? what man is he, I pray you, who being intangled in the law, and deliuered by an other mans diligence, that bethinketh him of ſo great a benefit any longer, then vntill

a *All theſe were valiant Citizens of Rome, who employed themſelues in many notable ſeruices, and receiued diſgraces for their good deſerts. This Iſland is not exempt from ſuch like preſidents.*

vntill a second action? This is confessed, and certaine without all exception: Is there any man that dieth without complayning? who at his last gaspe dare say thus:

Virgil. Æneid. 4

My daies are done, now haue I brought to end
The course of life, that Fortune did me lend.

Who dieth not vnwillingly? who departeth not mournefully? But this is the part of an vngratefull man, not to content himselfe with the time that was lent him. The time will alwaies seeme short vnto thee, if thou reckon the same. Thinke that the chiefest good is not in time, and how little socuer it be, take it in good part. It addeth nothing to thy felicitie, if the day of thy death be prolonged, because by delay life is not made more blessed, but more long. How much better is it to giue thankes vnto the goddes for those honest pleasures, which wee haue received, and not to busie our selues in numbring other mens yeares, but to esteeme our owne thankefully, and to put them in the accompt of our gaines: hath God thought me worthy of this? this sufficeth mee: might hee haue giuen mee more? but this also is a benefit. Let vs bee thankefull to the gods, let vs be thankefull to men, let vs be thankefull vnto those that haue done vs any curtesie, and thankefull to those likewise who haue done any kindnesse to any of ours.

CHAP. XVIII.

THou obligest mee infinitely (saiest thou) when thou saiest Ours, prefixe therefore some end. He that bestoweth a benefit on the Sonne, as thou saiest, bestoweth it likewise on the Father. First, I aske where, and whither, and afterwards I desire thee likewise to informe me, whether a pleasure done vnto the Father, be likewise done vnto the Brother, to the Father, the Vnckle, the Grand-father, the Wife, the Sonne in law? Tell me where I should end, how long wilt thou that I follow the order and petigree of so many persons? if I haue tilled thy land for thee, haue I not done thee a pleasure? if I haue quenched the fire that would haue burned thy house, or if I haue repaired it, for feare it should fall vpon thee, shall I not giue thee a benefit? if I saue thy slaues life, shall I impute it vnto thee? If I preserue thy Sonne, hast thou not received a benefit at my hands?

CHAP. XIX.

THou settest downe vnlike and different examples, because that he who tilleth my Land, giueth not the benefit to my Land, but to me: and hee that vnder-proppeth my house, least it should fall, doth the pleasure to me: for the house it selfe is without sense. I must needs be in his debt, because none else is. And he that manureth my land, doth it not to deserue wel of the soile, but of my selfe. The same will I say of my seruant, for he iustly appertayneth to me, It is for my profit he is preserued, and therefore I am indebted for him. My Sonne is capable himselfe of a benefit, and therefore hee receiued it; I am glad of the fauour done him, it concerneth mee somewhat, yet am I not obliged. Yet would

would I haue thee answere mee, who thinkest thou art not indebted, whether thy sonnes good health, felicitie and patrimonie appertaineth to the Father? He shall bee more happy if his sonne bee whole and safe, and vnhappie if he lose him. What then? he that is made happier by me, and deliuered from the perrill of a mightie infelicitie and misfortune: hath he not received a benefit? no (saith he) for certaine things are bestowed vpon others, which extend also vnto vs; but euery thing ought to be requited at his hands, on whom that is bestowed: as money is requited at his hands who borrowed the same, although the same came in some sort into my hands. There is no benefit, the profit thereof toucheth and extendeth not to our neighbours, and sometimes also to those that are farthest off from vs. The question is not whether the benefite be transferred from him to whom it is giuen, but where it is first placed, thou must alwaies redemaund it from the principall debter, and he that ought it first. What then I pray thee? saiest thou not thou hast giuen me my sonne, and if hee had perished I should not haue liued? gauest thou not a benefite for his life, whose safetie thou preferrest before thine owne? At such time as I saued thy sonne, thou diddest not fall downe at my feete; thou diddest not pay thy vowes vnto the gods, as if thou thy selfe hadst beene preserued? diddest thou not cry out after this manner, the same hast thou done in succouring my sonne, as in saving mine owne person· make accompt that thou hast saued two, and me especially: Why saiest thou this, if thou receiuest no benefite? because although my sonne hath borrowed money, which I will repay vnto his creditor, yet shall not I bee indebted: and if my sonne hath beene taken in adulterie, I may happily be ashamed, yet shall not I therefore be the adulterer: I say that I am bound vnto thee for my sonne, not because I am, but because I will offer my selfe vnto thee a voluntarie debter. But a great pleasure hath befallen me by his safetie, inestimable is the profit I conceiue thereby, and which is more, I haue escaped the grieuous wound and corrasiue of being child-lesse. The question is not now, whether thou hast profited me; but whether thou hast giuen mee a benefit; for a liuing creature, an herb, a stone profit me, yet giue they me no benefite, which is neuer giuen but by such a one as is willing. But thou wilt not giue vnto the Father, but to the sonne; and in the meane while thou knowest not the Father; when therefore thou saiest, Haue I not therefore giuen a benefit to the Father, because I haue saued his son? Argue thou this contrariwise: How could I therefore giue a benefite to the Father, whom I neither knew, or euer thought vpon? and why falleth it not out sometimes, that thou shalt bare the Father mortally, and yet be desirous to saue his sonnes life? Wouldest thou say that thou gauest a benefite to the Father, whose mortall enemie thou wert at that time? But laying aside these questions which I intreate of by way of Dialogue, I will now answere like a Lawier: And say, that the minde of the giuer is to be respected. He gaue him the benefite to whom he intended it; euen as if he did it in honor of the Father: the Father receiued the benefite, not the sonne, so is not the Father bound for a benefite bestowed vpon his sonne, although he ennie it. Yet if occasion be offered, the Father shall not do amisse, to be willing to giue some-what, not that he is constrained by necessitie to pay any thing; but that he might haue found a sufficient cause to begin to do a pleasure. A benefite therefore ought not to be redemanded at the Fathers hands, for a curtesie done vnto the sonne; and if he voluntarily shew himselfe gratefull for the same, he ought rather to be esteemed iust than thankfull. For otherwise there would neuer be an end; if I giue a benefite to the Father, the mother, the graund-father, the

Marke a glimps of charity euen in a Pagan.

Resolution of the doubts.

the vncle, to the children, kinsfolke, friends, seruants, and countrie: where then beginneth a benefite to rest? For me thinks I am fallen into an argument which the Grecians call *Sorites*, which hath neuer an end, because it drudgeth on, and stealing forward by little and little, ceaseth not continually to passe on further. Men are wont to debate vpon this matter: Two brothers are at deadly feude the one against the other, if I preserue the one, haue I profited the other, who wil be sorrie that his brother hath escaped with life? There is no doubt but that it is a benefit, although it be against his will that receiueth the same: Euen as contrary wise, he hath not giuen a benefit, that profited against his will.

CHAP. XX.

CAlleſt thou that (saith he) a benefit wherewith he is offended and vexed? many benefits haue a harsh and distastfull appearance; as when we cut and cauterize to heale, and imprison to amend. We ought not to respect whether a man be sorrie for a benefit receiued, but whether hee ought to reioyce. The coine is not bad, which a barbarous and ignorant person accepteth not for currant and rightly stamped money. He hateth the benefit and yet he receiueth the same, if it bee profitable vnto him, and hee that hath giuen the same, hath done it to the end that it should bee profitable: it makes no matter though a man receiue a good turne with an euill will: So to let vs turne this the contrary way: A man hateth his brother, whose life importeth and profiteth him much, him haue I slaine. This action of mine is no benefit vnto him, although he say it is and reioyce thereat. Most traiterously doth he hurt, who receiueth thankes for doing harme. I do than see something is profitable and is therefore a benefit, hurtfull and therefore is no benefit. Behold I will giue that which is neither profitable nor hurtfull, and yet it is a benefit. I haue trauersed a desolate place, and found some mans father starke dead, and haue buried his body, neither haue I profited him that was slain (for what concerned it him after what manner he were consumed?) neither was it profitable for his sonne, for what could he gaine hereby? I will tell you what hee hath gained, hee hath discharged by my meanes a necessarie and solemne office. I haue done that to his father: which he himselfe would haue done, nay more, which in dutie he ought to do. Now if I did it not for common pietie and humanities sake only, as I might haue buried any other dead mans body, but knew the carcasse and thought vpon the sonne at the same time, and did it for his sake, then is it a benefit. But if I burie a dead man that is vnknowne to me, no man is indebted to me for this office, because it was but a point of publique humanitie. Some one will say vnto me: Why art thou so busie to enquire who it is to whom thou hast done a pleasure, as if thou wouldest heereafter redemaund the same? There are some that iudge that it should neuer be claimed againe, and alledge these causes. The vnworthie receiuer will not requite the same to bee redemaunded, the thankfull and worthie receiuer will of himselfe yeeld recompence. Besides if thou hast giuen to a good man, be not to earnest in clayming it, least in demaunding the same thou do him wrongs as if he would not haue satisfied thee of his owne free will. If thou hast giuen it to an euill man, haue patience. Corrupt not thy benefit with redemaunding the same, and of a curtesie make it no debt. Besides, that which the law biddeth not to be redemanded, it forbiddeth. These things are true, as long as nothing vrgeth me, as long as fortune inforceth me nothing, I will rather craue then aske againe. But if it be to saue my children's liues: if my wife bee in danger of hers, if the libertie and good of my Countrie constraineth me to go thither whither I would not, I will command my bashfulnesse, I will protest that I haue endured all things before I would bee inforced to demand succours at an vngratefull mans hand. In briefe, the necessitie of receiuing a good turne, shall ouer-come the shame of claiming it, when therefore I employ a benefit vpon a good man, I so giue it as if I would neuer redemand the same, except necessitie inforce me: but the law (saith he) not permitting to demand, forbiddeth to claime.

CHAP. XXI.

THere are many things which neyther haue lawe nor action, to which the custom of humane life, more powerfull then any law, giueth entrance. No law commandeth vs to discouer our friends secrets, neyther doth any lawe in like manner tye vs to keepe promise and our word with our enemy. What law tyeth vs to performe that which we haue promised to any man? yet will I iustly complaine of him that hath discouered my secret, and be displeased with him that hath giuen me his word, and hath not kept it. But thou (saith he) makest a debt of a benefite. Nothing lesse: for I doe not exact it, but redemand it; neyther do I redemand it, but admonish: neyther shall my extremest necessitie enforce me to this, to come vnto him with whom I shall be forced to vse long contestation. Who so is so farre plunged in ingratitude, that he will not be content to be aduertised and admonished, I will let him passe, neyther will I thinke him worthy to be inforced to be thankfull. Euen as the vsurer raketh not vpon those debitors, whom he knoweth to haue played the barickeroutes, or to be so poore that nothing is left them to lose that may make them ashamed: so will I ouerpasse some that are publiquely and obstinately thankelesse, neyther will I redemand a benefite at any mans hands, but from him onely from whom I shall not take away by force, but freely receiue it.

CHAP. XXII.

MAnie there are that neyther know how to denie the good they haue receiued, nor to restore it when it is needfull: who are not so good as the gratefull, nor so euill as the vngratefull: slacke and idle debitors, yet not euill. These will I not challenge, but admonish; & since they forget their ducty, I will make them remember themselues, so as they will presently answer me in this sort: *Pardonnay, I pray you, in good faith I knew not that you had need hereof: forbidst thou vs so much, I had offered it you of my selfe: I beseech you account me not vngratefull, I remember well what kindnesse*

There is as great weakenesse in many men in not being able to limit the opportunity of their satisfaction.

neſſe you haue done vnto me. Why ſhould I feare to make theſe men better to themſelues, and to me alſo? I will binde whomſoeuer I can from ſinning, much more my friend from offending, and eſpecially againſt my ſelfe. I giue him an other benefite, if I ſuffer him not to be vngratefull, neither will I rudely vpbraid him with the good turns he hath had of me: but as mildly as I can will I only refreſh the memory of them, to the end he may haue occaſion to reſtore me ſome ſuch pleaſure: I will pray him to do me a good turne, to the end he may vnderſtand that I doe it to redemand mine owne. Now and then will I vſe ſharp and bitter words, if I conceiue any hope that he may be amended: for a deſperate perſon, who hath loſt all ſhame I will not exaſperate him, leſt of an vngratefull man I make him mine enemie. For if we remit and forbeare to admoniſh ſharply, and call on thoſe that are vngratefull, we ſhall make them more ſlow to requite our courteſies. But ſome that may be amended, and who may be made good, if any thing touch their conſcience: ſhal we ſuffer them to be loſt for want of admonition, wherewith the father hath ſometimes corrected his ſonne, and the wife recalled and reclaimed her ſtraying husband, and a friend refreſhed the languiſhing faith of his friend?

CHAP. XXIII.

SOme there are that ſo ſleepe, that they are not to bee awaked by ſtriking, but by jogging. In like manner there are ſome that want not the will to yeeld ſatisfaction, but they are too ſlack and ſlow in the performance thereof, let vs awaken it. Be not thou the cauſe that thy benefit bee conuerted into an iniurie. Thou ſhouldeſt iniurie me, if thou wouldeſt not redemand the pleaſure, which thou haſt done me, for this cauſe, that I might become vngratefull. What if I know not what thou wanteſt? what if diſtracted by occupations, and imployed otherwaies, I haue not obſerued the occaſion? ſhew me what I may, and what thou wouldeſt. Why diſpaireſt thou, before thou trieſt mee? why art thou ſo haſtie to looſe both thy benefit and thy friend? whence knoweſt thou that I will not, or I know not, or whither my minde or meanes be deficient, make triall of me. I will aduiſe and admoniſh him then, not bitterly, not openly, but ſo modeſtly, that he may thinke that of himſelfe he hath called the matter to memorie, and was not put in minde by me.

CHAP. XXIIII.

A Certaine old Souldier, who had vſed ſome violence towards his Neighbours, was drawne in queſtion before *Iulius Cæſar*, and ſeeing himſelfe ouer-charged, and like to looſe the proceſſe: Cæsar (ſaith he) *remember you not how you once ſprent your ankle in Spaine neare to Sucre*, a Riuer of *Valentia*? when *Cæſar* had anſwered him that he remembred it well, the Souldier continuing his purpoſe, ſaid thus: *Doe you*

you remember likewiſe, that being couched vnder a Tree, that gaue but little ſhadow, and deſirous to reſt your ſelfe, to flie the heate of the ſcorching Sunne, in a barren and rockie ſoile, in which there was not but that only Tree, that grew from amongſt the craggy cliffes, there was one of your Souldiers that ſpred his cloake vnder you. When *Cæſar* had anſwered, yea marrie, why ſhould I not remember it: for when I was nigh dead for thirſt, becauſe I was not able to goe to the next ſpring, by reaſon of my foot, I would haue crept thither vpon all foure, but that a Souldier of mine, a man both ſtout and valiant, brought mee water in his Helmet, *Emperor* (ſaid this Souldier) *doe you now know that man, and that helmet, if you ſee them.* Cæsar anſwered, that hee knew not the Morion, but that hee knew the Souldier very well, and further ſaid, (diſpleaſed, as I ſuppoſe, for that he interrupted the pleading of the cauſe, to liſten to that old ſtorie which hee had told him.) I am ſure thou art not he. Cæsar (ſaid the Souldier) *I blame thee not, in that thou haſt forgotten me, for when this was done, I was whole and ſound, afterwards I loſt an eye at the battell of Munda, certaine ſplinters of my ſkull were taken out of my head, neither would you know the Helmet if you ſhould ſee it, for it was cleft in peeces by the ſtroke of a Spaniſh Curtelax.* Hereupon *Cæſar* commanded that he ſhould not be troubled any further, and gaue vnto his Souldier thoſe ſmall parcells of Land, through which the way lay, that made this ſtrife betwixt him & his neighbors.

Or Munderara, a people of Andaluzia.

CHAP. XXV.

WHat then? ſhould he not re-challenge the benefit at the Emperors hands, whoſe memorie was confuſed through the multitude of his affaires? whoſe great fortune in diſpoſing of his armie, ſuffered him not to remember and reward euery priuate Souldier? This is not to redemand a benefit, but to reſume it againe, being readie at hand, and laied vp in a good place, and yet if a man will haue it, he muſt ſtretch out his hand. I will therefore redemand the ſame, if I be conſtrained to doe it, either by neceſſitie, or for his ſake, of whom I muſt require it. A certaine familier of *Tiberius Cæſar*, preceding ſome ſute vnto him in the beginning of his Empire, beganne his ſpeech thus: *Sir remember you not?* to which he anſwered before hee vttered any further tokens of their former and ancient friendſhip, *I remember not what I was.* From ſuch as this Prince was, not only ſhould a good man forbeare to aske recompence of former curteſies, but alſo hee ought to deſire and procure that he might forget them vtterly. He diſdained the memorie and knowledge of all thoſe perſons, who he reputed either for his friends, or equalls, before his Empire, his only deſire was that they ſhould reſpect that preſent fortune and authoritie, wherein he was placed, that only would he haue to be thought vpon, that only to be ſpoken of; he reputed his ancient friend for a buſie Inquiſitor. It is better to redemand a pleaſure thou haſt done in times paſt in time and place, then to require and craue anew. Moderation of words is to bee vſed, that the vngratefull man, whom ſoeuer cannot pretend to haue forgotten them. If we liued amongſt men of ſcience and conſcience, we might hold our peace and exſpect, and yet it were better to giue them notice of our affaires, and the eſtate of our neceſſities. We pray vnto the gods, who know all things, our praiers obtayne not that which wee demand, they only aduertiſe them of that which we would intreat at their hands. That Prieſt which ſpeaketh in *Ho-*

mer, repreſenteth vnto the gods the honour which was done vnto them: and thoſe Altars which were deuoutly addreſſed, and dreſſed for them, to the end they might bee fauourable to his petitions, and attentiue to his praiers. It is a ſecond vertue, both to be willing, to be admoniſhed, and to be able to entertaine good aduertizements. The mind is to be reigned ſoftly this way and that way, few there are that are perfectly gouerned by the ſame, but they that by honeſt aduertiſements returne into the right way, hold the ſecond place; and from theſe we ought not to take the guide that conducteth them. The eyes that are ſhut haue a light, but without vſe, which then grow in vſe, when the day-light which the goddes ſend vs) calleth them forth and awakneth them to performe their offices. Inſtruments and tooles lie by and ſerue no vſes, except the workeman moue them, and employ them in his labour: meane while there is a good will in his ſoule, but either idleneſſe or delight benummeth it, or the ignorance of his art makes him erre. Wee ought therefore to amend our will, and not to ſuffer it through deſpite to languiſh long time in error: but following the cuſtome of Schoole-maſters, who inſtruct yong children, we ought patiently to endure, and diſcreetly to pardon them, if they haue forgotten any thing through defect of memorie. And euen as in telling them a word or two, they faſhion them to conſtrue their whole leſſon: ſo by ſome little admonition we ought to reclaime ſuch as are forgetfull, and faſhion them to acknowledge a Benefit.

The will is to be awakened, leaſt it languiſh in error.

The end of the fift Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

The Sixt Booke.

The Argument of Ivstvs Lipsivs.

Againe continueth he his queſtions after the maner of Chrysippvs. *Firſt he enquireth whether a benefit may be taken away? he differently diſputeth thereupon, yet concludeth that the vſe thereof may be taken away, but not the benefit it ſelfe. His ſecond queſtion is, whether we be indebted to him, who either profited vs willingly or ignorantly? he denieth. His third is, whether we be obliged to him that profited vs for his owne ſake? if only for himſelfe, he denieth it, but if for mine alſo, he admitteth it. He mixeth ſubtilties with examples. The fourth is, whether it be lawfull to wiſh another man an euill turne, to the end thou mayeſt reſtore him his benefit? it is not lawfull, and he condemneth it. He openeth another way of reſtitution, euen to thoſe that are happie, yea to Kings, by counſailes, admonitions, and doctrines.*

CHAP. I.

THere are ſome things (my *Liberalis*, the worthieſt of men) which are only drawne in queſtion to exerciſe the ſpirit, and haue no vſe in them. There are other things alſo, which not onely moue delight, whileſt they are diſputed vpon, but after they are debated, are greatly profitable vnto vs. I will preſent thee with all ſorts of them. Thou mayeſt as it pleaſeth thee aduiſe me, either whether I ſhall finiſh thoſe that are begunne, or that I preſent them only on the Theater, for ſhow and oſtentation ſake: and although thou commandeſt them to be incontinently relieued, yet will there ſome profit ariſe thereby: for although there are ſome things which are vnneceſſarie to be ſpoken of, yet it auaileth vs ſomewhat to know them. I will therefore be at thy diſpoſition and becke, and ſhape my proceedings according to thy pleaſure: ſome will I debate vpon more amply, other ſome will I caſt out headlong from off this Theater.

CHAP. II.

THe queſtion is whether a benefit may be taken away. Some denie that it may, for a benefit is nothing but an action, euen as the gift is one thing, and the giuing another, and he that ſaileth one thing, and the Nauigation it ſelfe another thing. And although the ſicke man be not without ſickneſſe, yet is not he that is ſicke and the ſickneſſe it ſelfe all one: ſo the benefit it ſelfe is one thing, but that which commeth to each one of vs by the benefit, is another thing. A benefit is a thing incorporeall, which cannot be fruſtrated, the matter thereof is toſſed hither and thither, and changeth his maſter. When therefore thou takeſt the ſame away, Nature it ſelf cannot vndoe thoſe things ſhe hath done. She ſtoppeth the courſe of her benefits, but cutteth them not off. He that dieth, yet hath liued, & he that hath loſt his ſight, hath formerly ſeene. It may be brought to paſſe, that thoſe things that are come to vs may not be, but that they may not haue bin, it is impoſſible; but the part of the benefit, and the moſt certaine is that which was. Somtimes we hinder the vſe and long poſſeſſion of a benefit; the benefit it ſelfe cannot be razed out. Though nature ſummon al her forces to this end, yet hath ſhee no power ouer that which is paſt. Thou mayeſt take away the houſe thou gaueſt me, the money thou lendeſt me, the ſlaue I bought, and whatſoeuer elſe, wherein the name of a benefit conſiſteth, but the benefit it ſelfe is ſtable and immutable, no force can effect this, that the one hath not giuen, and the other hath not receiued.

CHAP. III.

MArcvs Antonivs (as the Poet * *Rabirius* ſetteth it downe) ſeeing his fortunes tranſlated to *Auguſtus*, and that no other refuge was left him, but the priuiledge of death, and that that alſo (except he tooke hold of the preſent occaſion) would quickly be taken from him, cried out in my opinion moſt heroically.

That onely now I haue,
Which I to others gaue.

O how much might he haue had if he would? Theſe are the moſt aſſured riches which will continue at one ſtay, in whatſoeuer inconſtancie and leuitie of humane fortune, which the greater they be, the leſſe enuie will they haue. Why art thou ſo ſparing of that thou haſt, as if it were thine owne? thou art but Fortunes factor. All theſe things which thus puffe vs vp, that emflame vs with pride, that ſeeme to make vs more then men, cauſe vs to forget frailtie. Theſe therefore which you keepe within iron walles, with armed hands, theſe goods which you haue purchaſed with other mens bloods, and defended with your owne, for which you rigge forth whole nauies to ſtaine the ſeas with blood, for which you beleager Cities, and yet ignorant, what ſtore of weapons Fortune hath prepared againſt thoſe, who are oppoſed againſt her. Theſe for which two ambitious pretenders of Empire (the lawes of affinitie, friendſhip and confederacie being broken) haue ſo oftentimes cauſed the world to bee ſo cruſhed and

* *This was a noble Poet that wrote the Ciuill wars, and commended by Ouid.*

and confounded, are not yours; they are but as things in truſt left in your hands, and ſhall ſuddenly be tranſlated to another maſter. That enemie, from whom you haue pillaged them, or ſome ſucceſſour of his enmitie and hatred ſhall come and force them from thee. Asketh thou me how thou mayeſt make them thine owne? I anſwere thee, by well beſtowing them. Be prouident therefore in thy affaires, purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe an aſſured poſſeſſion of thoſe things which can neuer bee taken from thee: thy riches ſhall not onely bee more ſecure, but alſo more honeſt; that which thou admireſt and priſeſt ſo much, that which in thy iudgement maketh thee rich and powerfull, as long as thou detaineſt it in thy hands, retaineth no other title but the villanous name of auarice, as for example, thy houſe, thy ſlaue, thy money; but after thou haſt giuen them, they are accounted and reckoned for benefits.

All greatneſſe is tranſitorie, the perdurable good is leaſt apprehended.

CHAP. IIII.

THou confeſſeſt (ſaith he) that ſometimes we are not obliged and indebted to him, of whom we haue receiued a benefit: *Ergo*, it is taken from vs. There are many cauſes which diſcharge vs of the obligation, whereby we are tied for the good we haue receiued, not for that it is violently taken from vs, but becauſe it is corrupted by another meanes. A certaine man defendeth mee, being accuſed and guiltie of ſome capitall crime, and afterwards vſeth infamous violence to my wife, and rauiſheth her; he hath not taken away the good that hee did me, but oppoſing an equall iniurie to the ſame, he diſchargeth mee of my debt; and if he hath hurt me more then he profitted me before, the good turne is not only extinguiſhed, but I haue free libertie both to complaine, and to reuenge, where, in compariſon of the benefit, the iniurie ouer-weigheth it: ſo the benefit is not taken away, but ouerpreſſed and drowned. What? are not ſome fathers ſo hard hearted and wicked, that it is both lawfull and rightfull to loath and ſhunne them, and not to acknowledge them? haue they therefore taken from them that which they gaue them? nothing leſſe, but the impietie of ſucceeding times, hath taken away the commendation of euery former office and kindnes: the benefit is not taken away, but only the thankes, which ought to be acknowledged for the ſame, and it is brought to paſſe, not that I haue it not, but that I owe it not. If a man lend me money, and afterwards burne my houſe, his debt is ſatisfied by my damage; I haue not paid him, & yet I owe him nothing. Euen ſo ſtandeth the caſe here: though a man hath done me ſome friendly good turne, though he hath dealt with me ſomewhat liberally, yet if afterwards he many wayes vſe me proudly, contumeliouſly & cruelly, he hath left me at that ſtay that I am, as free from him, as if I had neuer receiued any thing at his hands, for the fault is his owne, and he himſelfe hath violated his owne benefits. The Land-lord cannot conſtraine his tenant to pay his rent (although the deeds remaine in force vncancelled) if he treade downe his corne, fell downe his fruit-trees, not becauſe hee hath receiued that which hee couenanted, but for that he himſelfe is the cauſe that his tenant cannot ſatisfie him. So is the creditour oftentimes endamaged towards his debter, if he take more for ſome other pretext, then that which he lent did amount vnto. The Iudge ſitteth not betweene the creditour and debter to ſay only this, Thou haſt lent him money: what then? thou haſt driuen away his cattell, murthered his ſeruant, taken poſſeſſion of

of his land, which thou neuer payedst for; when all these things shall bee well considered of and valued: depart thou a debter, who camest a creditour. There is therefore a iust rating and valuation betwixt benefits and iniuries to be made. Oftentimes the benefit remaineth, and we are not obliged to satisfie the same, if he that gaue it repented himselfe afterwards, if he say he was vnhappy in that he gaue the same, if when he gaue he sighed, or bent his browes, if he beleeue he hath lost and not giuen: if he hath done it for his owne profit, or at least not for mine? if hee hath not ceased to insult, bragge and boast euery where, and make his benefit bitter and distastfull to the receiuer. The benefit therefore remaineth, although it be not due, euen as certaine moneyes are due, but not exacted, because the creditor hath no law to recouer them.

CHAP. V.

THou gauest a benefit, and afterwards diddest an iniurie, there is both a thankes due to the benefit, and a reward for the iniurie, for I owe him no thankes, nor he me any punishment, the one satisfieth the other. When we say, I haue satisfied his benefit, we say not thus, that we haue restored that which we receiued, but this for that; for to restore, is to giue one thing for another. Why not? because euery payment restoreth not the same, but as much in value: for we are said to haue satisfied our debt, although we haue paid siluer for gold, and although we pay no money at all, but either by assignement to other, or by way of exchange we make our satisfaction. Me thinkes thou tellest me that I lose my labour: for what profiteth it me to know, whether that which is not due remaineth still in obligation? These are but impertinent subtilties of the Lawyers, who say that no man can acquire the possession or dominion of an inheritance, but onely the goods thereof, as if the heritage were ought else, then those things which are in the inheritance? I had rather thou shouldest distinguish me this (which may be pertinent to the matter) namely, when as the same man had done me a courtesie, and afterwards offered me an iniurie, whether I ought to requite his kindnesse and notwithstanding reuenge my selfe for the iniurie offered me, and make a seuerall satisfaction, as it were, for two different debts, or recompence the one with the other, and not to take any more care of it, so as the benefit be taken away by the iniurie, and the iniurie by the benefit. For I see that this is obserued in the Courts of pleas, what the resolution of your Schoole is, you your selues know. The actions are seuerall, and conformably to the course of our pleadings, so answerably are wee dealt withall. For otherwise there should be a great confusion in the Iudgement-seat and course of law: if he that should leaue in my custodie goods or money in trust, should afterwards steale from me, I should enter my sute of felonie against him, and contrariwise he pleade against me, for the money left in trust with me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THose examples (my *Liberalis*) which thou hast proposed, are contained vnder certaine lawes which we must needs follow, for one law is not confounded with another, each one keepeth his one way. As for the matter in trust, there is a distinct action, so is there also for the theft. A benefit is not subiect to any law, only I that receiued the same, am the arbitrarie Iudge thereof: I haue authoritie to compare together, how much good another man hath done mee, or what damage I haue receiued by him: whether I be indebted more vnto him, or he obliged more to me. In iudging by law and ordinances I haue not any power, thither must we go, whither they leade vs. But in matter of benefit, all the power and priuiledge is mine owne, and therefore I iudge them, and separate not the actions, I summon the benefits and iniuries before one Iudge: otherwise thou shouldest command me at one and the same time, to loue and hate one and the same person, to complaine of him, and to giue him thanks, which nature cannot permit: nay rather by comparing the benefit and wrong together, I shall see whether any thing be owing me of surplusage. Euen as he that imprinteth other lines aloft vpon my writings, taketh not away the former letters, but only raceth and hideth them. Euen so an iniurie that succeedeth a benefit, blemisheth it so, that it cannot appeare.

CHAP. VII.

THy countenance (to whose direction and becke I submitted my selfe) beginneth to frowne, and thou bendest thy browes vpon me, as if I strayed from my purpose, mee thinkes I heare thee say:

Whether so farre disioyned from the port,
Dost thou vpon thy right hand saile before?
Ply hitherwards, vnto this hauen resort;
And leaue the maine, and loue and like the shore.

Pardon me, I can keepe no neerer. If therefore thou thinkest that I haue satisfied and sufficiently debated on this matter: let vs passe onward to the other, and examine whether wee bee indebted to him that hath done vs a pleasure against his wil. I might speak this more plainly, but that the proposition ought to be more confused, to the end that the distinction which followeth presently after, should shew that we dispute both the one & other point: that is to say, whether we are bound vnto him that hath procured our good, and meant it not, and also whether we be beholding to him, that hath done vs good, and knew it not. For if any man by compulsion hath shewed vs any kindnes, it is a matter so manifest that he obligeth vs not, that there need no words to be spent to this purpose. And the said question may easily be answered, and whatsoeuer may bee obiected of the same nature, if we often conuert our thoughts to this generall principle. That there is no benefit but that which is accompanied with a good thought towards vs; and such a thought and intent likewise, as is both friendly and bountifull. And therefore we thanke not the riuers although they beare great

great ships, and with a large and perpetuall chancll, fleete along to furnish vs with commodities, and although wooing the wondring eye, and full of daintie fish, they steale along and moisten our fatned fields: neither will any man iudge that he is indebted to *Nilus*, or displeased therewith, if it hath ouer-flowed and drowned his land, or too slowly growne to ebbe: neither doth the windle befriend vs, although it blow a gentle and prosperous gale, nor the victuals we eat, although they bee profitable and holsome. For hee that properly, will giue a benefit, must not only profit me, but haue a will to doe me good. Therefore men are not indebted to dumbe beasts, yet how many hath the swiftnesse of a horse deliuered out of danger? nor to trees, and yet how many troubled with heat hath the shadow of their branchie armes deliuered and couered from the scortching Sunne? what concerneth it me whither he that did me good, know not that hee doth it, or bee not able to know it, when both of them wanted will to doe it? And what difference is there, whither you command me to owe a benefit to a ship, or a chariot, or a speare, or to such a one, who, as these, had no purpose to doe good, but was profitable vnto me only casually?

CHAP. VIII.

A Man may receiue a benefit vnwittingly, but no man doth good without knowing of the same: Euen as many men haue been healed of their infirmities, by some casuall accident, and yet for all that they are no true remedies: As some men haue recouered their health by falling into a Riuer in an exceeding cold day: As a quartaine ague hath beene driuen from some men by whipping, and a sodaine fright hath disappointed the expected houre of an ague, by fixing the imagination on another distastfull euill, and yet none of these, although they haue beene the cause of recouerie, can be said but to bee a soueraigne remedie, so some men profit vs while they would not, or rather because they will not doe vs good, yet are wee not indebted to them for the benefit. What if fortune hath altered their pernicious counsailes, and drawen them to a better end? Suppose st thou that I am any waies bound vnto him, whose hands striking at me, light vpon and hit mine enemie: who would haue hurt me, except hee had swarued? Oft-times a witnesse whilest hee manifestly forsweareth himselfe, hath detracted from their credit who were true witnesses, and hath made the Iudges to commiserate the prisoner, supposing that it was but some slanderous circumuention and conspiracie. Oft-times the very great power and authoritie of the aduersarie, hath deliuered the delinquent out of the Iudges hands, who would not condemne him vpon the credit and fauour of the accuser, which otherwaies they had conuicted by the iustice of the cause. Yet did not these giue a benefit, although they profited, for the question is, whereat the dart was aimed, not where it lighted, and it is the minde, and not the euent, which distinguisheth a benefit from an iniurie. Mine aduersarie, whilest he speaketh contraries, and offendeth the iudge by his pride, and rashly dismisseth one of his best witnesses, giueth great aduantage to my cause. I aske not whither he erred to pleasure mee, because his intention was to hurt me.

CHAP. IX.

VErily, to approue my selfe gratefull, it behoueth me to haue a will to doe that which he hath done: if he would that I should take it for a benefit, he ought to haue a will and intent. For what is more vniust then that man who hateth him; that hath kicked him in a throng, or soiled him with dirt, or thrust him thither, whither he would not? But what other thing is there that may exempt him from the blame whereas there is an iniurie in the action, then that hee knew not what hee did? The same thing that priuiledgeth the one from being iudged to haue done iniurie, exempteth the other also from being thought to haue done a pleasure. It is the will that maketh vs either friends or enemies. How many hath sicknesse discharged from warfare? Some haue beene letted from being oppressed with the ruine of their owne houses, by keeping their day of appearance at the suite of their enemies. And some by shipwrack haue escaped the hands of Pyrates, yet are wee not obliged to these misfortunes for any benefit, because casuall euents haue no correspondencie with amitie; nor to our enemie, who would trouble vs by processe, and detaine vs vnder arrest. It is no good deede that proceedeth not from a good will, except he that gaue it acknowledge it. Hath a man pleasured me and know not of it, I owe him nothing? Did he doe me good when he would haue hurt me: I will doe the like to him.

CHAP. X.

LEt vs returne againe to the first point: Thou wilt that (to the intent I should be thankefull) I should doe somewhat, and yet hee that did me kindnesse, hath done nothing. Let vs speake now of the second. Thou wilt haue me very forward to gratifie him willingly, although in the giuing he had no good will or intention to giue. For what shall I say of the third, whose iniurie is exchanged into a benefit? If thou wilt haue me to owe thee a good turne, it is not enough for thee to be only willing to doe mee good: but to make mee vnbeholding to thee, it is enough that thou meanst it not towards me. For the dart will cannot make a benefit. But euen as that should not be a benefit, if a good and free will were abandoned by fortune, so likewise is it not a benefit, if the will mercheth not before the fortune. For if thou wilt haue mee beholding to thee, thou must not only doe me good, but also thou must doe it with a will to profit.

CHAP. XI.

LEanthes vseth this example, I sent, saith he, two Boyes vnto the Academie to seeke out *Plato*, and to bring him vnto me. The one of them sought him out in all the Galleries and Porches, where he was wont to walke, and came through all other places wherein he had any hope to finde him out, and at length being wearie with his way, and frustrate of his hope, returned home. The other good gasing at the next Iugler, or mounte-banck, or whilst he wandreth vp and downe

and

and plaieth with his fellowes and companions, seeth *Plato* passing by, and found him whom he sought not. I, saith *Cleanthes*, will commend that Boy who performed that he was commanded, to his vttermost and will: chastise that other who was more fortunate in lazinesse. It is the will that is the lawfull Mistris of these actions, the condition whereof must be considered, if thou wilt haue me to bee thy debter. It is a small matter to wish a man well, except thou pleasure him; It is a small matter to haue pleasured, except thou hadst a will to doe it. For put case a man had a will to giue, yet gaue not, vndoubtedly I haue his hart, but not his benefit which consummateth and perfecteth both the thing and the will. Euen as I owe him nothing that would haue trusted mee with his money but did not: so will I be a friend, but not obliged to him, that would haue done mee a curtesie but could not: and I shall haue a will to do him good, because he had a will to pleasure me. Notwithstanding if fortune be so fauorable vnto me, as that I may haue the meanes to giue him any thing, it shall not be to gratifie his curtesie but to giue him a benefit. It shall be his dutie to yeeld me thankes, and the beginning of the debt shall be deriued from me.

CHAP. XII.

I Perceiue now already what thou meanest to demand: thou needest not to tell me, thy lookes expresse thy thoughts. Are we indebted in any sort to him (sayest thou) who, to profit himselfe, hath done vs a pleasure? For of this thing oft-times I heare thee complaine, that there are some men, who reckon that kindnesse to be done vnto another, which they giue to themselues. I will satisfie thee herein, my *Liberalis*: but first of all I will diuide this little question into two parts, and separate that which is iust from that which is vniust. For there is a great difference whether a man giueth vs a benefit for his owne sake, or for our behoofe, or for his owne and ours. He that solely respecteth his owne commoditie and profit, and profiteth vs notwithstanding (because otherwise he cannot further himselfe) seemeth, in my iudgement, to be all one with him who prouides prouender and sommer-fodder for his cattell; or him that feedes his captiues liberally, to the end they may be the better solde; or him that fattens and curries his Oxen, to make them more vendible; or that Master of skirmish and defence, who exerciseth his family of Fencers with great care, & adorneth them most diligently, to the end they may get him maintenance. There is a great difference (as *Cleanthes* saith) betwixt a benefite and a negotiation or bargaining.

CHAP. XIII.

AGaine, I am not so neglectfull or euill, as to forget my acknowledgement towards him, who in being profitable vnto me, was as prouident and carefull to procure his owne good. For I do not exact this, that without respect of his own estate, he should aduance mine: but rather I wish that the benefite which is giuen me, should most of all redound to his profit that gaue me the same. As long as he that gaue the same had a respect vnto two in giuing it, & diuided the same betwixt himselfe and me, although he for the most part possest the same, if hee admit me as a co-partner with him, if hee thought on two: I am not onely vngratefull but vniust, except I reioyce that hee found profit by that which was profitable to me. It is an effect of excessiue malice, not to call that a benefite, except it be such a thing as returneth the giuer thereof some incommoditie. I will answer him after another manner, who giueth the benefit for his own sake: Why wilt thou say that thou hast rather profited me, then I pleasured thee? Put case (saith he) that I cannot otherwise obtaine a Magistracie, except I redeeme ten captiue citizens, amongst a number of others that are in thraldome and seruitude: shalt thou owe me nothing when I haue deliuered thee from seruitude and bonds? yet will I doe this for mine owne sake. To this I answere: Herein doest thou somewhat for thine owne sake, and somewhat for mine. It is for thine owne sake that thou redeemest me, and for my sake that thou chusest me. For it is enough for thee in regard of thine owne profit, to haue redeemed any whatsoeuer. I therefore am indebted to thee, not because thou hast redeemed me; but because thou chosest me: for thou mightst haue attained as much by another mans redemption, as thou dost by mine. Thou diuidest with me the profit of the thing, and makest me partner of that benefit which should profit two. Thou preferrest me before others, thou doest all this for my sake: if therefore the redemption of tenne Captiues should make thee Prætor, and we were only ten Captiues, none of vs should any waies be indebted vnto thee, because thou should'st haue nothing that were with-drawne from thy profit, that thou mightest impart to any of vs. I am no malitious interpreter of a benefit; neither desire I that the pleasure should redound only to my selfe, but to thy selfe likewise.

CHAP. XIIII.

WHat therefore (saith he) if I had commanded all your names to be cast into lots, and your name amongst the number of such as were to bee ransommed, were admitted to passe, should'st thou owe me nothing? vndoubtedly I should be indebted vnto thee but very little. And what this is I will let thee know, thou doest some-what for my sake, because thou admittest me to the fortune of redemption: because my name was registred amongst the rest. I owe this to fortune that my name was drawne amongst the rest, to thee that it might be drawne. Thou gauest me an entrance to a benefit, the greater part whereof I owe vnto fortune; but the abilitie I had to be indebted to fortune, that owe I to thee. As for those who set saile on those curtesies they do to others, I wil wholly ouer-passe them: because they respect not to whom they giue, but for what aduantage they gaue, and such a benefit as this returneth euery way to his hands that gaue the same. A certaine man hath sold me corne. I cannot liue except I buy the same; yet am I not obliged to him for my life because I bought the same: neither estimate I how necessarie it was without which I could not liue, but how freely it was bestowed, which I should not haue had except I had bought it. In the conueyance whereof vnto me, the merchant thought not how much succours he should bring me, but how much profit he should breede vnto himselfe. That which I bought I owe not.

CHAP. XV.

IN this manner (saith he) thou wilt say that thou art no wayes indebted to the Physitian, except it be for some small fee, nor to thy master, because thou hast paid him some money: but amongst vs we yeeld them much reuerence, and offered them more loue. To this I answere, that there are some things more precious then we prize them. Thou buyest at the Physitians hands an inestimable treasure, to wit, thy life and health: from thy master and instructer in good Arts, liberall studies, and the certanie ornaments and riches of thy minde. To these therfore we pay not the price of that they giue vs, but the reward of their labours, because they serue vs, and abandon their owne particular affaires to intend ours. They receiue the reward, not of their merit, but of their trauaile. Another answere may be giuen to this, more answerable vnto truth, whereof hereafter I will intreate, when I haue first of all made it apparant how this may be disproued. Certaine things (saith hee) are more worth then they were sold for, and therefore although they are bargained for and bought, thou owest mee somewhat ouer and besides for them. First of all, what skilleth it how much they are worth, when as both the buyer and seller are agreed vpon the price? Againe, he sold it not at his own price and valuation, but at thine: it is more worth (saith he) then it was sold for; but it could not be sold for more. And the time is it that giueth the price vnto all things, when thou hast praised them to the vttermost, they are worth but as much as may be gotten for them; besides, he oweth nothing to the seller, that hath bought it cheape: moreouer, although these things are more worth, yet is it no thankes to thee, considering that the estimation of these things dependeth not vpon the vse and effect of them, but vpon the custome and scarcitie of them. What pay dost thou allot him that crosseth the seas, and hauing lost the sight of land, cutteth thorow the middest of the waues an assured and direct course, and foreseeing future tempests, euen then when there is greatest appearance of securitie, commandeth suddenly to strike the sailes, to stoope the top-sailes, and to be addressed to endure the sudden assault of a storme? yet pay we the reward of so great a merit, no otherwise then with an ordinarie fare. How much valuest thou a lodging in a desert, a sheade in a shower, a stoue or fire in cold weather? yet know I how much I shall pay for this, when I come to mine Inne. How greatly befriendeth he vs, that keepeth our house from falling, that vnderproppeth it with great cunning, and vpholdeth it in the aire, being cleft and winde-shaken from the very foundation: yet neither the supporting nor vndersetting cost me very much. The wall of a Citie keepeth vs in safetie from our enemies, and the sudden incursion of theeues. Yet is it well knowne what wages the Mason deserued by day, that builded those faire Towers and strong Bulwarkes, that were raised for the publike securitie of the inhabitants.

CHAP. XVI.

IT were an endlesse matter for me, if I should gather together those plentie of examples, whereby it might appeare that there are great and precious things, which cost vs very little. What then? why is it that I owe some great matter to my Physitian and Master, and faile in the satisfaction of that which they haue worthily deserued? Because, of a Physitian and Schoole-master they become our friends, and oblige vs not by the Art they sell vs, but by their gracious and familiar good will. To the Physitian therefore (who doth no more then touch my purse, and numbreth me amongst one of those his patients, whom he ordinarily walketh to, and visiteth, prescribing me without any particular affection, what I ought to do, and what I ought to eschew:) I owe no more, and am no whit indebted: because he visiteth mee not as a friend, but for that I had enioyned him to come vnto me: neither haue I cause to reuerence my Master, if he hath made no more accoût of me, then of one of his ordinarie schollers, if he thought me not worthie of priuate & peculiar care; if he haue neuer setled his thoughts vpon me, and when generally he imparted his knowledge to the rest of his schollers, I rather gathered from him, then learned of him. What is the cause then, why I should owe so much vnto these? Not because that which they sold is more worth then we bought, but because in particular they haue giuen vs something ouer-plus. This Physitian bestowed more labour on me then he was bound to doe, he had more care of me then of his reputation and credit, he not onely contented not himselfe to prescribe me remedies, but also vouchsafed to apply and minister them. In the meane while hee sate carefully by mee, and succoured mee, and preuented the suspected time, and rigor of my accesse, no office distasted him; no paine disliked him, if he had seene me bemoane my selfe, he was sorrowfull. Amongst all those that called him, he had a particular care of me, he implied no other time in visiting the rest of his sicke patients, then such wherein my infirmitie remitted and gaue him oportunitie. To this man I am not tied, as to a Physitian, but as to a friend. Againe, that other Schoole-master tooke great care and paines in teaching and instructing me; and besides those lessons and common lectures which he communicated to all particularly, he reformed me in some points of importance, he quickened my spirits by good exhortation, and sometimes by praises he animated mee in my studies, and sometimes by admonitions discussed my sloth. Furthermore (if I may so speake it) he by the hand of his industrie drew out and whetted my hidden and heauie wit, too much drowned in the prison of my bodie, neither lingeringly and subtilly dispensed hee his knowledge, to the end I might haue longer vse and need of him, but desired, if he might, to communicate vnto me at one instant; all that which he knew. Vngratefull am I, except I loue him as one of my most gratefull and truest friends.

CHAP. XVII.

WE allow alwaies somewhat (ouer and aboue the ordinarie rate we buy at) to merchants and sailers (euen in the most mechanique and baseſt trades and offices) if we perceiue some extraordinarie diligence in the seruice we employ them in, and to the master of a ship and workman of a base price, how base soeuer they be, although they be but day-hirelings, we allow some ouerplus aboue his pay. Vnthankfull then is he, that in the best Arts, which either preserue or adorne mans life: that supposeth himselfe to be no more indebted, then for that he couenanted. Adde hereunto that the tradition of such studies vniteth and allieth minds together, when this is done, both the Physitian and the Schoole-master haue receiued the reward of their labour, but their affections and good minds rest yet vnsatisfied.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHen *Plato* had crossed a certaine riuer in a ferry-boate, and the ferry-man had exacted nothing for his passage, supposing that it had beene done for his honors sake, he said vnto the ferry-man, that *Plato* ought him a good turne; but anone after perceiuing, that with no lesse diligence he freely transported many others: Friend, said he, thou hast now discharged mee of that obligation, whereby I held my selfe tied and bound vnto thee. For to the end to make me thy debter, for any thing thou giuest me, thou art bound not only to giue it me, but to giue it me solely, as to my selfe: For that which thou giuest vnto a multitude, thou hast no reason to redemand at a priuate mans hand. How then? Is there nothing due for this? nothing, as for one in particular, I will pay with all that I owe thee withall.

CHAP. XIX.

THou denyest then (saith he) that he giueth mee a benefit, that freely and without recompence transported mee ouer the riuer of *Poe*. True it is he doth me some good, but hee giueth me no benefit, for he doth it for his owne sake, or at least-wise not for mine. In summe, neither doth he himselfe iudge that he giueth mee a benefit, but he doth it either for the Common-weales sake, or for his neighbours sake, or for his owne ambition sake; and for this expecteth he some certaine other commoditie, then that which hee is to receiue from euery priuate person. What then (saith he) if a Prince should giue immunities to all French-men, and discharge all Spaniards of paying tribute, should not euery one of them in this case be particularly bound vnto him? Why should they not be obliged? vndoubtedly they cannot be otherwise, yet not for a particular, but for a part of a publike benefit. But (sayest thou) he neuer thought on me. At that time when he did so much good vnto all men; he had no particular intent to giue mee the Citie, neither addressed he his purposes to my profit: wherefore then should I be obliged to him in any thing, who no wayes thought on mee at such time as he was to act that which he intended. First when as he bethought himselfe to do good vnto all the Gaules, he thought also of me, because I was a Gaule, and comprehended me, although not by my proper name, yet vnder the publique name of the nation. Againe, I shall not be tyed vnto him, as if the good were properly and particularly mine, but as one that partaked his fauour amongst the comminaltie. I will not satisfie as in mine owne behalfe; but I will contribute as for the common good of my countrey.

As Claudius did at that time, Seneca wrote this.

CHAP. XX.

IF a man lend a summe of money to my countrey, I will not say that I am indebted to him, neyther will I acknowledge it as my debt, although I sued for a publique office, neyther also if I were sued as a debtor; yet will I contribute my part in payment of this debt. In like sort, I denie that I am debtor for the fauour that is done vnto all my nation, because he gaue it me, yet not for me; & in such manner gaue it me, that in giuing the same he knew not whether he gaue it me, yea or no: yet know I that I must pay some portion thereof, because the good by one meanes or other appertaineth to me, and tyeth me to requite it. It must be done for me that shall oblige me. In the same sort (saith he) neyther owest thou any thing to the Moone or Sunne; for they are not moued for thy sake: but whereas they are moued to this end, that they may preserue all things, they moue for me also, for I am a part of the Vniuerse. Moreouer, our condition and theirs are different: for he that profiteth me, to the intent that by my meanes he may further himselfe, gaue me no benefit, because hee made me the instrument of his profit. But the Sunne and Moone, although they do vs good, yet to this end profit they vs not, that by our means they should profit themselues: for what can we be-friend or further them in?

CHAP. XXI.

I Shall know (saith hee) that the Sunne and Moone haue a will to profite vs, if they had the power not to bee willing: but they cannot surcease to stay their motion, neyther can they abridge or intermit their accustomed trauell. See by how manie wayes this may be refelled. A man is not therefore the lesse willing, because he cannot be vnwilling, nay, rather it is a great argument of a firm will, not to be able at any time to change. A good man cannot choose but doe that which he doth: for he shall not be a good man except he do it. Therefore a good man bestoweth no benefit, because he doth that which he ought to do, but he cannot do otherwise then that which he ought. Besides, there is much difference whether thou sayest, He cannot chuse but do this, because he is compelled: or, He cannot be vnwilling to do it. For if he must needes doe it, I am not tyed vnto him for his benefit, but to him that compelled him. But if the necessity of his willingnesse proceed of this, because hee hath nothing better that he can will, then is it he himselfe that compelleth himselfe. And so, looke for what thing I should not haue beene beholding to him, as compelled by others for the same; shall I be beholding to him, as to the compeller of himselfe? This will

will make them ceaſe (ſaith he). I pray you think a little on this matter: What man is he, ſo voyde of vnderſtanding, that will denie that it is no willingneſſe in him that acteth any thing, which is not accompanied with danger of impediment in performance, or altering it ſelfe to the contrary, ſeeing that on the other ſide no man may of right ſeeme ſo willing, as he whoſe will is ſo aſſuredly certaine, that it remaineth eternall and immutable? If he be willing, that may anon after be vnwilling: ſhall not he be thought to be willing, who is of that nature that he cannot be vnwilling?

CHAP. XXII.

But (ſaith he) let them ſtand ſtill, and leaue to moue if they can. It is as much as if thou ſaidſt, that theſe ſtars which are ſeparated by ſo great diſtances the one from the other, that are ranged in ſo goodly an order; to conſerue and intertaine the whole world in his intire, ſhould abandon their places, that the Planets being troubled with a ſudden confuſion, ſhould interchecke and come one againſt an other, and hauing broken the repoſe and concord of all things: that the heauen it ſelfe ſhould fall into an irreparable ruine, that the courſe of ſo violent a ſwiftneſſe, which had promiſed to be neuer interrupted, ſhould ſtay in the midſt of his way: that the heauen and ſtarres, that moued themſelues of late, the one after the other, in ſo iuſt a meaſure, that equally and by agreeable ſeaſons tempered the whole world; ſhould be burned and conſumed in a ſudden flame: that ſo great a variety of all things ſhould be diſſolued & aboliſhed, that they ſhould returne into one, that the fire ſhould ſeaze all, that afterwards a darkſome and heauie night ſhould obſcure this world, and that finally a bottomleſſe gulfe ſhould deuoure and ſwallow this great number of the goddes. Wee muſt not admit an euill ſo pernicious; it muſt not coſt ſo deere to proue thee a liar. The ſtarres haue power to giue thee all this in deſpite of thy ſelfe: they finiſh their courſes and ordinary reuolutions for thy great profite, although there be another more great and originall cauſe that moueth them.

CHAP. XXIII.

Vrthermore adde thou this, that there is not any forraine cauſe that may conſtraine the goddes: their eternall and inuiolable will is that which ſerueth them for a lawe: they haue eſtabliſhed that which they intend not to alter. They therefore cannot ſeeme to doe any thing againſt their will: for whatſoeuer cannot end or ceaſe to be, they would haue to continue ſtill; neyther doe the goddes repent them euer of their firſt counſels. Vndoubtedly they cannot ſtand ſtill, or runne a contrary courſe, yet not for all this doe they keepe their wonted courſe out of weakenes, becauſe their owne force keepeth them in the ſame purpoſe ſtill; yet obſerue they not the ſame of weakenes, but becauſe it becommeth them not to alter or erre from the beſt courſe, and becauſe they haue determined ſo to goe and ſhape their courſes. Moſt certaine it is, that amongſt their firſt ordinances they eſtabliſhed, in diſpoſing all things, they likewiſe had a care of vs, and conceiued ſome ſpeciall regard of man. They therfore cannot ſeeme to ſhape their courſes

courſes for their owne cauſe onely, and to accompliſh their owne workes for their owne ſelues, becauſe men alſo are a part of their worke. We are then obliged to the Sun and Moone, and the other powers of heauen for the good they doe vs. For although they haue more greate ends for which they riſe and ſet then onely for vs, yet ayming at greater, they helpe vs alſo purpoſely. And for this cauſe we are obliged vnto them, becauſe we did not light vpon their benefits without their knowledge, to whom they gaue them, but they knew certainly that we ſhould receiue them. And although their intentions be more eminent, and the fruit of their trauell more great and pertinent, then to nouriſh and conſerue mortall things: yet ſo it is, that in the firſt beginning of the world, they haue imployed their thoughts on our profite, they haue prefixed ſuch ordinances and lawes vnto the heauens, that it euidently appeareth what care they had of vs, and that it was neyther their leaſt nor laſt. We owe our parents honour and reuerence, yet many of them matched and married without deſire to beget children. The gods cannot ſeeme to bee ignorant of that they ought to do, whereas they haue ſuddenly prouided vs of nouriſhment, and all other things that are neceſſary for vs; neyther careleſly created they them, for whom they created ſo many things. For Nature minded vs before ſhee made vs: neyther are we a worke of little importance, that ſhe could make vs by chance, as doing ſomething elſe. See how great a power ſhe hath giuen into our handes: Conſider how the condition of command, which ſhe hath giuen to man, is not onely ouer men. See what libertie our bodies haue, to wander and tranerſe ouer many places. See how ſhe limiteth them not within any certaine bound of land, but ſendeth them into all places, yea, into euery corner of the world. Conſider the confidence of humane vnderſtanding: ſee how they onely eyther know or ſeek the gods, and rayſing their mindes aloft, they conuerſe with, and contemplate thoſe diuine influences continually. Beleeue then that man is not a raſh or vnthought vpon worke. Nature amongſt her greateſt works hath nothing wherof ſhe may more vaunt, or to whom ſhe may vaunt of her workmanſhip, or that ſhe would repleniſh with more greate glorie. How great a madneſſe is this to call the goddes in queſtion about their owne bleſſings? How can hee bee thankefull to them, whoſe courteſies hee cannot requite without charge: who denieth that he hath receiued them from the goddes, which will both giue alwayes and receiue neuer? What refractary and peruerſe minde hath he, that will not be grateſull or beholding to any, becauſe his liberality extendeth to ſuch a one, as denieth the good that is giuen him, and to terme the continuation an immutable order of their benefits, an argument of one that giueth of neceſſitie? and to ſay, *I care not for his courteſies, let him keepe them to himſelfe, who requirath them at his hands?* And an infinite ſort of other ſuch like purpoſes, proceeding from an impudent minde, which thou mayeſt packe and number with theſe: yet ſhall not he deſerue the leſſe at thy handes, whoſe beautie redounds vnto thee, euen whilſt thou denieſt it, and of whoſe benefits euen this is one of the greateſt, that he is readie to relieue thee, euen then when thou complaineſt moſt againſt him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SEest thou not how parents in their childrens moſt tender infancie, conſtraine them to ſuffer thoſe things patiently, which are moſt healthfull for them? With diligent care they nouriſh their tender bodies, and ſtill them when they crie, and ſwathe them when they ſtruggle; and leſt continuall ſlackneſſe might make them grow awrie, they binde them ſtraight to make them growe right: when their infancie is paſt, they preſent them liberall ſciences, threatning them with the rodde if they be negligent: and finally, when they growe to more maturitie, they teach them to be ſober, and counſell them to doe nothing that ſhould breed their ſhame: they faſhion them in good manners, and if their youth as yet be not lyable to obedience, forcibly they conſtraine that by awe which counſell could not effect: at laſt, hauing attained to full growth and maturity, and to haue a feeling of their owne gouernement, if eyther by intemperance or feare, they reiect the counſels and remedies, which are giuen them for their profite, they vſe greater violence and ſeruitude. So that the greateſt benefits which we receiue of our parents, is at ſuch time as we know them not, or when we refuſe them wholly.

CHAP. XXV.

TO this ſort of vngratefull men, and ſuch as refuſe benefits, not becauſe they deſire them not, but for that they would not remaine indebted, they are like, who contrariwiſe will be ouer-gratefull: who wiſh that ſome aduerſitie and miſhap may befall thoſe to whom they are obliged, to the end they may haue an argument and occaſion, to let them know how needfull they are of the benefit, and what deſire they haue to make reſtitution. The queſtion is, whether ſuch ſort of men doe well to deſire and wiſh the ſame, and whether their deſire be honeſt? Theſe kind of thankefull men, in my iudgement, reſemble them very much, who, inflamed with laſciuious loue, doe wiſh their louer baniſhment, to the end they might accompanie her in her diſtreſſe and departure: or wiſh to ſee her in neceſſitie, to the end they might relieue her miſerie: or to ſee her ſicke, to the end they might ſit by her, and tend her: and finally, which vnder profeſſion of loue, do wiſh what ſocuer her enemie would haue wiſhed vnto her. Aſſuredly the iſſue of this fooliſh loue and capitall hate are wel-neare all one. Into this very inconuenience do they fall, who wiſh that their friends were in miſerie, to the end they might afterwards relieue them, and make way to benefiting, by doing them wrong, whereas it were much better vtterly to deſiſt, then to ſeeke occaſion to doe a curteſie by meanes of wickedneſſe. What if a Maſter of a Ship ſhould pray the goddes to ſend them cruell ſtormes and tempeſts, that by the danger his Arte might be held more gratious? What if an Emperour ſhould beſeech the goddes, that a great multitude of enemies might beſiege his camp, and with ſudden aſſault fill full the Trenches, and raze downe the Rampiers, and (to the great amaze of his armie) aduance their colours euen in the verie entrance of his Fortifications, to the end he might receiue more honour and glorie, in ſuccouring his armie in this great danger, and at that verie inſtant, when

Non ſunt facienda mala, vt inde euenirent bona.

when his whole campe imagined the field to be loſt, and the armie diſcomforted: all theſe conuey their benefits by a deteſtable way, who call the Gods to plague him, whom they themſelues would profit, and to hate them, whom they themſelues would relieue. Inhumane and peruerſe is the nature of this gratefull minde, which wiſheth euill vnto him, whom hee cannot honeſtly forſake.

CHAP. XXVI.

MY wiſh (ſaith he) hindereth him no wayes, becauſe I wiſh the perill and remedie both at once. This is as much as if thou ſaidſt that thou haſt committed ſome ſmall fault, but that thou ſinneſt leſſer, then if thou ſhouldeſt wiſh him danger without remedie. It is meere wickedneſſe to plunge a man into a riuer, to the end to draw him out, to ruinate that thou mayeſt reedifie, to impriſon, that thou mayeſt deliuer. The end of an iniurie is no benefit, neither is it a part of kindneſſe to withdraw that from one, which he himſelfe had laid vpon him. I had rather thou ſhouldeſt not wound me, then that thou ſhouldeſt not heale me. Thou mayeſt deſerue my thankes, if thou healeſt me, becauſe I am wounded, but not if thou wound me to the end I may bee healed: the ſcarre neuer pleaſed, but in compariſon of the wound, for the healing whereof we ſo reioyce, that we had rather not to haue beene wounded: if thou ſhouldeſt wiſh this vnto him, that had neuer done the good turne, the vow were vnhumane, but how much more inhumane were it to wiſh it him, to whom thou art indebted for a courteſie.

CHAP. XXVII.

I Wiſh that (ſaith he) at one and the ſame time I may yeeld him ſome ſuccour. Firſt, that I may preuent thee in the middeſt of thy wiſh; thou art alreadie vngratefull. I heare not as yet, what thou intendeſt to doe for him, yet know I well, what thou wouldeſt he ſhould endure: Thou wiſheſt that care, feare, or ſome greater miſchiefe ſhould befall him, thou deſireſt that he may want helpe, and this is againſt him. Thou deſireſt that he may need thy helpe; this is for thee, thou wilt not ſuccour him, but pay him ſatisfaction. He that haſteth the matter thus, would himſelfe be paied, not pay. So that the only thing that might ſeeme honeſt in thy vow, is vnhoneſt and vngratefull, to wit, not to be willing to owe any thing. For thou deſireſt not, that thou mayeſt haue abilitie to requite a courteſie, but that he may haue need to implore thy helpe. Thou makeſt thy ſelfe his ſuperiour, and (which is a hainous wickedneſſe in thee) thou caſteſt him downe at thy feete, that hath deſerued well at thy hands. How much better is it to owe with an honeſt good will, then to pay by an euill meanes? If thou ſhouldeſt denie that thou haſt receiued, thou ſhouldeſt ſinne leſſe, for he ſhould loſe nothing more then he had giuen. But now thy intent is, to bring him vnder thy ſubiection, euen with the loſſe of his owne fortunes, and to be drawne to that diſaſter by the change of his eſtate, that he muſt lie lower then his owne benefit. Wilt thou that I report thee for a gratefull man? Wiſh it in his preſence, to whom thou

thou wilt yeeld profit. Termeſt thou this a wiſh, which is as well diuided betweene a friend, as an enemie? which vndoubtedly an aduerſarie or enemie would haue made, if the latter points only were excepted? Mortall enemies alſo haue wiſhed, that they might ſurpriſe certaine Cities, to the end they might preſerue them, and to ouercome ſome enemie of theirs, to the end they might pardon them: neither therefore are their vowes other then hoſtile, in which, that which is moſt courteous and calme, ſucceedeth crueltie. To conclude, what kind of vowes iudgeſt thou them to bee, which no man would wiſh leſſe proſperous vnto thee, then hee for whom thou voweſt them? Thou dealeſt moſt iniuriouſly with him, to whom thou wiſheſt, that the Gods ſhould hurt, to the end he may be helped by thee; and impiouſly alſo with the Gods themſelues, for thou putteſt ouer the cruelty to thē, & reſeruеſt the humanity to thy ſelfe. Shall the Gods be iniurious, to the end thou mayeſt be courteous? If thou ſhouldeſt ſuborne an accuſer, whom afterwards thou wouldeſt remoue, if thou ſhouldeſt entangle him, in ſome ſute of law, to the end thou mighteſt deliuer and diſcharge him thereof, there is no man that would grow doubtfull of thy impietie: what difference is there, whether this thing be attempted by fraud or by vow? ſauing that thou ſeekeſt more powerfull aduerſaries for him. Thou canſt not ſay, what wrong haue I done vnto him? Thy vow is either fruitleſſe or iniurious, nay rather it is wrongfull, although it be not ſucceſſefull. Whatſoeuer thou effecteſt not, it is Gods mercy, but whatſoeuer thou wilheſt is meere iniurie. The matter is plaine enough. Wee ought no otherwiſe to be diſpleaſed with thee, then if thou haddeſt effected it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

IF vowes (ſaith he) had beene any wayes auaileable, they had preuailed in this, that thou ſhouldeſt be in ſafetie. Firſt of all, thou wilheſt me an aſſured perill, vnder an vncertaine helpe. Againe, ſuppoſe both are certaine, yet that which hurteth is formoſt. Furthermore, thou knoweſt the condition of thy vow: A tempeſt hath ſurpriſed me, vncertaine of either hauen or helpe. How great a torment ſuppoſeſt thou that it was for me to haue wanted them, although at length I recouered them? to haue feared, although I bee preſerued; come to triall, and drawne in queſtion, although I were acquitted. There is no end of feare ſo pleaſing, that a ſolide and vnſhaken ſecuritie is not more acceptable: wiſh that thou mayeſt reſtore me a benefit when I haue need; not that I may haue need. If that thou wiſheſt, were in thy power, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt haue done it.

CHAP. XXIX.

HOw farre more honeſt is this vow? I deſire he ſhould continue in that eſtate wherein he might alwayes diſtribute benefits; and neuer need them. Let the meanes and matter which he ſo bountifully vſeth in giuing and aſſiſting, ſo follow and ſecond him, that he neuer want occaſion of giuing benefits; or repent him of that he hath giuen. Let the multitude of gratefull men ſtirre vp and prouoke his nature (of it ſelfe prone enough to humanitie) to mercie and clemencie. Whom let

let him neuer want to befriend, nor haue need to trie. Let him be mercileſſe to none, and haue no need of being reconciled to any man. Let Fortune perſeuer to be ſo equally fauourable vnto him, that no man may be gratefull vnto him, but in minde and acknowledgement. How far more iuſt are theſe vowes, which deferre thee not in expectation of any occaſion, but make thee preſently grateful? For what letteth vs to be thankfull to thoſe that are in proſperitie? How many meanes are there, whereby we may yeeld ſatisfaction to thoſe to whom we are obliged, although they be happie? Faithfull counſell, diligent conuerſation, familiar ſpeech and pleaſing, without flatterie, cares diligent, if he would deliberate, ſecret, if he would truſt, familiaritie in conuerſation. Proſperitie neuer raiſed a man ſo high, that by ſo much the rather he had not want of a friend, by how much he had affluence in all things.

CHAP. XXX.

THis hatefull and damnable occaſion is euery way to be deteſted and driuen farre from vs. Muſt thou needs haue the Gods diſpleaſed, to the end thou mayeſt be gratefull? And vnderſtandeſt thou not, that hereby thou ſinneſt more, becauſe he to whom thou art vngratefull hath the better fortune? Propoſe vnto thy minde impriſonment, chaines, ſtincke, ſeruitude, warre, pouertie; theſe are the occaſions of thy vow: if any man hath couenanted with thee, by theſe he is diſmiſſed. Why rather wouldeſt thou not haue him mightie and bleſſed, to whom thou art moſt indebted? For what (as I ſaid) forbiddeth thee to be grateful euen vnto thoſe that are endued with the happieſt eſtate, whereas thou haſt ample and ſeuerall matter and occaſion to expreſſe thy ſelfe? What that men pay debts euen vnto thoſe that are the wealthieſt? neither will I conſtraine thee againſt thy will. Truely, although moſt powerfull felicitie hath excluded all things, yet will I ſhew thee what thing it is that greateſt eſtates are pooreſt in, and what things are deficient to thoſe that poſſeſſe all things. Truely ſuch a one that will ſpeake truth, that will vindicate a man aſtoniſhed and amazed amongſt flatterers, and drawn from the knowledge of trut, hby the very cuſtome of hearing rather pleaſing then profitable counſailes, from the company and conſent of deceitfull men. Seeſt thou not how extinguiſhed libertie and faith transformed to ſeruile obſequiouſneſſe, driue them head-long to their ruine, where no man perſwadeth or diſſwadeth him according to his conſcience, but each man ſtriueth who may flatter moſt, and the onely office and contention of all his friends is, who can deceiue him moſt pleaſingly. They knew not their owne forces, and whileſt they ſuppoſe themſelues to be ſo great, as they heare they be, they brought vpon themſelues vnneceſſarie warres, and ſuch as ſhould hazard their whole eſtates, they breake the true and neceſſarie concord, and feeding there own wrathful ſpleen, which no man reuoked, they drew many mens bloud, being at laſt like to loſe their owne; whileſt they ſeeke to get vncertainties for certainties; and thinke it no leſſe diſgracefull to be perſwaded, then to be ouercome, and ſuppoſe thoſe things to be perpetuall, which being brought to the higheſt doe moſt of all ſtagger. They ouer-turned great kingdomes vpon themſelues and theirs, neither vnderſtood they in that ſtage gliſtering both with vaine and tranſitorie goods, from that time forward that they ſhould expect verie great aduerſities; ſince when they could heare nothing that was true.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The ruine of greatnesse in the fashyon of flatterers.

WHen *Xerxes* proclaimed warre against Greece, there was no one but enkindled and incited his proud and forgetfull minde, to what fickle and fraile things he trusted. One said that they would not endure the first message of the warre, and that vpon the first rumour of his approach, they would turne their backes. Another that it was not to bee doubted, that not onely Greece would be ouercome by that huge multitude, but that it might be ouerwhelmed: that it was more to be feared, lest they should finde their Cities desert and desolate, and the vast solitudes left to them, and the enemies flying, not hauing no opposite whereon to employ his so puissant power. Another, that the whole world was not sufficient for him, that the seas were to narrow for his Nauie, his campe for his souldiers, the fields to embattell his cauellerie, nay scarce the heauen large enough to containe the shafts that should be darted from euery hand. When after this manner many things were tossed and talked of on euery side, which incited the man, too much enraged and besotted with esteeme of himselfe. *Demeratus* the Lacedemonian was only he that said, that that very multitude so disordered and so mightie, which was so pleasing vnto him, was most of all to be feared by him that conducted them, because they were rather cumbersome then strong, that ouer great things can hardly be ruled, neither endureth that long, which cannot be gouerned. Presently, said he, vpon the first encounter, the Lacedemonians will come and present themselues vnto thee vpon the first mountaine, that thou wouldest passe, and will make thee know what they are: Three hundred souldiers shall make stand these so many thousand men; they shall plant themselues strongly in the passages, and defend the straits committed to their charge, and stoppe them vp with their bodies: all Asia shall not remoue them from their places. A few men shall sustaine so great affront of warre, and the charge almost of all mankind that intendeth to rush in vpon them. When Nature changing her lawes, hath made thee passe into Greece, thou shalt sticke in the straite, and shalt esteeme thy future damages, when as thou shalt thinke how much the straits of *Thermopolis* cost thee. Thou shalt know that thou mayest be put to flight, when vnderstandest that thou mayest be stayed. Happily in diuers places they will giue thee passage, and retire, as if carried away after the manner of a torrent, whose first forces ouer-floweth with great terrour, afterwards they shall muster and charge thee on euery side, and shall ouerpresse thee with thine owne power. True it is that is said, that thy shew of warre is greater then these regions can containe, which thou intendest to conquer. But this thing is against vs: for this very cause will Greece ouercome thee, because shee is not able to containe thee, and thou canst not vse thy whole selfe. Moreouer which is the onely safegard of things) thou canst not preuent or be present at the first assaults, neither second those that begin to retreat and decline, neither sustaine and confirme those things that fall to ruine: Thou shalt be vanquished long before thou shalt perceiue thy selfe to be ouercome. Furthermore, thou art not therefore to suppose that thine armie is inuincible for this cause, because the number of them is vnknowne, euen vnto him who is their Leader. There is nothing so great that cannot perish; and though other occasions wanted, yet would the owner thereof be the cause of his owne destruction. The things that *Demeratus* foretold came truely to passe. He that thought to enforce both heauen and earth, and he that changed what soeuer withstood him, was driuen to a stand by three hundred souldiers. And so *Xerxes* being defeated and ouerthrowne on euery side thorow all *Greece*, began to learne how much difference there was betwixt a multitude and an armie. *Xerxes* therefore being more miserable in his shame then in his losse, gaue *Demeratus* thankes, for that he alone had told him the truth, and permitted him to require what he would: he desired that he might enter *Sardis*, the greatest citie of *Asia*, in a Chariot triumphant, hauing an vpright *Tiara* on his head, an ornament which the Kings did onely vse to weare. Worthy was he of this reward, before he demanded it, but how miserable was that nation, among whom there was not one man that would speake the truth vnto the King, except he would not speake truth vnto himselfe.

Profitable perdition of succeeding miserie.

CHAP. XXXII.

THe Emperour *Augustus* banished and confined his daughter, that was growne so impudentt, hat her modestie exceeded this common course, and blazed abroad the whoredomes of the imperiall house, as how she had admitted whole troups of adulteries; spent the whole night in banquets here and there in the citie, how she had soiled and sinned with her adulterers, in that euery Court and iudgement seate, from whence her father had published lawes against adulteries, her daily haunt and concourse to *Marsias* statue, whereas from an adulteresse she became a common strumpet, and required the libertie of all licentiousnesse, vnder an vnknowne adulterer. These things which a Prince ought as well to conceale, as to punish (because the dishonour and disgrace of some things oftentimes redoundeth to him who would punish the same) he vnable to conquer his displeasure published abroad. Afterwards some few dayes past, when remorsefull shame had supplied the place of his displeasure, lamenting that he had not obscured those things in silence, which so long time he was ignorant of, till it was loathsome for him to speake it, he oftentimes exclaimed, *None of these things had befalne me, if eyther* Agrippa *or* Mecaenas *had liued.* So hard a thing is it to him that had so many thousands at his beck, to supplie the want of two. His legions are slaine, and forthwith new are leuied; his Nauie defeated, and within few dayes a new floated: fire had defaced and consumed the common buildings, and better were raised then those that were burned; but all his life time he could not finde any to supplie *Mecanas* or *Agrippas* places. What shall I thinke? Did there want such to succeede them, or that it was his errour, who had rather complaine then seeke friends? There is no cause we should imagine that *Agrippa* and *Mecanas* were wont to speake truth vnto him, who had they liued, had beene amongst his dissemblers. It is the manner of Kingly dispositions, in contumely of the liuing, to praise those that are lost, and to giue them the honour of speaking truth, from whom they are now out of danger of hearing anie more.

Where good counsell is wanting, impatience breedeth remediesse harmes.

A corrigible inflame for great men to eschue.

N CHAP.

A lesson for vnright counsellers.

CHAP. XXXIII.

BVt that I may returne vnto my purpose: thou seest how easie a thing it is to be thankfull to those that are happie, & are planted in the height of humane riches. Tell them not that which they are willing to heare, but that they should bee contented alwaies to hate. Let somtimes a true word enter their eares which are filled with flatteries: giue profitable counsel. Thou askest what thou maiest doo for a happie man? Bring to passe that he be not too confident in his fortune, that he may know, that manie and faithfull hands must sustaine the same. Is the fauour little thou bestowest of him, if thou shalt once driue him from this fooliish confidence, that his power shall be alwayes perdureable, and shalt teach him that these things are transitorie, that casually yeelde, and fleete away with greater forwardnesse, then they come, neyther returne by those meanes, whereby they attained their felicitie? That oft-times there is but little difference betwixt the greatest and lowest fortune. Thou knowest not the value of friendship, if thou vnderstandest not, that thou shalt giue him very much to whom thou giuest a friend, a thing not onely rare in houses but in ages, which is no where so deficient, then where it is supposed to be most abundant. What thinkest thou, that these bookes of thine, which scarce thy remembrancers, or registred memory, or handes can comprehend, are the names of thy friends? These are not thy friends which in great troupes knocke at thy dores, who are disposed according to the first and second admissions to visit. This is an old custome of Kings, and those that counterfeit Maiestie, to number a multitude of friends. It is the propertie of pride to make great account of his doore, & touch of his threshold, to giue it as a fauour to sit neerest to his closet, that thou step the first foote into his house, in which besides there are many doores, which exclude those that are admitted to enter.

Few friends, many flatterers.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

THe first amongst vs that commanded their troupes should be separated, and that some should be receiued in secret, other some with manie, and other some with all men, were *Caius Gracchus*, and after him *Liuius Drusus*. These therefore had their first friends: they had their second also, but neuer any true. Calleſt thou him thy friend, whom thy seruants successiuely admit to salute thee; or can this mans faith be apparant vnto thee, who entreth not, but slippeth and throngeth into thy doores, that are so hardly gotten open? May that man presse in to thee with full vse of his libertie, which may not salute thee with *God saue thee*, a common and vsuall word to all persons, yea, euen to those that are strangers; but in his turne. To whomsoeuer therefore of these thou shalt come, whose salutation shaketh the citie: know thou likewise, if thou marke it, that although thou see the streets besieged with a great assembly of people, and the passages locked vp with the presse of those that go and come to salute thee, yet that thou commest to a place filled with men, but voyde of friends. A friend is sought in the breſt, not in the Court of thy house: there must he be entertained, there retained, and in the very entrails must he be lodged. Teach him this thou art gratefull. Thou esteemest

esteemest verie basely of thy selfe if thou art vnprofitable, except it be to one in affliction; or if thou thinke thy selfe vnnecessarie in time of prosperity. Euen as thou demeanest thy selfe wisely both in doubtfull, aduerse, and prosperous affaires, that in doubtfull thou handlest them wisely, in aduerse constantly, in prosperity moderately: so likewise maist thou shew thy selfe profitable in all things in thy friends behalfe. Although thou neither forsake him in his aduersities, neyther wish his misfortune; yet in so much varietie many things may fall out that thou should'st not wish; which will affoord thee matter to exercise thy faith. Euen as he that wisheth riches to any man, to this end, that he himselfe may partake a part thereof, although hee seeme to wish for him: hath a respect vnto himselfe. So he that wisheth his friend any necessitie, which by his assistance and faith hee may releeue (which is the part of an vngratfull man) preferreth himselfe before his friend, and maketh so great accompt, that hee should be miserable, that he himselfe might be gratefull, for this very cause is himselfe vngratefull. For hee would disburthen himselfe, and discharge himselfe of a burthen too heauie to sustaine. There is a great difference, whether thou hastnest to giue thankes to the end thou maist restore a benefit, or to the end thou mightest not owe it. He that will bee gratefull will apply himselfe to his friends commoditie, and desireth that he may haue a fit opportunitie. He that desireth nothing else, but that himselfe may bee discharged, desireth by anie meanes to accomplish the same, which is an argument of a most euill will.

What true friends are and where they should be found.

He that reiects his friends miserie to the end he may succour him is vngratefull.

CHAP. XXXV.

THis too much hastning say I, is the act of an vngratefull man, this can I not more manifestly expresse, then if I should repeat what I said. Thou wilt not restore a benefit thou hast receiued, but thou wilt flie from it. This seemest thou to say: When shall I be rid of this fellow? I must endeuour by all the meanes I can, that I may not be beholding vnto him. If thou shouldest wish that thou mightest pay him with his owne, thou shouldest seeme to bee very dishonest and vnthankfull, but this thou wishest is farre more wicked. For thou curseſt him, thou desireſt that mischiefe might fall on his head, whom thou shouldest accompt both Holy and Sacred. No Man as I thinke would doubt of the impietie of thy minde, if thou shouldest openly wish him pouertie, if captiuitie, if famine and feare. And what difference is there whether this be thy voice or thy vow? wish any of these in thy right wits. Go to now, and suppose this to be a point of thankfulnes, which the most vngratefull Man would not attempt, that were not growne so farre as to hate but onely to denie his benefit.

CHAP. XXXVI.

WHO would intitle *Æneas* by the name of pious, if hee would haue his Countrie sacked, to the end he might deliuer his Father from captiuitie? who would not imagine the yong men of *Sicily* vnnaturall, if to shew good example to their children, they had wished that *Ætna* burning with an vnmeasurable force of fire d-

The precedent reasons are confirmed by example.

boue custome should giue them occasion to expresse their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midst of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wished the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warres: nor beholding to the *Decians* who saued their Countrie by their owne slaughter, if they had formerly wished that extreame necessitie should make place for their constant deuotion. It is the greatest disgrace for a Physition that may bee, to wish for busines. Many who increased and exasperated diseases, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwardes expell them, or to the great agonie and vexation of the miserable patients, haue at last ouercome them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An other answere to the former by the examples of Calistratus *and* Rutilius.

They say that *Calistratus* (for truly *Hecaton* testifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the seditious and intemperately free Citie, had expulsed many with him: when a certaine man wished, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their banished men, was much distasted with such a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*, for when as a certaine man comforted him, and assured him that ciuill warre was intended shortly, and that in few dayes all banishments should bee reuersed. *What euill* (saith hee) *haue I done thee, that thou wishest me a worser returne, then I had a departure? I had rather my Countrie should be ashamed of my banishment, then bewaile my returne.* This is no exile where no man is more ashamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the dutie of good Citizens, that would not recouer their natiue homes with a publique slaughter, because it was more fitting that two should be punished vniustly, then all perish publikely; so obserueth hee not the affection of a gratefull man, who wisheth that hee who hath deserued well at his handes should bee oppressed with difficulties, which hee might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wisheth euill. It is a poore excuse and a weake glorie to extinguish a fire, which thou thy selfe hast kindled. In some Cities a wicked wish hath beene reputed for a wicked crime.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A third confirmation hereof.

True it is that *Temades* in *Athens* condemned him that sould necessaries for funerals, when as he had prouoked that hee wished for great gaine, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deathes. Yet is it wont to bee demanded whether hee were worthily punished. Perhaps hee wished, that he might not sell vnto many, but that he might sell deere; that they might cost him little which he was to sell. Whereas negotiation consistest on that which is bought and sould, why wrestest thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Besides thou mayest condemne all that are in this negotiation, for all will the same, all wish the same in their hearts: thou wilt condemne the most part of men. For who hath not profit by an other mans incommoditie? The Souldier, wisheth for warre: Dearth of Corne sets vp the Husbandman. The greatest Lawiers desire most pleas. A sicke yeare is the Physitians haruest. Such youthes as

as are prodigall and dissolute, rich the Merchants of delicate wares. Let houses bee neither hurt by fire or tempest, the Carpenter may betake him to his rest. One mans vowe was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkest thou that *Aruntius* and *Aterius* and all others that professed the art of Executorship had not the same vowes and wishes, as the masters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Ministers in burying the dead? yet know not they whose death they wish: they desire that some one of their neareſt familiars should die, in whom for friendship sake they had most hope. No man liueth by the losse of those, whosoeuer differreth the other vndoeth them. They therefore wish, not only that they may receiue that which they haue deserued by base seruitude, but also that they may bee freed of a grieuous tribute. It is not therefore to bee doubted, but that these men rather wish that which is condemned in one man. They by whose death any profit may accrewe, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all these mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpunished. To conclude let each one take counsaile of himselfe and examine his inward conscience, and see what hee hath secretly wished, how many wowes are they which we are ashamed to confesse vnto our selues? how few which wee dare iustifie and effect before a witnesse?

One mans pleasure is anothers preiudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.

But euery thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this present we entreat, abusing his good will, and falling into that which hee flieth from. For whileſt he hasteneth to expresse a gratefull minde, hee is vngratefull. This man saith, let him fall into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be secure, in esteeme, or safe without me, let him be so poore and miserable, that what soeuer is restored him, may serue him in stead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domesticall treasons circumuent him, which I alone may suppresse. Let a potent and heauie enemie assault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuser vrge him.

CHAP. XL.

It is better neuer to be obliged, then to requite out of season.

See how iust thou art, thou haddest wished him none of these, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerslip the rest more hainous, which thou committest by returning the worst for the best, truely thou art faultie in this, that thou expectest not the proper time of euery thing, which, who so followeth not, sinneth as much as he that preuenteth it. Euen as a benefit is not alwayes to be receiued, so is it not to be restored in all seasons. If thou shouldest restore it me, when I required it not, thou shouldest be vngratefull, how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compellest me to desire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not suffer my benefit to rest in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou so hastie to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddest to deale with a cruell Vsurer? Why seekest thou my trouble? Why incensest thou the Gods against me? How wouldest thou exact thy debt, if thou satisfie in this sort?

CHAP. XLI.

Instructions to take oportunitie in requitall.

ABoue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly, and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the deserts of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to thinke our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and lincketh two together. Say I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldest receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue still that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen, in the meane space the gods shall bee my witnesses.

CHAP. XLII.

What means are to be obserued in acquowledging a good turne.

OFtentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou feareſt and fretteſt, leſt thou ſhouldeſt be tardie in any office. Anxietie becommeth not a gratefull mind, but contrariwiſe an aſſured confidence of himſelfe. The conſcience of true amitie ſhould put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughteſt not, as not to giue that which thou oughteſt to giue. Let this be the firſt law of a benefit giuen, that he which gaue the ſame, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back again. But I feare me, leſt men ſhould ſpeak ſiniſterly of me: He doth badly that is gratefull rather for reputation & fame ſake, then for conſcience and honeſtie. Thou haſt two iudges of this thing; thy ſelfe whom thou canſt not deceiue, and him whom thou canſt. What then if no occaſion ſhall happen? Shall I alwayes be indebted? Thou ſhalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment ſhalt thou behold, the gage laid vp by thee. He repenteth himſelfe of a benefit receiued, that is ſorie that as yet he hath not requited it. Why ſhould hee that ſeemed worthie to beſtow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthie to haue thee his debter?

CHAP. XLIII.

GReat are their errours, who beleeue it to bee the act of a great and generous minde to doe many courteſies, to giue and fill another mans boſome, and enrich his houſe, whereas ſometime it is not a great minde, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is ſomewhiles to receiue, then to lauiſh courteſies. For to the end I may detract from neither, becauſe

cauſe both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no leſſe proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that wee reſtore not time enough, nor haſten to doe it out of ſeaſon, becauſe he ſinneth as much that haſteneth to recompence a good turne out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly aſſured, he cannot loſe this benefit, but with me, no not with me alſo. I haue giuen him thankes, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the reſtoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his ſatisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if hee had rather continue it in our cuſtodie. Why ſhould we dig vp his treaſure? Why refuſe we to keepe it? He is worthie to doe what he liſteth. Touching opinion and report, let vs ſo priſe them, as that they ſhould attend vs, and not lead vs.

He that requiteth vnſeaſonably, is no leſſe faultie, then he that requiteth not in time and place.

The end of the firſt Booke.

LVCIVS

boue cuſtome ſhould giue them occaſion to expreſſe their pietie by carrying away their Fathers out of the midſt of the fire. *Rome* is nothing indebted vnto *Scipio*, if hee wiſhed the continuance of the *Carthaginian* warres: nor beholding to the *Decians* who ſaued their Countrie by their owne ſlaughter, if they had formerly wiſhed that extreame neceſſitie ſhould make place for their conſtant deuotion. It is the greateſt diſgrace for a Phyſition that may bee, to wiſh for buſines. Many who increaſed and exaſperated diſeaſes, to the end they might cure them with greater glorie, could not afterwardes expell them, or to the great agonie and vexation of the miſerable patients, haue at laſt ouercome them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

An other anſwere to the former by the examples of Caliſtratus and Rutilius.

THey ſay that *Caliſtratus* (for truly *Hecaton* teſtifieth of him) when he departed into exile, into which the ſeditious and intemperately free Citie, had expulſed many with him: when a certaine man wiſhed, that the *Athenians* might bee enforced to recall their baniſhed men, was much diſtaſted with ſuch a returne. Farre more manly and full of magnanimitie was that of *Rutilius*, for when as a certaine man comforted him, and aſſured him that ciuill warre was intended ſhortly, and that in few dayes all baniſhments ſhould bee reuerſed. *What euill* (ſaith hee) *haue I done thee, that thou wiſheſt me a worſer returne, then I had a departure? I had rather my Countrie ſhould be aſhamed of my baniſhment, then bewaile my returne.* This is no exile where no man is more aſhamed thereof, then he that is condemned: euen as they performed the dutie of good Citizens, that would not recouer their natiue homes with a publique ſlaughter, becauſe it was more fitting that two ſhould be puniſhed vniuſtly, then all periſh publikely: ſo obſerueth hee not the affection of a gratefull man, who wiſheth that hee who hath deſerued well at his handes ſhould bee oppreſſed with difficulties, which hee might redeeme. Who although hee thinke well, wiſheth euill. It is a poore excuſe and a weake glorie to extinguiſh a fire, which thou thy ſelfe haſt kindled. In ſome Cities a wicked wiſh hath beene reputed for a wicked crime.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

A third confirmation hereof.

TRue it is that *Temades* in *Athens* condemned him that ſould neceſſaries for funerals, when as he had prooued that hee wiſhed for great gaine, which could not befall him, except it were by many mens deathes. Yet is it wont to bee demanded whether hee were worthily puniſhed. Perhaps hee wiſhed, that he might not ſell vnto many, but that he might ſell deere; that they might coſt him little which he was to ſell. Whereas negotiation conſiſteſt on that which is bought and ſould, why wreſteſt thou his vow one way, whereas profit is in both? Beſides thou mayeſt condemne all that are in this negotiation, for all will the ſame, all wiſh the ſame in their hearts: thou wilt condemne the moſt part of men. For who hath not profit by an other mans incommoditie? The Souldier, wiſheth for warre: Dearth of Corne ſets vp the Huſbandman. The greateſt Lawiers deſire moſt pleas. A ſicke yeare is the Phyſitians haruеſt. Such youthes as

as are prodigall and diſſolute, rich the Merchants of delicate wares. Let houſes bee neither hurt by fire or tempeſt, the Carpenter may betake him to his reſt. One mans vowe was excepted at, where all mens are alike. Thinkeſt thou that *Aruntius* and *Aterius* and all others that profeſſed the art of Executorſhip had not the ſame vowes and wiſhes, as the maſters of funerall Ceremonies and they who were Miniſters in burying the dead? yet know not they whoſe death they wiſh: they deſire that ſome one of their neareſt familiars ſhould die, in whom for friendſhip ſake they had moſt hope. No man liueth by the loſſe of thoſe, whoſoeuer differreth the other vndoeth them. They therefore wiſh, not only that they may receiue that which they haue deſerued by baſe ſeruitude, but alſo that they may bee freed of a grieuous tribute. It is not therefore to bee doubted, but that theſe men rather wiſh that which is condemned in one man. They by whoſe death any profit may accrewe, are hurtfull to them by their life. Yet all theſe mens vowes are as well knowne as vnpuniſhed. To conclude let each one take counſaile of himſelfe and examine his inward conſcience, and ſee what hee hath ſecretly wiſhed, how many wowes are they which we are aſhamed to confeſſe vnto our ſelues? how few which wee dare iuſtifie and effect before a witneſſe?

One mans pleaſure is anothers preiudice.

CHAP. XXXIX.

BVt euery thing that is to be reprehended, is not to be condemned as this vow of a friend, whereof at this preſent we entreat, abuſing his good will, and falling into that which hee flieth from. For whileſt he haſteneth to expreſſe a gratefull minde, hee is vngratefull. This man ſaith, let him fall into my hands, let him want my fauour, let him neither be ſecure, in eſteeme, or ſafe without me, let him be ſo poore and miſerable, that whatſoeuer is reſtored him, may ſerue him in ſtead of a benefit. And this in the hearing of the Gods. Let domeſticall treaſons circumuent him, which I alone may ſuppreſſe. Let a potent and heauie enemie aſſault him, deadly foes, and they armed, charge him, a creditor and accuſer vrge him.

CHAP. XL.

It is better neuer to be obliged, then to requite out of ſeaſon.

SEe how iuſt thou art, thou haddeſt wiſhed him none of theſe, except he had giuen thee a benefit. To ouerſlip the reſt more hainous, which thou committeſt by returning the worſt for the beſt, truely thou art faultie in this, that thou expecteſt not the proper time of euery thing, which, who ſo followeth not, ſinneth as much as he that preuenteth it. Euen as a benefit is not alwayes to be receiued, ſo is it not to be reſtored in all ſeaſons. If thou ſhouldeſt reſtore it me, when I required it not, thou ſhouldeſt be vngratefull, how farre more vngratefull art thou, if thou compelleſt me to deſire it? Expect: Why wilt thou not ſuffer my benefit to reſt in thy hands? Why grieueth it thee to be obliged? Why art thou ſo haſtie to leuell thy account with me, as if thou haddeſt to deale with a cruell Vſurer? Why ſeekeſt thou my trouble? Why incenſeſt thou the Gods againſt me? How wouldeſt thou exact thy debt, if thou ſatisfie in this ſort?

CHAP. XLI.

Instructions to take opportunitie in requitall.

ABoue all things therefore, my *Liberalis*, let vs learne this to owe benefits securely, and to obserue the occasions of restitution, and not to seeke them, and let vs remember our selues, that this very desire to discharge our selues speedily, is the act of an vngratefull man. For no man willingly restoreth that which he oweth vnwillingly, and that which he repineth to keepe by him, hee rather iudgeth it a burthen then a benefit. How much better and iuster were it, to beare the deserts of our friends in memorie, and to offer them, and not to presse them, nor to thinke our selues too much in their debt, because a benefit is a common bond, and linketh two together. Say I care not how thy benefit returneth to thee. I desire thou shouldest receiue it cheerefully, if any of vs both be threatned with necessitie, and it be giuen vs by a certaine fate, either that thou be compelled to receiue thy benefit againe, or I to take another; let him giue still that was wont to giue. I am readie, there is no delay in *Turnus*: I will shew this willing resolution, as soone as time shall happen, in the meane space the gods shall bee my witnesses.

CHAP. XLII.

What meanes are to be obserued in acknowledging a good turne.

OFtentimes, my *Liberalis*, I am wont to note this affection in thee, and as it were, touch it with my hand, that thou feareſt and fretteſt, leſt thou ſhouldeſt be tardie in any office. Anxietie becommeth not a gratefull mind, but contrariwiſe an aſſured confidence of himſelfe. The conſcience of true amitie ſhould put this care out of our mindes. It is as great a vice to receiue againe that which thou oughteſt not, as not to giue that which thou oughteſt to giue. Let this be the firſt law of a benefit giuen, that he which gaue the ſame, may make choice of the time when he is to receiue it back again. But I feare me, leſt men ſhould ſpeak ſiniſterly of me: He doth badly that is gratefull rather for reputation & fame ſake, then for conſcience and honeſtie. Thou haſt two iudges of this thing; thy ſelfe whom thou canſt not deceiue, and him whom thou canſt. What then if no occaſion ſhall happen? Shall I alwayes be indebted? Thou ſhalt be indebted, but openly indebted, but willingly indebted, but with great contentment ſhalt thou behold, the gage laid vp by thee. He repenteth himſelfe of a benefit receiued, that is ſorie that as yet he hath not requited it. Why ſhould hee that ſeemed worthie to beſtow a benefit on thee, be reputed vnworthie to haue thee his debter?

CHAP. XLIII.

GReat are their errours, who beleeue it to bee the act of a great and generous minde to doe many courteſies, to giue and fill another mans boſome, and enrich his houſe, whereas ſometime it is not a great minde, but a great fortune that doth it. They know not how much more great and hard a matter it is ſomewhiles to receiue, then to lauiſh courteſies. For to the end I may detract from neither, becauſe

cauſe both of them when they are done out of vertue are equall. It is no leſſe proper to a noble hart to owe, then to giue, yet more laborious is this, then that, as the keeping of things receiued requireth more diligence, then doth the giuing of them. We therefore ought not feare, that wee reſtore not time enough, nor haſten to doe it out of ſeaſon, becauſe he ſinneth as much that haſteneth to recompence a good turne out of due time, as he that requiteth not when the opportunitie is offered him. It is laid vp with me for him, neither feare I in his, nor in mine owne behalfe. He is wholly aſſured, he cannot loſe this benefit, but with me, no not with me alſo. I haue giuen him thankes, that is as much as I haue requited him. He that thinketh very much vpon the reſtoring of his debt, imagineth that the other thinketh vpon his ſatisfaction too much. It behoueth him to be prone to doe both the one and the other, if he will receiue a benefit againe, let vs tender it, and deliuer it willingly, if hee had rather continue it in our cuſtodie. Why ſhould we dig vp his treaſure? Why refuſe we to keepe it? He is worthie to doe what he liſteth. Touching opinion and report, let vs ſo priſe them, as that they ſhould attend vs, and not lead vs.

He that requiteth vnſeaſonably, is no leſſe faultie, then he, that requiteth not in time and place.

The end of the ſixt Booke.

LVCIVS

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

Of Benefits.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

LIke vnto the first: Certaine questions, and yet things profitable, intermixed with subtill. That in the beginning serious: that curiositie is to be restrained, and too much desire of knowledge; that the mind is rather to be applied to manners and vertue, that is, to wisedome. After this a question, vpon occasion of the word, Whether any man may giue ought to a wise-man, whereas all things are his? He saith that he may, because he possesseth all things in minde, but not in vse. Another, whether he that hath endeuoured or assayed to restore a benefite, hath restored it. He hath: yet notwithstanding he teacheth him to endeuour againe and againe. The third, whether thou art to restore that thou hast receiued from a good man, to the same man being now euill. Thou shalt restore it, but with caution, not that he vse them wickedly or to his own or anothers mans harm. The fourth, whether he that giueth, ought to forget himselfe of that benefite he hath bestowed. By no meanes: nay, more he saith he may keepe the same in memorie, yea, and somtimes exact it. The last, how gratefull men are to be borne withall, with a pleasing, milde, and great mind.

CHAP. I.

COurage my LIBERALIS;

Now haue we got the shore, I will not here
Tire thee with long discourse, or taske thine eare
To lingring prohemes, or dilated words.

A good proiect to fashion mens manners, followed somewhat interrupth, but learnedly to the end.

The remainder this booke concludes, & the matter being spent, I look about me, not what I shall say, but what I haue not said: yet accept thou in good part whatsoeuer is the remainder, whereas it is reserued to thy selfe. Had I had an intent to polish my worke, it should haue increased by little and little, and that part had beene reserued till the conclusion, which euery one would haue longed for, although he had beene satisfied.

sied. But whatsoeuer was most necessary, I presently gathered and congested into the beginning of the Booke: now if any thing hath escaped me I recollect it. Neyther truely if thou aske me, doe I thinke it much pertinent to the matter, whereas those things are spoken which gouerned manners, to prosecute the rest, which were inuented, not for the cure of the minde, but for the exercise of the wit. For *Demetrius* the Cynique (a man in my iudgement great, although he were compared with the greatest) was wont very worthily to say this: *That it is more profitable for thee, if thou remember a few precepts of wisdome, and haue them in vse and readinesse, then if thou learnedst many things, and hadst not the ready vse of them.* For (saith he) like as that man is a worthy wrestler, not that hath perfitly learned all the trickes and sleights, which hee shall seldome haue occasion to make vse of against his aduersarie: but hee that is well, and diligently exercised in one or two, and intentiuely expecteth and waiteth the occasions of them (for it skils not how much he knoweth, if he know so much as sufficeth for the victorie) so in this studie, many things delight, but few ouercome. Although thou be ignorant what cause it is, that moueth the Ocean to ebbe and flowe, why euery seauenth yeare impresseth an alteration and signe in our age, why the latitude of a gallery to those that beholde it a farre off, keepeth not his proportion, but gathereth his ends or sides into a narrownesse, so as the farthest spaces of the pillars are ioyned in one: what it is that separateth the conception of twins, and ioyneth their birth: whether one act of conception be diuided into two distinct creatures, or else they are begotten at seuerall conceptions: why their destinies be different who are borne twinnes together, and their conditions proue so greatly different, whose birth was one, or at least in the same instant. It shall not much hurt thee to ouerslip those things which neyther thou canst know, nor is profitable for thee to know. Truth lieth couered and hidden in the depth: neither can we complaine of the malignitie of nature, because the inuention of any thing is not difficult, but onely of that which yeeldeth vs not any fruit, except the onely inuention thereof: whatsoeuer should make vs better or more blessed, nature hath eyther laid open before vs, or neere vnto vs. If the minde hath contemned casualties: if she hath raised her selfe aboue feare, and with greedy hope embraceth not things infinite, but hath learned to aske riches of her selfe: if she hath cast out from her the feare both of gods and men, and knoweth that there is a very little to be feared from men, neither any thing from god: if contemning all things whereby life is tortured, whilst it is most adorned; she hath attained so much, that it manifestly appeareth vnto him, that death is no matter of any mischiefe, but the end of many: if he haue consecrated his minde vnto vertue, and thinketh that way playnest whither soeuer she inuite him: if he be a sociable creature, and borne to communitie: if he respecteth the world as one house, and openeth his conscience to the gods, and liueth alwayes as it were in publique: if more afraid of himselfe then others, being discharged of these tempests, he hath retired himselfe to an assured and quiet repose, he hath consummated a very necessary and profitable science. The rest are but the delights of leasure: for now is it lawfull (the mind once withdrawn into safetie) to expatiate and ariue at these also, which rather yeelde ornament then courage to our mindes.

He meareth that many things delight the vnderstanding, and there are few things that conquer the will.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THese are the things which our friend *Demetrius* willeth him that is proficient to lay hold on with both handes, to abandon them neuer, nay, rather to affix them to himselfe, and make them a part of himselfe, and by daily meditation to be instructed so farre, that these wholsome instructions may present themselues before his eyes freely; and being desired for, might be at hand at all times and places, and that instantly that distinction betwixt good and euill may bee remembred, whereby hee may know, that neyther there is any vice, which is not vileinous, nor any good which is not honest. Let him dispose his actions by this rule of life: according to this lawe let him execute and exact all things, and iudge those the most miserable amongst men (how rich & refulgent in wealth whatsoeuer) that are slaues to their bellie and lust, whose minds are benummed with sloathfull idlenesse: let him say vnto himselfe, Pleasure is fraile and fleeting, she is quickly wearied of her obiect; the more greedily she is deuoured, the more hastily is she disposed to a contrarie desire: she is alwayes of necessitie accompanied with repentance or shame: there is nothing in her that is honourable or vertuous: there is nothing in her that is eyther noble or worthy the nature of a man, who would resemble the goddes. It is a bare thing, proceeding from the most loathsome and vildest ministeries of our bodies, shamefull in the end. This is the pleasure that is worthy a man and a noble minde, not to fill and flatter the bodie, not to prouoke his lustfull desires, which are least hurtfull when they are most quiet. But to liue exempt from the passions of the minde, especially of that which enkindleth the ambition of those men, who entertaine quarrels and contentions among themselues, & also of that intollerable passion, which comming from high, hath made vs beleeue all that of the gods, which report and fables haue forged, and hath planted this opinion in vs, to measure them by our owne vices. This equall, dreadlesse, and neuer-loathing pleasure doth this man enioy, whom we heere fashion and describe, who (as I may say) being skilfull both in diuine and humane lawes, contenteth himselfe with the things that are present, and dependeth not on those that are future: for neuer liueth that man in assurance that doateth on vncertainties. Exempted therefore from mightie cares, and such as distract the minde, he hopeth nothing, he coueteth nothing, he hangs not on expectation, but contenteth himselfe with his owne: neyther suppose you that such a man is contented with small riches; for all things are his: yet not in such sort as they were *Alexanders*, who although he had conquered as much as to the shore of the red Sea, yet wanted he more then he left behinde him from whence he came. Those very countries, which eyther he possessed, or had conquered, were not his. When as hee had sent *Oneſicritus* the generall of his Gallies to discouer the Ocean, and to search out further warre in an vnknowne Sea: did it not sufficiently appeare, that he was poore, who extended his warres beyond the limits of nature, and thrust himselfe headlong through his blinde couetousnesse into a vast, vnattempted, and boundlesse Sea? What skils it how many Kingdomes hee hath violently taken, how manie hee hath giuen, how many countries hee hath loaden with tributes? He wants as much as he desireth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

NEyther was this *Alexanders* errour onely, whom happy temerity inforced beyond the tract of *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, but of all those whom fortune hath made greedy by ouer-glutting. Run ouer and reckon vp *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, and all the progenie of the Kings of Perlia, whom wilt thou finde contented and satisfied with his Empire? that ended not his life in thinking on some further proiect? Neyther is this to be wondred at, what so falleth into a couetous hand, is forthwith exhausted and hidden: neither skilleth it much, how much thou throngest into that which will neuer be satisfied. The wise-man is onely he that is Master of all things, neyther costeth it him much to keepe them. He hath no Embassadors to send beyond the Seas, nor campes to pitch in his enemies country, nor garrisons to dispose in conuenient fortresses, he needes no legions or troups of horsemen. Like as the immortall gods, without the assistance of any armes, do gouern their Kingdoms, & entertain their greatnes in all assurance, without disturbance, or forsaking the place high & eminent wherin they repose: euen so the wiseman executeth and gouerneth his offices, although they haue a large extent without tumult, & beholdeth all other mankind, being himselfe the powerfullest and best of all vnder himself. Mock him as thou listest, yet is it a matter worthy of a generous spirit, after thou hast in mind diligently considered both East and West, whereby also thou mayest penetrate into the remote and most retired solitudes, when as thou hast beheld so many liuing creatures, such affluence of all things which beautifull nature most blessedly lauisheth, to break into this discourse, beseeming a god, *All these things are mine.* So commeth it to passe that he desireth nothing, because there is nothing which is not his.

CHAP. IIII.

THis is that (sayest thou) that I expresly willed, I haue ouertaken thee now, and intend to see how thou wilt rid thy selfe of these incombrances, whereinto thou art wilfully fallen. Tell mee, how may any man giue ought to a wise-man, if all things are his? For that also which he giueth him is his owne. A benefite therefore cannot be bestowed vpon a* wise-man, who can haue nothing giuen him which is not his owne: yet say you, a man may giue somewhat vnto a wise-man. But know this, that I demand the like in respect of friends. You say that all things are common amongst them, therefore can no man giue any thing to his friend: for he giueth that which is common to him. There is no cause but that somewhat may be both a wise-mans, and his that possesseth it, to whom it is giuen and assigned. In ciuill lawe all things are the Kings: and yet those things whose intire possession appertaineth to the King, are distributed amongst seuerall lords, and each thing hath his possessor. Therefore may we giue the King our house, our bond-slaue, and our money: neyther for all this are we said to giue him his owne. For to Kings appertaineth the power ouer all, but to seuerall men the property. We cal them the bounds of the Athenians, or Campanians, which otherwise the neighbours by priuate termination distinguish amongst themselues: and all the lands belonging to this or that man, are the Common-weals, and

* *Vnder this name Wise-man, he intends to signifie thorow the whole body of this discourse, the same which it signifieth in the bookes of Prouerbes and Ecclesiastes, and Wisedome, where this word wisdom signifieth vertue or iustice; and the name of Wise man is in this sense a vertuous or iust man.*

In what manner a man may giue vnto a wise man.

and yet each part hath his determinate owner, we therefore may giue our lands to the Common-weale, although they be said to be the Common-weales, because in one sort they are theirs, in another sort mine. Can it bee doubted, but that a slaue, and whatsoeuer substance he hath is his masters? Yet may he giue him a present. For a man cannot therefore say that the seruant hath nothing, because he could not haue, if so be his lord said he should not; neither therefore faileth it to bee a present, when as he gaue it willingly, because it might be taken from him, although hee would not. Euen as we haue approued that all things appertaine vnto a wise man (for we are alreadie agreed in this point) so we must at this present expresse, that we haue more matter then we need, to giue liberally vnto him, whom wee confesse to be the master of what we haue. All things are the fathers, which are in the possession of his children; yet who knoweth not that the sonne also may giue his father somewhat? All things appertaine vnto the gods, yet haue we sacrificed at their Altars, and offered many times in their Temples. That therefore which I haue, faileth not to be mine, because it is thine, for one and the same thing may be thine and mine. He (sayest thou) is a Baud, that is the owner of common harlots, but a wise man is owner of all things, and amongst all things the prostitute are comprehended: therefore a wise man is a Baud. In like manner they forbid him to buy, for they say no man buyeth his owne, but all things appertaine vnto a wise man, a wise man therefore buyeth nothing. In like manner restraine they him from borrowing any thing, because no man payeth interest for his owne money. Innumerable are the things they contend and cauill about, whereas notwithstanding they fully conceiue what is spoken by vs.

CHAP. V.

VNdoubtedly in such sort conclude I all things to be a wise mans, that each one notwithstanding remaine master and lord of that hee hath, euen as vnder the gouernment of a good Prince: the King possesseth all things by regall authoritie, and euery priuate man by particular tenure and title. The time will come when we shall proue this; meane while let this suffice for this question, that I may giue a wise man that, which in one kinde is his, in another mine: neither is it a strange matter that somewhat may bee giuen him, who is Lord of all. I haue hired a house of thee; in this house there is something thine and something mine. The house it selfe is thine, the vse of this house is mine. Thou therefore shalt neither touch the fruit, if the Farmer forbid thee, although they grow on thine owne soile, and there should be a scarcitie of corne, or famine:

Alas, how all in vaine shalt thou
Behold another mightie mow,

That grew in thine owne ground, was stacked in thine owne barne, and must be stored in thine owne garners. Thou shalt not enter my hired tenement, although thou be lord thereof, neither shalt thou carrie away thy slaue, which is my hireling; and if I hire a wagon of thee, thou shalt take it for a kindnesse, if I giue thee leaue to sit in thine owne wagon. Thou seest therefore that it may so be, that man receiuing that which is his owne, may receiue a courtesie.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

IN all these things which I lately recited, both one and the other are masters of one and the same thing. But how? Because the one is the lord of the thing it selfe, the other of the vse. We say that these bookes are *Ciceroes*, and *Dorus* the Booke-seller saith those very same books are his; and both these are true, the one challengeth them as the author therof, the other as the buyer, and rightly are they said to appertaine to both; for the right is in both of them, yet not after the same manner. So may *Titus Liuius* receiue in gift, or buy for money his owne books at *Dorus* his hands. I can giue that to a wise man, which particularly appertaineth vnto me, although all things be his. For since after a kingly manner he possesseth all things freely, and the proprietie of euery thing is distributed to euery particular person, he can receiue a present, he can owe, and buy, and hire. All things are *Cæsars*, yet nothing but that which is his owne patrimonie and particular demeanes is returned into his Exchequer: all things are subiect to his soueraigne power, but his peculiar heritage is properly his owne. The question is, what is his, and what is not his without diminution of his empire. For euen that which is adiudged to be none of his, is in another sort his owne. So a wise man in mind possesseth all things, but by law and right onely that which is his owne.

He answereth the former obiections.

CHAP. VII.

BIon somewhiles in his Arguments concludeth all men to be sacrilegious, sometimes no man, when he would cast all men from the * rocke, he saith, whosoeuer hath taken away or purloined that which appertaineth to the Gods, and conuerted the same to his owne vse, is sacrilegious, but all things are the Gods, whatsoeuer euery one taketh away, hee taketh it from the Gods, to whom all things appertaine, therefore whosoeuer taketh away any thing, is sacrilegious. Againe, when he would haue Temples broken open, and when he commandeth that the *Capitol* should be pillaged without feare or vengeance of the Gods, he saith, That no man is sacrilegious, because that whatsoeuer is taken out of that place, which appertaineth to the Gods, is transferred into another place, which appertaineth likewise vnto the Gods. To this it is answered, that true it is that all things are the Gods, but that all things are not dedicated to the Gods, and that sacriledge is obserued and committed onely in those things, which religion and deuotion hath consecrated to the Gods. So say wee likewise, that the whole world is the Temple of the immortall Gods; onely worthie to contains their Maiestie and magnificence, and yet that prophane things are different and distant from sacred, and that it is not lawfull to act all things in a corner of the earth, that hath been called a Temple, which we may lawfully doe in the sight of heauen, and view of all the Starres. Vndoubtedly the sacrilegious cannot do any iniurie to God, whose diuinitie hath planted him without the shot, yet is he punished, because he hath done it, as it were, to God; for both our and his owne opinion obligeth and maketh him subiect to the penaltie. Further as therefore he seemeth to be sacrilegious that taketh away any sacred thing, although

* *This was the Tarpeian rocke, whence haynous offenders were headlong cast downe.*

Capitol is a place in Rome dedicated to Iupiter, which in times past was called Tarpeia.

O whither

whithersoeuer he transferreth that he hath taken away, it is within the limits of the world: in like manner a man may rob a wise man, for that is taken from him, not which is his, as he is Master of all things in this world, but that whereunto he had a peculiar title, which he repureth and vseth as his owne in seuerall. That other possession he acknowledgeth, the other he would not haue though he might: and into this discourse will he breake, which the Roman Emperour vttered, when as for his vertue and good gouernment, so much land was decreed and allotted him, as in one day he could enuiron with his plow: *You haue not need* (saith he) *of such a Citizen, that hath need of more then one Citizens liuing.* How much more worthie, thinkest thou, was this man in refusing this gift, then in deseruing it? For many great Captaines haue broken and defaced other mens bounds, but neuer a one of them hath limited his owne.

CHAP. VIII.

When as therefore we behold a wise mans mind, powerfull ouer all things, and spreading his Empire ouer all the whole world, wee say that all things are his, when as we referre him to the right of daily customs, he shall be taxed by the powle, if the cause so require. There is a great difference whether his possession be estimated by the greatnesse of his minde, or by his reuenues; he would hate to be lord ouer all these things whereof thou speakest. I will not reckon vp *Socrates*, *Chrysippus* or *Zeno*, and such other great personages, who in this are greater, because Enuie obscureth not the praise of such, who haue liued in times past. A little before I made mention of *Demetrius*, whom nature, in my iudgement, seemeth purposely to haue bred in our time, to shew that neither we could corrupt him, nor he correct vs. A man (though himselfe deny it) of exact wisdom, and of firme constancie in those things which he determined, yea and of that eloquence which best fitted matters of greatest strength, not polished or painted in words, but proof, cutting his causes with great courage, according as the heat carried him. I doubt not but the diuine prouidence gaue this man such a life and such abilitie in discourse, to the end our age might want no good example, nor reproch.

CHAP. IX.

If some one of the Gods would deliuer all our goods into *Demetrius* possession vpon this condition, that it might not be lawfull for him to giue it away, I dare querre it, he would refuse them, and would say I will not entangle my selfe with this inextricable waight: I will not plunge this man so cleane and free from auarice, into this deepe bog and sincke of these things. Why bringest thou me the mischiefes and infelicities of all men, which I would not receiue, although I could giue them away presently, because I see many things which I might not honestly giue? I will contemplate those things which dazle the eyes of Kings and Nations. I will behold those things for which you spend your bloods, and hazard your soules. Set before mine eyes the chiefest spoiles of superfluitie, whether it be that thou wilt vnfold them in order, or (as it is better) deliuer them

them in grosse. I see a vaulted roofe most cunningly carued with curious varietie: and the shels of diuers the most loathsome and sluggish creatures bought at excessiue prices. Wherein that very varietie which most pleaseth, is made of counterfeit colours, according to the similitude of the things themselues. I see in the same place tables and wood, estimated at no lesse then a Senators substance, by so much more precious, by how much the infelicitie of the tree had writhed and wrested it into infinit knots. I see in the same place vessels of Chrystall, whose brittlenesse enhanseth the price. For amongst ignorant men, the pleasure of all things is augmented, euen by that very danger, which should cause vs hate them. I see pots and vessels of Murrhine, as if superfluity and riotous expence had not beene sufficiently prized, if they had not vomited in great vessels of pretious stone the excessiue wine they had drunke to one an others health. I see pearles not seuerally fitted for euery eare one; for now the eares are accustomed to beare burthens, diuers of them are tyed together, and if there be but two, a third is hanged vnder them. The madnesse of women had not sufficiently brought their husbands into subiection, except they hanged at eyther of their eares the worth of two or three mens patrimonies. I see silken garments (if they may be called garments) wherein there is nothing that may couer eyther their bodies, or at least-wise their shames; which when a woman hath put vpon her, she may scarcely sweare that she is not naked. These for a great sum, are by way of commerce fetched from forraine Nations, that our matrons may shew no more of themselues to their adulterers in their chambers, then in publique.

CHAP. X.

What doest thou auarice? How many things are they, which in value surpasse thy gold? All these things which I haue reckoned vp are of more honour and better price. Now will I recognize thy riches, the plates of both mettals, at which our couetousnesse is dazeled. But the earth which produced what soeuer was profitable for our vse, hath drowned these mettals, yea, and with her whole waight hath cast her selfe vpon them, as vpon hurtfull and hatefull things, which could not come to light: but to the common hurt of all nations I see that Iron is taken out of that very darkenesse, whence gold and siluer were had, to the end that neyther instruments for mutuall slaughters, neyther price for the murtherers should be wanting, yet haue these things som matter of esteem in them. There is somewhat wherein the mind may follow the errour of the eyes. I see these Patents, these Indentures, and Obligations, the emptie images of couetousnesse, certaine shadows of sicke auarice, by which they deceiue the mind, that delighteth in the opinion of transitorie things. For what are these? What is interest? What day-bookes and vsurie, but certaine names of humane couetousnesse, which nature neuer heard of? I can complaine of nature, because shee hath not hidden gold and siluer deeper, because she hath not cast a heauier burthen on them, then that it might be remoued. What are these Registers, these computations, & sailable time,* these bloudie vsuries of twelue for a hundreth? They are voluntarie euils depending on our constitutions, in which there is nothing that may be subiected to the eyes, or held in the hand; the dreames of vaine couetousnesse. O how wretched is he, who taketh delight to reade ouer the great

* *These were called* Centesima, *which was a kind of vsury amongst the Romans: the creditor was wont to giue his debtor 100. crownes, and for the vse thereof he paid for euery moneth a crowne for his interest, till a hundreth months were past; at the end whereof he returned the principall to his creditor.*

rentall of his patrimonie, or large demeanes to be tilled by his bondmen, or infinite heards of cattell, that need whole countries and Kingdomes to feed them, or his family greater then warlike nations, & priuate buildings, that in bigneſſe exceede great cities! When he hath well examined theſe things, whereby he hath diſpoſed and ſpread out his riches, and made himſelfe proude; if he compare that which he hath with that which he deſireth, he is a poore man. Let me go, and reſtore me to thoſe riches of minde: I know the Kingdome of wiſedome to be great and ſecure: ſo enioy I all things as all men may enioy theirs in particular.

CHAP. XI.

WHereas therefore *Caius Cæſar* gaue *Demetrius* two hundreth talents, he ſmiled and refuſed them, not deeming the ſame of ſuch value, as he might iuſtly glorie that he had refuſed them. O gods and Goddeſſes, with how ſmall a thing would he either haue honoured or corrupted ſuch a minde! I muſt teſtifie for ſo worthy a man: I haue heard a great matter reported by him, that when he had wondred at *Cæſars* indiſcretion, in that he thought that he could be changed for ſo ſleight a matter, he ſaid thus: If, ſaid he, he had intended to tempt me, he ſhould haue tempted me with his whole Empire.

CHAP. XII.

SOmething therefore may be giuen to a wiſe-man, although all things be his: ſo likewiſe nothing letteth but that ſomething may be giuen to a friend, though we ſay that all things are common amongſt friends. For in ſuch ſort are not all things common betwixt me and my friend, as they are with a partner, ſo as my part and his ſhould be all one: but as children are common to their fathers and mothers, who hauing two betwixt them, haue not each of them one, but two a peice. Firſt of all I will make him know what ſoeuer hee be that will be copartner with me, that there is nothing common betwixt him and me: and why? becauſe this aſſociation cannot be but amongſt wiſe-men, who onely vnderſtand and practiſe the vſe of true friendſhip; the other are no more friends then they be co-partners. Againe, goods are common in diuers kindes. The ſieges in the Theater ordained for Knights, appertaine to all the Knights of Rome; and yet in theſe, the place that I ſate in is mine owne. If I haue yeelded vp my place to any, although I giue him place in a thing common to all, yet ſeemeth it that I haue giuen him ſomewhat. There are things which appertaine to ſome men, vnder certaine conditions: I haue my place amongſt the Knights, not to ſell, not to hire, nor to poſſeſſe continually; but onely to this end, to behold the publik ſports. I ſhal not therfore lie, if I ſay I haue a place amongſt the knights; but when I come into the Theater, if the places be all taken vp, yet in right haue I a place there, becauſe it is lawfull for me to ſit there: and I haue it not becauſe it is occupied by thoſe, who haue as much title to the place as my ſelfe. Suppoſe the care is the ſame amongſt friends. What ſoeuer our friend hath is common to vs, yet the propertie is his that poſſeſſeth it: I cannot vſe it againſt

againſt his will. Thou mockeſt me (ſayeſt thou) if that which appertaineth to my friend be mine, I haue libertie to ſell the ſame: but I haue no libertie; for thou canſt not ſell my Knights place, yet is it common to thee, with thoſe of the ſame order. It is no argument therefore that a thing is not thine, becauſe thou canſt not ſell it, becauſe thou mayeſt not conſume it, becauſe thou mayeſt not change it for worſe or better; for it is thine, although it be thine but vpon a condition. I haue taken the place, yet haſt thou it neuertheleſſe.

CHAP. XIII.

NOt to dallie or delay with thee any longer, one benefite cannot be greater then another: but thoſe things whereby a benefit may be giuen, may be greater and more; into which beneuolence may extend it ſelfe, and ſo pleaſe it ſelfe: as louers are wont, whoſe many kiſſes, and cloſer embracements increaſe not, but exerciſe their loues. This queſtion alſo that enſueth, is fully debated in our former, and therefore it ſhall be ſhortly handled: for the arguments we haue vſed in the other queſtions, may be employed here. The queſtion is, whether hee that hath done his beſt to reſtore a benefite, hath giuen ſatisfaction. That thou mayeſt know, ſayeſt thou, that he hath not ſatisfied, he hath done all he can to recompence him: it appeareth therefore that that thing is not done, becauſe he had not the meanes to do it, as he hath not paide the ſiluer which he ought vnto his creditor, who, to performe the ſame, had ſought him euery where, and could not finde him. Some things are of that condition, that they muſt needes be effected, and in ſome things it is as much to haue attempted what a man could, as to haue effected the deed. If the Phyſitian hath done his vttermoſt to heale his patient, he hath performed his part. The Orator although his client be condemned, if he haue ſhewed the vttermoſt of his art, hath not loſt the honour of his eloquence. The Generall and Captaine, although conquered, is commended, if in as much as in him lay, he proceeded with prudence, induſtrie and fortitude, he hath attempted all meanes to recompence thy courteſie, but thy felicity letted him. No calamitie hath falne vpon thee, whereby thou mighteſt make tryall of his true friendſhip. He could not giue vnto a rich man, ſit by a healthfull man, ſuccour a happie man. He was thankefull vnto thee, although thou receiueſt no benefit. Beſides, intending this matter alwayes, and expecting the time & opportunitie of this ſame; he that hath ſpent manie cares to this end, and imployed much diligence to finde an occaſion of requitall, hath endeuoured more then he whoſe fortune it was, to make ſatisfaction ſuddenly.

CHAP. XIIII.

THe example of the debitor is farre different from this, who hath done little in gathering in his money, except he hath paide it: for there his importunate creditor ſtandeth ouer his head, who ſuffereth not a day to paſſe without inquiry: but here thou art matched with a bountifull creditor, who when he ſhall ſee thee trotting vp and downe, carefull and penſiue to ſatisfie, ſaith vnto thee

Diſlodge this care from out thy breaſt.

Ceasse to be so vrgent in thine owne trouble: I am wholly satisfied. Thou dost me iniurie, if thou thinkest that I desire any thing more at thy hands: I am fully possessed of thy good mind. But tell me (saith he) wouldst thou say that he had restored a benefite that had onely beene thankefull? By this reckoning he that hath requited, and he that hath not satisfied are of like reckoning. Contrariwise, put case; if any other hath forgotten the benefite he hath receiued, and hath no wayes endeuoured himselfe to requite the same: wouldest thou say that he had requited? But this man (of whom we speake) hath wearied himselfe day and night, and renouncing all other offices only to thinke vpon this, hath wholly intended satisfaction, and laboured that no occasion should ouer-slip him. Shall therefore the like respect be had of him, that hath cast away the care of returning gratuitie, as of him that neuer thought of ought else? Thou dealest vniustly with me, if thou exactest that recompence at my hand, when thou seest my minde euer addicted to content thee. To be short; put case thou wert in captiuitie, and that to ransom thee (hauing engaged all my goods vnto a creditor, who had taken them in assurance of the mony which I borrowed for thee) I put forth to Sea in a sore stormie winter, by coasts and promontories beleagred by Pyrats; and furthermore suffered all the perils that may chance euen in a peaceable Sea, and after that hauing trauersed all the deserts, which all men liuing fled, and sought to finde thee; and comming at last to the Pyrats, from whose hands alreadie another had discharged thee: wilt thou denie that I haue not requited thy goodnesse, if in vndertaking this iourney, I haue by shipwrack lost that money which I borrowed for thy ransome? If I fall my selfe into that captiuitie from whence I would deliuer thee; wilt thou not confesse that I haue beene thankefull vnto thee? Yet vndoubtedly the *Athenians* called *Armodius* and *Aristogiton* Tyrant-quellers, and *Mutius* hand left vpon the enemies Altar, was as much as if he had slaine *Porsenna:* and vertue likewise wrestling against fortune, although the intended action was not effected, was alwayes honoured. He hath performed more, who hath followed flying occasions, and euer hunted after new by which he might be thankefull, then hee whom the first occasion made gratefull, without paine, or trauell.

CHAP. XV.

HEe hath (saith hee) employed two things for thee, his will and goods: thou likewise owest him two. Worthily mightest thou say this vnto him, that had onely yeelded thee an idle will, but thou canst not speake it to him, who both willeth, and endeauoreth and leaueth nothing vnattempted, for he performeth both, as much as lieth in his power. Againe, a number is not alwayes to be equalled by a number, for sometimes one thing ouer-valueth two. Therefore so forward and desirous a will to make restitution, standeth in stead of the benefite. But if the minde without the act bee not sufficient to requite a benefit, no man is thankfull to the gods, on whom there is nothing bestowed but the will, wee can (saith he) giue nothing to the gods but our will, but if I haue no other thing to giue him to whom I am obliged, why should I not bee reputed gratefull toward men, in yeelding herein that more, then which I cannot giue vnto the gods?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

YEt if thou aske me what I thinke, and wilt subscribe vnto mine answere, let this man iudge that hee hath receiued the benefit, and that man know that he hath not requited it. Let the one release the other, and the other confesse the debt. Let this man say I haue it, and that man I owe it. In all controuersies, let vs respect the common good, let vngratefull men be exempted from excusations, to which they may flie, and vnder which they may colour their refusall. I haue done all that I could. Doe it now likewise. What, thinkest thou our ancestors were so imprudent, that they vnderstood not that it were an vniust act to set no difference betweene him, who had spent the money he had borrowed of his creditor in royot and sports, and him, who either by fire or theeues, and by any other misfortune, both lost his owne and other mens? Truely they admitted no excuse, to the end that men should know that faith was to be obserued euery way. For it was better that a iust excuse amongst few should not be accepted, then that all men should attempt any. Thou hast done all thou canst to satisfie. Let this suffice him, and thee a little. For euen as he is vnworthie to receiue any requitall, who suffereth thy serious and sedulous endeuour, to slip away vnregarded; so likewise art thou vngratefull, if thou thinke not thy selfe more freely obliged to him, who taketh thy good will for payment, and by this meanes acquiteth thee of that thou owest. Lay not hold of this, neither contest, yet seeke thou occasions of restitution. Requite the one, because he asketh it, the other, because he releaseth thee. Repay this man, because he is wicked, and the other, because he is not euill. And therefore thou hast no cause to thinke this question may stand thee in any stead: whether hee that hath receiued a benefit from a wise man, when he is wise, is bound to restore it afterwards, when hee is become foolish, and shall no more be a good man. For thou wouldest restore a thing committed to thy trust, which thou haddest receiued from a wise man, yea and to an euill man, wouldest thou satisfie that he had lent thee: why then likewise wouldest thou not restore a benefit? Because hee is changed, shall he change thee? What if thou hadst receiued any thing from a man in health, wouldest thou not restore it when he were sick, whereas we are alwaies most obliged to our friend when hee is weakest? Truely this man is sicke in minde, let him bee helped, let him be borne withall, folly is a sicknesse of the minde. To the intent that this may bee the better vnderstood, mee thinketh it good to vse some distinction herein.

CHAP. XVII.

THere are two kinds of benefits, the one which a wise man cannot giue, but to a wise man; and this is an absolute and true benefit: the other vulgar and of little value, whereof the vse is ordinarie amongst vs ignorant men. Of this there is no doubt, but that, that I ought to restore it to him I owe it, whatsoeuer hee bee, whether he be become a Homicide, a Theefe, or an Adulterer. There are lawes to punish crimes and bad actions: the Iudge better chastiseth these, then an vngratefull man. Let no man make thee bad, because he is bad himselfe. I

will

will fling away my benefit to a wicked man, and restore it to a good man, to the one, because I owe it, to the other, lest I should be in his debt.

CHAP. XVIII.

OF the other kinde of benefit there is some question, which if I be not capable to receiue, except I be wise, I ought not likewise to restore but to a wise man. For put the case I should tender it, yet cannot he receiue it, for why he is not capable of it, but hath lost the science how to vse it. What if you command me to bandie backe the ball to a maimed mans hand, it is but a folly to giue him that hath no power to receiue? And that I may begin to answere thee to thy last speeches, I will not giue him that which hee cannot receiue, yet will I recompence the good he hath done me, although he cannot receiue it. For I cannot oblige any man, but him that receiueth, yet may I be discharged, if I giue satisfaction. Cannot he make vse thereof? Let him looke to that, the fault shall bee in him and not in me.

CHAP. XIX.

TO restore, saith he, is no other thing, but to deliuer it to his hands that ought to receiue it. For if thou owest wine vnto any man, and he willeth thee to powre the same into a net or sieue, wouldest thou say that thou haddest repaid him, or wouldest thou returne him that, which whilest it is restored, is spilt betweene both. To restore, is to giue that which thou owest to him, to whom it appertaineth, and that hath a will to receiue the same; this is the onely thing I ought to performe. That he may receiue, that which he receiued at my hands, is now a further charge. I owe him not the custodie thereof, but the acquitall of my faith: and farre better is it, that he haue it not, then that I should not restore it. I will presently satisfie my creditour, although I know that hee will suddenly send that I owe him vnto the stewes. Although he assigne it ouer to be satisfied to an adultéresse, I will pay it. And if he would powre the money, which he is to receiue, into his bosome, being vntied, yet will I giue it. For I must repay it, yet am I not bound either to keepe or defend it. I ought carefully to keepe the good I haue receiued, & not that which I haue restored. As long as it remaineth with me, I will see it shall not be lost, but if it be called for, it must be satisfied, although it should slip out of his hands that receiued it. I will restore it to a good man, when it shal be profitable for him, to an euil man when he shal demand it. Thou canst not, saith he, redeliuer a benefit vnto him in such a sort as thou receiuedst it, for thou receiuedst it frō a wise man, thou repaydst it to a foole. Neither is it embased by me, but by him. I will render that which I haue receiued, and if he recouer his wisdome, I will redeliuer it intirely, such as I receiued it; as long as he is euill, I will render such a one as he may receiue. But (saith hee) what if he be not only made euil, but cruell and enraged as *Apollodorus* or *Phalaris*, were, wilt thou restore the benefit thou hast receiued at his hands? Nature suffereth not so great a change in a wise man, for falling from the best into the worst, it must needs follow also, that some impression of goodnesse remaineth in him, euen

uen in his wickednesse. Vertue is not so much extinguished in men, but that she impresseth some markes, which cannot be defaced by any change. Wilde beasts that haue beene brought vp amongst vs, when as they breake out into the woods, retaine some part of their former tamenesse, and looke how much they be wilder then the tamest beasts, so much are they tamer thē the wildest beasts, and such as neuer were many tractable by mans hand. No man hath euer fallen into extreame wickednesse, that hath euer stucke vnto wisdome: hee is tainted more deepely, then that it may be wholly washed out, and changed into any other colour. Furthermore, I aske thee whether he, of whom we speake, bee onely sauage and cruell in minde, or if he take pleasure to procure the ruine and publike misfortune of the whole world. For thou hast proposed vnto me *Apollodorus* and *Phalaris* the tyrant, whose nature, if an euill man haue in himselfe, why should not I restore him his benefit back againe, to the end I may be wholly acquit of him for euer? But if not only he delighteth and taketh pleasure in humane bloud, but exerciseth his vnsatiable crueltie on all ages, and rageth not for anger, but of a certaine thirst and desire he hath to shed bloud: if hee killeth children in their fathers presence, if not contented with a simple death, he tortureth them, and not onely burneth those that are to die, but scorcheth them: if his altar be alwayes soyled with new murthers and massacres. It is a small matter to keepe backe a benefit from such a one. Whatsoeuer it was, whereby he and I were lincked and vnited together: that hath beene dissolued, by reason that by his crueltie and tyrannie hee hath broken the rights and lawes of humane societie. If he had done any thing for me, if I had receiued any good at his hands, and afterwards he had taken armes, and made warre against my country, whatsoeuer he had deserued he had lost, and to be thankfull to him, would be reputed a haynous crime. If he assaile not my country, but be tedious to his owne, and doing no iniurie to my nation, he persecuteth his owne: notwithstanding that so great impiety of his minde, dissolueth the bonds whereby we were vnited: and if this be not sufficient to make him mine enemie, at least-wise I shall haue occasion to loath and hate him, and the respect of duetie which I ought to beare to the common good of men, deserueth to haue more power ouer mee, then the obligation that I owe to one particular person.

CHAP. XX.

BVt although this be so, and that I may freely act what soeuer me listeth towards him from that time since, whereby violating all lawes, he hath brought to passe, that nothing may be vnlawfully attempted against him, yet beleeue I that my actions must bee so limited, that if the good I intend in my benefit, shall neither augment his forces to the destruction of all men; neither confirme that power which he hath alreadie, that is to say, that I may doe it without the ruine of the Common-wealth, I will restore his benefit: I will saue his childe being an infant. What doth this benefit wrong any of those whom his crueltie dismembreth. I will not furnish him with money to pay the souldiers of his guard. If he shall want either marble or rich raymēt, it shall be no wayes preiudiciall to any man, that shall supply his excesse and superfluitie. Souldiers and furniture I will not helpe him with. If he request me in way of great kindnesse, to send him cunning *Comedians* and *Courtezans*, and such other delights as may temper his cruelty, I will willingly

lingly offer them. Though I would not ſend him armed Gallies and ſhippes of warre, yet would I ſend him whirries and couered barges, and other ſuch like things wherein Kings take their paſtime, when they intend to ſport themſelues vpon the ſea. And if the hope of his amendment were vtterly loſt, yet with the ſame hand that I giue benefits to all men, I wil returne him his; becauſe the beſt remedie for ſuch euill diſpoſitions is not to be, and it is beſt for him to be dead, whoſe life will neither be reclaimed nor rectified. But ſeldome is ſo great wickedneſſe ſeene, it is rare; and reputed alwayes for ſtrange and wonderfull, they are feared as the gaping and openings of the earth, or as great fires which burſt forth from the deepeſt caues of the ſea. Let vs therefore leaue theſe, and ſpeake of thoſe which we deteſt without horror. To this euill man whom I may find in euery market-place, whom priuate men feare: will I returne the benefit I haue receiued: I muſt not make my profit of his wickedneſſe. Looke what belongs not to me, let it returne to him that oweth it, be hee good, or bee he bad. How diligently ſhould I examine theſe things, if I ſhould not reſtore but giue? This place craueth a merrie fable.

CHAP. XXI.

A Certaine *Pythagoriſt* had vpon his credit bought a paire of clownish ſhooes of a Cobler (a great matter I warrant you) ſome few dayes after he came vnto the ſhop, to make ſatisfaction, and when he had long time knocked at the doore, there was one that anſwered him: *Why loſe you your labour? That Cobler you ſeeke for is carried out and burned. This may be a griefe to vs which loſe our friends for euer, but not to you that know he ſhall be borne anew.* Thus ieſted he at the *Pythagoriſt*. But our *Philoſopher* carried home his three or foure pence very merily, ſhaking them diuers times in his hand, as he went homeward. Afterwards accuſing himſelfe of the pleaſure he had conceiued in non-payment, and perceiuing how much that little gaine of his was pleaſing to him, he returned to the ſhoppe, and ſaid vnto himſelfe; *Hee lieth to thee, pay thou that which thou oweſt.* With that word hee thruſt the foure pence into the ſhop at a crany of the wall, where the cloſing of the panell was ſhrunke; chaſtiſing himſelfe for his curſed auarice, leſt he ſhould accuſtome himſelfe to detaine another mans goods.

CHAP. XXII.

SEeke thou then to whom thou mayeſt returne that which thou oweſt, and if no man require payment at thy hands, call thou thy ſelfe to account. It appertaines not to thee, whether he be good or euill. Reſtore & accuſe thy ſelfe, not forgetting how offices are diuided betweene you. Haue we commanded to forget thee, we haue enioyned him to remember; notwithſtanding he deceiueth himſelfe, that thinketh that when we ſay, that he who hath giuen the benefit, ſhould neuer more thinke on the pleaſure he hath done; that wee would haue him entirely loſe the remembrance of the honeſteſt thing that may be done in this world: wee command ſome things more ſtrictly then we ought, to cauſe them to returne to their true and particular proportion, when we ſay, that he muſt not remember our meaning is, that he muſt not publiſh it abroad, hee ought not to vaunt, he ſhould not reproach. For ſom there are that make the courteſies they haue done, their table-talke amongſt their companions; of this talke they when they are ſober, of this they talke being drunke, this diſcouer they to ſtrangers, this commit they to their friends. That this inordinat and reproachfull memorie might be repreſſed: we commanded that he that had done the courteſie to his friend, ſhould neuer remember it, and commanding him more then he could performe, we perſwaded him to ſilence.

CHAP. XXIII.

AS oft as thou diſtruſteſt thoſe ouer whom thou haſt command, thou mayeſt exact farre more then thou needeſt, to the end that that may be performed which is ſufficient. Euery *Hyperbole* aimeth at this iſſue; that by a lie a man may attaine vnto the truth. He therefore that ſaid,

That did exceed the ſnow in whiteneſſe,
And did ſurpaſſe the windes in lightneſſe.

That which could not be ſaid, to the end the moſt that could be, ſhould be beleeued. And he that ſaid,

More fixed then theſe rockes, more headlong then this torrent.

did not thinke that he ſhould perſwade this, that any one was ſo immoueable as a rocke. This exceſſiue and ſuperlatiue kinde of ſpeech neuer hopeth ſo much as it dareth; but it affirmeth incredible things, to the end it may attaine vnto credible. When we ſay, Let him that hath giuen a benefite forget it; our meaning is, that he ſhould be as one that had forgotten it: let no man perceiue that he hath remembrance thereof, or that his memorie is awakened. When we ſay, That we ought not to redemand a benefit againe, we do not wholly take away the meanes of redemanding it; for oft-times euill men haue neede of an exacter, and good men alſo of an admoniſher. Why then, ſhall I not ſhew an ignorant man the opportunity of requitall? ſhall I not diſcouer my neceſſities vnto him? why eyther ſhould hee belie himſelfe, or be ſorie that hee knew it not? now and then let ſome admonition be intermixed; yet ſuch as is modeſt, which neyther ſauoreth of importunity or matter of plea.

CHAP. XXIIII.

SOcrates in the hearing of his friends, ſaid, *I had bought me a cloake had I had money.* He required of no man, he admoniſhed all: the contention was, who ſhould ſupply him. And why not? For how ſmall a matter was it that *Socrates* receiued? but it was a great matter to be worthy to be ſuch a one, from whom *Socrates* would receiue. He could not more mildely chaſtiſe them. I had (ſaid he) bought me a cloake had I had money. After this whoſoeuer was the forwardeſt he gaue too

too late: for *Socrates* was already in neceſſitie. For theſe intemperate exactors ſakes we forbid the redemand of benefits, not that it ſhould neuer be put in vſe, but that it might be done modeſtly and ſparingly.

CHAP. XXV.

ARISTIPPVS hauing ſometimes taken pleaſure in good ſauors and perfumes, ſaid; *Beſtrow theſe effeminate fellowes that haue defamed ſo worthy a thing.* The ſame muſt be ſaid, Euill betide theſe wicked and importunate exactors of their benefits, who haue extinguiſhed ſo worthy an admonition amongſt friends: yet wil I vſe this loue of friendſhip, and will redemand a benefit from him from whom I would haue requeſted it if I had need, who will receiue it in ſtead of another benefite. If he haue meanes to requite that which I haue done for him, I will neuer ſay in way of complaint,

I tooke thee vp caſt vp vpon this ſhore
Forlorne and poore, and that which mads me more
I made thee partner of my Princely ſtate.

This is no admonition, but rather a reproch: this is no leſſe then to bring benefits into hatred: this is the direct meanes to make it eyther lawfull or delightfull to be thankeleſſe. It is enough, and too much to refreſh the memorie with ſubmiſſe and familar words;

If I haue ought demerited from thee,
Or ought well liking hath appeard in me.

Let the other likewiſe ſay, How can it otherwiſe be, but that thou haſt deſerued? Thou haſt entertained me in thy houſe, after that by tempeſt I was caſt on ſhore, denied of all ſupplies, ſhipwrackt and poore.

CHAP. XXVI.

BVt (ſaith he) we haue done no good, he diſſembles, he is forgetfull, what ſhould I doe? Thou propoſeſt a very neceſſary queſtion, and in which it becommeth vs to conclude this diſcourſe, How ingratefull men are to be borne withall? Truely with a peaceable, milde, and great minde. Let neuer ſo inhumane, forgetfull, and vngratefull man ſo offend thee, that the delight of thy bountie be extinguiſhed in thee, neuer let iniurie inforce theſe ſpeeches from thee: I would I had not done it. Let the infelicitie of thy benefite content thee likewiſe. It ſhall repent him euer, if thou hitherto repent thee not. Thou muſt not be grieued as if ſome new caſualtie had befalne thee, thou oughteſt rather to wonder if it had not happened. One is affrighted with labour, another with charge, another with danger, and another with vnſeemly baſhfulneſſe, leſt in his requitall he acknowledge that he hath receiued. Some forget their duetie, another is idle in his affaires, another ouer-buſie. Marke how the immeaſurable deſires of men doo alwayes gape & graſpe after mony. Thou wilt not wonder then to ſee no man addreſſed

dreſſed to requite where no man receiueth enough, which one of theſe is of ſo firm and ſolid a mind, that thou mayeſt ſafely truſt thy benefits with him. This man is mad with luſt, that man ſerueth his belly, another is wholly addicted to lucre, whoſe ſubſtance thou hardly mayeſt equall: this man is ſicke with enuy, another with ſuch blinded ambition, that he is readie to runne vpon the ſwords point. Adde hereunto dulneſſe of minde and olde age, and contrariwiſe the agitation and perpetuall tumult of an vnquiet breaſt. Annex hereunto the too much eſteeme, and inſolent pride of a mans ſelfe, for which he is to be contemned. What ſhould I ſpeake of their contumacie, that incline to the worſt; or of their inconſtancie and leuitie, that are ſetled in nothing? Adde vnto theſe headlong temerity and feare, that neuer giueth faithfull counſell; and a thouſand errours wherewith we are intangled, the boldneſſe of the moſt cowards, the diſcord of moſt familiars; and (which is a common miſchiefe) to truſt to vncertainties, to loath things in poſſeſſion, to wiſh for thoſe things which we may not any wayes hope to attaine.

CHAP. XXVII.

SEeke ſt thou for faith, a thing ſo peaceable amidſt the paſſions of the mind, that are moſt reſtleſſe? If the true image of our life were preſented before thine eyes, thou wouldeſt ſuppoſe that thou ſaweſt the pillage of a great Citie taken by aſſault, wherein without reſpect of ſhame or any iuſtice, the enemie inſtead of counſaile vſeth force and violence, as if by publique proclamation he were permitted to exerciſe at his pleaſure all kinde of outrage. Neyther fire nor ſword is ſpared, murthers and miſchiefes are not puniſhed: Religion it ſelfe, which hath oftentimes amongſt the armed enemies ſaued their liues, who humbled themſelues at her feete, cannot now containe thoſe men that are ſet vpon pillage: the one forcibly defaceth the goods of a priuate houſe, another of a publique: that man ſtealeth prophane things, and that man ſacred; the one breakes vp, the other paſſeth ouer. This man being diſcontented with the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſage, ouerthroweth that which ſtoppeth his way, and makes his profite of this ruine. This man ſpoyleth without ſlaughter, that man beareth his bootie in a bloudie hand: there is no man but catcheth ſomething from another. Amidſt this greedineſſe of mankind, I feare me thou art too much forgetful of our common fortune, who ſeekeſt to finde a gratefull man amongſt ſo many robbers. If thou art agrieued that there are vngratefull men, be ſorie that there are ſome luxurious men, be vexed becauſe there are couetous men, be diſpleaſed becauſe there are impudent men, be angrie that there are deformed, ſicke and pale olde men. This vice I confeſſe is grieuous and intollerable, that breaketh the ſociety of men, that deuideth and deſtroyeth that concord whereby our weakeneſſe is ſupported; yet ſo common is it, that he himſelfe who complaineth againſt it cannot auoyd it.

CHAP. XXVIII.

BEthinke thy selfe, whether thou hast beene thankfull to euery one of those to whom thou art obliged, whether any of those pleasures that haue beene done thee, are lost; whether thou hast alwayes remembred the benefites which thou hast receiued from others, and thou shalt see, that those things which were giuen thee when thou wert a childe, were forgotten by thee ere thou wert a stripling, and that those things which were bestowed on thee in thy youth, continued not in thy memorie vntill old age. There are some things which we haue lost, some things we haue reiected, some things haue vanished out of our sight by little and little, and from some things we our selues haue turned our eyes. But to excuse thy weakenesse, first of all memorie is fraile, and cannot long time apprehend so great a number of assaures; it must needes lose as much as it entertaineth, and ouerwhelme the elder with the later. So commeth it to passe that the authority of thy nurse preuaileth little with thee, because succeeding yeares haue layed the benefits she hath done thee, farre from thy thought. Hence groweth it that thou yeeldest no reuerence to thy Master: so commeth it to passe, that whilest thou art busied in labouring for a Consulship, or pretendest a Priesthood, thou forgettest him that once gaue thee his voyce to be a Questor. Happely if thou diligently examine thy selfe, thou shalt finde that vice whereof thou complainest in thine own bosome: thou doest amisse to be angrie with a publique crime, and foolishly to be angrie against thy selfe; to absolue thy selfe forgiue others. By thy sufferance thou mayest make him better, but worse by thy reproches: thou must not harden his heart; let him, if any shame be left in him, retaine it still. Oft-times publique and notorious reproaches exile that doubtfull modestie, which a man would retaine. There is no man feareth to be that which he is seene to be: shame once discouered is lost.

CHAP. XXIX.

I Haue lost a benefit. Shall we say we haue lost those things which we consecrate to good vses? A benefite ought to be numbred amongst those things that are consecrated; prouided that a man hath well employed the same, although it be badly requited: if he haue not shewed himselfe such as we hoped he would be, let vs be such as wee haue beene, let vs be vnlike vnto him; the wrong was then done, and now it appeareth. An vnthankfull man is not accused by vs, but with our owne disgrace, because the complaint of the losse of our benefit, is a signe it was badly giuen. As neere as we can let vs pleade his cause with our selues, and say happely hee could not, peraduenture he knew not, perhaps he will doe it hereafter. The wise and patient creditor sometimes recouereth his debt which he reputeth lost, in forbearing his debtor, and giuing him time: the like must we do; let vs nourish the languishing faith of those that forget themselues.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

I Haue lost my benefite. Thou foole, thou knowest not the times of thy detriment. Thou hast lost, but when thou gauest, now the matter is discouered. Euen in these things which seeme to be lost, moderation hath profited very much. As the infirmities of the bodie, so those of the minde are to be handled gently; oft-times that thing which patience and delay hath discouered and vnfolded, is broken by his pertinacie and stubbornnesse that haleth the same. What needd these reproaches? What need these plaints? What needes pursuit? Why doest thou acquit him? Why dismissest thou him, if he be vngratefull? Now oweth he thee nothing; what reason is there to prouoke and incense him, whom thou hast many wayes pleasured, to the end that of a doubtfull friend he may becom an assured enemie, and to giue him means to defend his cause the better by procuring thine owne shame? There bee some will say, I am sure there is some great matter in it; but what it is I know not, that hee could not abide him to whom he was so much indebted. There is no man that in any sort complained of a superior but stained, though he could not deface his greatnesse and honor, neyther is a man content to faine trifles, when he seeks for credite by the greatnesse of his lie.

CHAP. XXXI.

NOw farre better is that way whereby the hope of friendship is reserued to him, and the opinion of our friendship likewise, if he be thankefull and entertaine a better thought? Incessant goodnesse conquereth euill men; neyther is there any man of so hard and hatefull a minde against those things that are to be beloued, that loueth not those, who euen in their greatest wrongs continue good men, to whom he beginneth to owe this also, that he sustaineth no displeasure at their hands for not requiting. Reflect thy thoughts therefore vpon these: there is no correspondencie held with me: what shall I doe? euen that which the gods the best authors of all things do, who begin to bestow their benefites on those, that know not whence they come, and perseuer also to do good to those that are vngratefull. One chargeth them with little regard of vs, another that they haue iniustly dispensed their graces, another thrusteth them out of his world, and leaueth them there alone in sloth and heauinesse, without light or doing any thing; another saith that Sun (to whom we owe this, that we haue distinguished the time betweene labour and rest, that being deliuered from darkenesse wee haue escaped the confusion of a perpetuall night; for that by his course he tempereth the yeare, and nourisheth our bodies, and hasteneth our harueſt, and ripeneth our fruit) is som stone or globe of casuall fires, and call him any thing rather then god. All this notwithstanding, the gods like good parents that smile at the iniuries of their little children, cease not to heape benefites vpon those who suspect that they are not the authors of all benefites, but with an equall hand distribute their blessings amongst al nations, reseruing only to themselues the power to do good. They water the earth with timely showers, they moue the Seas with fitting windes, they distinguish times by the course of the starres,

they weaken both winters and ſommers by the gratious intercourſe of gentler winds; they pardon and mildely winke at, and ſuffer the errours and ſinnes of our ſinfull ſoules. Let vs imitate them; let vs giue although many things haue beene giuen in vaine, yet let vs giue vnto others, let vs giue euen vnto thoſe by whom we haue ſuſtained the loſſe, no man forbeareth to build a houſe for feare it ſhould be ruinated, and when as fire hath conſumed the place of our aboad, we ſuddenly lay a new foundation againe ere the floore be halfe colde, and oft-times we build cities in that very place where they were deſtoyed and ſunke: ſo conſtant and confirmed is the mind to good hopes; mens labors would ceaſe both by land and ſea, if they had not a will to re-edifie and re-attempt the ruines that were paſt.

CHAP. XXXII.

HEe is a thankeleſſe man, he hath not iniured me but himſelfe, I had the vſe of my benefit when I gaue it, neyther therefore will I giue more ſlowely but more diligently; what I haue loſt in him I will recouer in others: yea, to this man alſo will I giue a benefit again, and like a good huſbandman, with care and labour I will conquer the barrenneſſe of the ſoyle; I haue loſt my benefit, and that man his credite with all men. It is not the action of a generous minde, to giue and loſe; this is the marke of a mightie minde to loſe and giue.

The end of the ſeuenth and laſt Booke of Benefits.

THE EPISTLES OF LVCIUS ANNÆVS SENECA THE PHILOSOPHER.

Written vnto LVCILIVS, Together with the *Arguments vnto euery Epiſtle of* IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

LONDON
Printed by *William Stansby.* 1613.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

HIS EPISTLES TO LVCILIVS:

With the Arguments of *Iuſtus Lipſius*.

EPISTLE I.

He commendeth to LVCILIVS *the eſtimation and vſe of time, that it ought not to be deferred nor let ſlippe, neither ill employed.*

DOE ſo, my *Lucilius*, recouer thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe, and that time which hitherto hath beene either taken from thee, or ſtollen from thee, or that otherwiſe hath eſcaped thee, recollect and reſerue to thy ſelfe. Perſwade thy ſelfe that it is ſo as I write: there are ſome times which are taken away frō vs, ſome other which are ſtolne from vs, and other ſome which ſlip away from vs: But the ſhamefulleſt loſſe that may be, is that which proceedeth from our negligence, and if thou wilt ſeriouſly and neerely obſerue, thou ſhalt perceiue that a great part of life flitteth from thoſe that doe euill, a greater from thoſe that doe nothing; and the whole from thoſe that doe not that they doe. What man wilt thou ſhew me that hath put any price vpon time, that eſteemeth of a day, and that vnderſtandeth that he daily dieth? For herein are we deceiued, becauſe wee ſuppoſe death to bee farre off from vs, and yet notwithſtanding the greater part thereof is alreadie ouer-paſſed, & all our years that are behind death holdeth in his poſſeſſion. Do therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which as thou writeſt vnto me thou doeſt. Embrace and lay hold on each houre, ſo will it come to paſſe, that thou ſhalt be leſſe in ſuſpence for to morrow, if thou lay hold, and faſten thy hands on to day. Whileſt life is deferred it fleeteth. All other things, my *Lucilius*, are forren to vs: time onely is our owne. Nature hath put vs in poſſeſſion of this fraile and fleeting thing, from which we may be expelled by any man. But ſo great is the folly of mortall men, that they ſuffer all things, yea euen the leaſt and vileſt, truly recouerable, to be imputed vnto them, when as they haue obtained them. Let no man thinke that he oweth any thing, who hath receiued time, when in the meane while this is the thing, which indeed the gratefull man cannot reſtore. Happily thou wilt aske me what I doe, who command thee theſe things? I will ingeniouſly confeſſe vnto thee, I doe that which befalleth a luxurious man; but diligent:

diligent: I take a very ſtrict account of my expence: I cannot ſay that I loſe nothing, yet know I well what I loſe, and why, and how. I am readie to yeeld a reaſon of my pouertie. It befalleth me, as to many others, brought to pouertie, not by their owne fault; all men pardon them, no man ſuccoureth them. What is it then? I think him not poore, who ſuppoſeth that little remainder which he hath, to be ſufficient: yet I had rather thou ſhouldeſt keepe thine owne, and begin to vſe good time while thou mayeſt. For as our Elders were of opinion, the ſparing that beginneth in the bottome is too late, becauſe not only the leaſt, but alſo the worſt remaineth in the lees.

Epist. II.

He approueth the quiet of the bodie, and of the mind alſo in ſome one thing or ſtudie. He condemneth the ouer-curious, that runne ouer and reade diuers Authors and writings. He perſwadeth rather to reade a few, and thoſe good, and to dwell vpon them. He counſelleth alwayes to cul out ſome one thing, and commit it to memorie, by his example who then made vſe of a ſaying of Epicvrvs *touching pouertie.*

I Conceiue a good hope of thee, by reaſon of thoſe things which thou writeſt vnto mee, and that which I heare ſpoken of thee. Thou art no wanderer, neither diſquieted with the deſire of tranſporting thy ſelfe from one place vnto another; this is but the toſſing of a ſicke minde. In my iudgement, the chiefeſt teſtimonie of a well compoſed minde, is to be able to conſiſt and dwell with her ſelfe. But beware leſt this deſire to reade many Authors, and all ſorts of bookes, containe not giddineſſe and inconſtancie of mind. Thou muſt be ſtayed, and after a manner nouriſhed with certain ſpirits, if thou wilt apprehend any thing that ſhall conſtantly remaine in thy memory. He is no where, that is euery where. Thoſe that paſſe their life in trauel take vp many Innes, but entertaine few friendſhips. It muſt needs ſo befall ſuch, who acquaint not themſelues familiarly with one ſpirit, but lightly trauers, and ſlightly ouer-runne many things. That meat neuer nouriſheth the bodie, which is no ſooner taken in, but is deliuered out. There is nothing that ſo much hindereth a mans health, as the often change of remedies. The wound can hardly be cured, that is couered with diuers ſorts of medicines. The tree proſpereth not that is tranſported from one place to another. To be ſhort, there is nothing ſo profitable, that profiteth by paſſing it ouer. The multitude of bookes diſtracteth and diſtempereth the vnderſtanding. Being therfore vnable to reade as much as thou haſt, it ſufficeth to haue as much as thou canſt reade. But now, ſayeſt thou, will I ouer-runne this booke, now that. The ſtomacke is diſtempered, that longeth after diuers ſorts of meats, which being different and diuers, doe rather choake then comfort or nouriſh. Reade therefore (if thou wilt credit me) ſuch bookes alwaies as are moſt approued, and though for varieties ſake thou ſometimes change, let the others be vnto thee as thy harbour, thoſe as thine ordinarie retreat and houſe. Purchaſe vnto thy ſelfe euery day ſome new forces againſt pouertie, and ſome counſels againſt death, & fortifie thy ſelf with other preſeruations againſt the other plunges of life, and after thou haſt taſted diuers things, lay hold on one which that day thou mayeſt digeſt. This likewiſe doe I of diuers things which I reade, I apprehend ſomewhat. See heere what I haue learned to day of *Epicurus* (for I am wont ſometime to paſſe into mine enemies campe, not as a fugitiue, but as a ſpie) A contented pouertie, ſaith he, is an honeſt thing; but that is no pouertie which is contented: for he that contenteth himſelfe with his pouertie, is a rich man, not he that hath little, but he that deſireth the moſt, is the poore man. For what skilleth it how much a man hath in his cheſt, how much lieth in his barns, how much he feedeth, how much he profiteth by vſurie, if he ſtill gape after other mens gaines, if he make reckoning not of thoſe things he hath gotten, but of that which remaineth to be gotten? Thou requireſt of me what meaſure or proportion there is of riches? The firſt is to haue that which is neceſſarie, the next that which ſufficeth.

EPIST. III.

That ſome are oftentimes badly and raſhly called friends. If any ſuch there be that deſerueth the name of friend, all things are to be repoſed and truſted on his faith, and communicated vnto him, as another our ſelues. Such as are fearefull and baſe minded are reprehended, as likewiſe thoſe that are ouer-credulous, or to open. The meane is the beſt.

THou haſt deliuered thy letters to be conueyed to my hands, as thou ſayeſt, by a friend of thine, by which thou aduertiſeſt me, not to communicate all thy pertinent affaires with him, becauſe as thou ſayeſt, thou art not accuſtomed to doe the like: ſo that in one and the ſame letter, thou alloweſt and diſauoweſt him to be thy friend: I beleeue firſt of all, that thou haſt giuen him this name of friend at aduenture, and as a common name in ſuch ſort, as we cal euery man that paſſeth by vs by the name of Sir, if ſo we be ignorant by what name he is called. But let me tell thee this, that if thou thinkeſt to haue a friend, in whom thou wilt not put as much confidence, as in thy ſelfe, thou deceiueſt thy ſelfe very much, and vnderſtandeſt not ſufficiently the force of true amitie: deliberate all things with thy friend, but firſt of all reſolue thy ſelfe, that he is thy friend. After the friendſhip is contracted, then ought wee to truſt; before it bee formed we ought to iudge. But they prepoſterouſly confound offices, who contrarie to the precepts of *Theophraſtus*, loue before they iudge, and after they haue iudged loue not at all. Thinke therefore long time with thy ſelfe, whether any man is to bee entertained into thy friendſhip; but when thou ſhalt be reſolued to accept of his loue, diſcouer vnto him readily thy whole hart, and as boldly communicate thy ſecrets with him, as with thy ſelfe; yet ſo liue thou, that thy thoughts and actions may be ſuch, that thou mayeſt commit them to the ſerious obſeruation of thine enemie. But becauſe ſometimes diuers things fall out, that cuſtome hath made ſecret, impart freely vnto thy friend all thy deſignes and cogitations, if thou ſuppoſeſt him to be faithfull, thou wilt doe no leſſe. For many haue taught how to deceiue, by fearing leſt they themſelues ſhould be deceiued, and haue miniſtred other men a priuiledge of offence by their own vaine ſuſpicion. What is the cauſe therefore, why I ſhould conceale any thing from my friend? Why before him thinke I not my ſelfe alone? Some there are which commit thoſe things which are onely communicable with their friends, to euery one they meete, and diſburthen in euery eare whatſoeuer is diſtaſtefull vnto them: ſome againe likewiſe are diſtruſtfull of their faith, whom they eſteeme moſt deare,

deareſt, yea and if they could, they would ſcarcely truſt themſelues, but inwardly oppreſſe themſelues with their owne ſecrets. But neither of theſe things is to be done, for both of them ſauour of infirmitie, both not to credit all men, and not to credit any: but the one in my opinion is the more laudable vice, the other more ſecure. So reprehend both of them, both thoſe, that are alwayes diſquiet, as thoſe that are alwayes idle. For the manner of liuing in the firſt is not induſtrie, but rather the courſe & recourſe of a tempeſt that agitateth their ſoules: and as touching thoſe that thinke that all motion is trouble and vexation, it is rather a diſſolution and languor in them than moderation. Commit that therefore to memorie which I haue read in *Poſidonius*, There are ſome, ſaith he, that are in ſuch ſort retired and hidden, that they thinke all things to be in garboile, which are open to the light. It behoueth thee to temper theſe things together, and to chuſe certaine intermiſſions which are proper to action and repaſt. Deliberate with nature, and ſhe will tell thee, that ſhe made both the day and the night.

Epist. IIII.

He exhorteth him to perſeuer in Philoſophie, wherby he may be eſteemed a ſerious, graue and perfect man. For the reſt hee concludeth them to be children that feare ſuch things as are not to be feared, as eſpecially death. And this concludeth he to be the end of our euils; and that eyther by ſudden motion or deſperation many haue contemned the ſame: and why not with reaſon? He concludeth therefore that life is not to be loued, but that we ought daily to thinke, vpon how diuers and light cauſes death approacheth vs. Finally, he propoſeth an Embleme of Epicvrvs *of true riches.*

CONtinue as thou haſt begun, and indeuour thy ſelfe as much as in thee lieth, to the end thou mayeſt more plentifully enioy a reformed and gouerned minde. And in reforming and moderating the ſame thou ſhalt enioy it, but the contentment that a man receiueth by the contemplation of a conformed minde, and that is repleniſhed with perfect innocencie, is farre more pleaſant and agreeable. Thou doeſt remember what pleaſure thou diddeſt feele, when hauing left thy childiſh liuerie, thou tookeſt vpon thee the abilements of a man, being brought before the Pretor into the market place. I expect a far greater, beyond compariſon, when thou ſhalt caſt off thy childiſh mind, and that Philoſophie hath inrouled thee amongſt the number of men: for childe-hood ouerſlippeth vs eaſily; but that which is moſt grieuous, childiſhneſſe remaineth with vs, and the worſt that I ſee, is that we haue alreadie the authoritie of old men, and neuertheleſſe poſſeſſe as yet the vices of children; and not onely of children, but of infants. For thoſe are affraid of things of ſmall value, and theſe other of ſuch things as are falſe: we feare both the one and the other. If thou wilt well bethinke thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt vnderſtand that there are certaine things, which for the ſame cauſe for which they bring vs much feare, ought the leſſe to be feared; No euill is great which commeth the laſt. We might feare death if it could abide alwayes with vs: but it is neceſſarie that eyther it befall vs not, or that it ouerpaſſeth incontinently. And if thou tell me that it is a difficult thing to perſwade the mind to contempt of life, doe but conſider vpon how light occaſions ſome haue attempted the ſame: one hath ſtrangled himſelfe with the halter before his Miſteris

ſtris doores, another hath caſt himſelfe from the top of the houſe to the bottom to auoyde his Maſters diſpleaſure, another hath ſtabbed himſelfe into the breaſt, rather then he would be brought back to the place from whence he was fled. Thinkeſt thou that vertue cannot inforce as much as exceſſiue feare could? Truſt me, no man can enioy a peaceable and ſecure life, that laboureth ouer much to prolong it, and that eſteemeth it for a great benefite, to ſee and obſerue the reuolution of of many yeares. Meditate then euery day to haue the power to leaue thy life freely and willingly, which diuers men entertaine in another maner then they do who embrace bryers and thorns, which haue beene driuen athwart them by the violence of ſome furious ſtreame. They float betwixt the feare of death, and the torments of life; they will not liue, and they know not how to die. Faſhion therefore vnto thy ſelfe a pleaſant life, by forſaking ſollicitude that may befall thee for the loue of the ſame. There is no good more plauſible to the poſſeſſor then that, to the loſſe whereof the minde is alreadie prepared; and there is nothing, the loſſe whereof is more eaſie to be ſupported, then of that which being loſt cannot be redeſired. Take thee courage and aſſurance againſt thoſe things that are ſubiect to the ſame neceſſitie as thou art, euen thoſe that are moſt mightie. A *Pupill & an *Eunuch gaue ſentence on great *Pompeys* head, of *Craſſus* the cruell and inſolent Parthian. * *Caius Cæſar* commanded that *Lepidus* ſhould preſent his necke to the Tribune *Decimus*, and hee himſelfe gaue his owne to *Chæreas*. Fortune hath neuer ſo much fauoured any man, but that ſhe hath affronted him with as many menaces. Truſt not ouermuch vnto this calme. In an inſtant the Sea is turned, and thoſe ſhips are ſwallowed the ſame day, where they wantonly played on the water. Thinke that eyther a thiefe or an enemie may ayme his ſword at thy throat: and although a greater power be wanting, not the baſeſt ſlaue that liueth, but hath power of thy life and death. I aſſure thee that whoſoeuer contemneth his life is Lord of thine. Take account of thoſe that are dead, by the complots of their ſeruants, or by open outrage, or by treaſon, and thou ſhalt ſee that there are no leſſe made away by the indignation of their ſlaues, then the diſpleaſures of their Kings. What importeth it then how mightie he be whom thou feareſt, if euery man may do that which thou feareſt? And if by chance thou falleſt into the hands of thine enemies, the conqueror will command that thou be ledde and kept in a place, where he may haue thee alwayes at his mercy. Why deceiueſt thou thy ſelfe? Why beginneſt thou then only to vnderſtand that which thou haſt ſuffered from thy birth? I tell thee, that from the houre thou wert borne thou art led to die. Theſe and ſuch like things ought continually to liue in our remembrance and mind, if we will moderately expect this laſt houre, the feare whereof repleniſheth all others which diſquiet. I will heere make an end of my Letter, in making thee partaker of the fruit which this day I haue gathered in another mans garden. *Pouertie meaſured according to the rule of nature, is great riches.* But knoweſt thou well what limits this rule of nature giueth vs? Neyther to haue hunger nor thirſt, nor cold. But to the end to driue away this hunger and thirſt, thou haſt no need to wait or attend on theſe proude and great gates, nor to ſuffer theſe diſdainfull and imperious contemners, nor to expoſe thy ſelfe to the baites of theſe contumelious courteſies. Thou needeſt not for the ſame to attempt the fortune of the Sea and of armes. That which nature deſerueth is found euery where: we take paines to obtaine ſuperfluous things: theſe are they that weare our gownes in peace, that make vs watch in our Tents, and that caſt vs on forraine ſhoares. That which ſufficeth vs is already at hand.

* *King of Egypt.*
* *Pothinus Eunuchus.*
* *Caligula.*

Epist.

Epist. V.

Hee keepeth backe his friend from the oſtentation of Philoſophie, and counſelleth him not to make himſelfe noted by his habit or diet: he perſwadeth him not to contemne all things that are vulgar, but to make moderate vſe of them, and without abuſe: hee deteſteth vncleanlineſſe, and calleth vs to the lawe of nature: he vrgeth a clauſe out of Hecaton *of the coniunction of hope and feare; auowing him to be free of one that hath caſt off the other; and obnoxious to both, whoſoeuer is to one.*

Whereas thou trauelleſt continually, and all other things ſet apart, endeuoureſt to make thy ſelfe daily more vertuous; I praiſe thee, and am glad to heare it: and not onely do I counſell thee to perſeuer therein, but I likewiſe intreat thee. But thereof I am to admoniſh thee, that according to the maner of thoſe that ſeeke not ſo much to profit as to be ſeene, thou applie not thy ſelfe to doe certaine things which are ouer-ſingular, and remarqueable for their ſtrangeneſſe, eyther in the manner of thy life, or in thy habit. Flie all fluttiſh behauiours, as to weare thy haire ouer-long, knotted and filthie, thy beard vncombed, to lie on the ground, and to make profeſſion to haue a ſworne hatred againſt golde and ſiluer, and whatſoeuer followeth ambition by a wrong courſe. The ſole name of Philoſophie, how modeſt ſoeuer it be, is of it ſelfe ſufficiently ſubiect to enuie. What if we ſeparate our ſelues from the companie of men? Well may we inwardly be in all things vnlike vnto them; but our looks and behauiours muſt be agreeable to the good liking of the people. Let not our garment eyther be too gay, or too ſlouenly: let not our ſiluer be enchaſed with gold; and yet let vs be aſſured that it is no token of frugalitie to be deſtitute eyther of golde or of ſiluer: let vs ſo doe that we leade a better life then the common ſort are wont, yet not altogether contrarie to theirs; otherwiſe in ſtead of correcting them we ſhall driue and baniſh them from vs, and we are the cauſe that in diſliking all our actions they will not imitate one of them. Philoſophie promiſeth this firſt of all, common ſenſe, humanitie, and entercourſe and ſocietie, from which we ſhall become ſeparated by this diſſimilitude of profeſſion. Let vs rather take heede leſt theſe faſhions for which we would be held in admiration, proue not ridiculous and odious vnto others. Our intent is to liue according to the direction of nature: but it is a thing altogether contrarie vnto her, to afflict the bodie and to hate ordinarie cleanlineſſe, and to be loathſome and ſordid, to vſe not onely groſſe meates, but alſo harmefull and diſtaſtefull. For euen as to affect and ſeeke after delicacie is riot, ſo alſo is it a kinde of madneſſe to flie from thoſe things which are vſuall and may be recouered without great expence. Philoſophie requireth frugalitie, and not miſerie: and ſince an honeſt and well ſeeming frugalitie may be had, I thinke it good for a man to keep this meaſure. It behoueth vs that our life be balanced betwixt good and publike maners. I can be well content that men admire our life, but yet let it be within their knowledge. What then? ſhall we doe the ſame that the reſt? ſhall there be no difference betwixt vs and them? yes, a great deale: but he onely ſhall reknowledge the ſame that obſerueth vs neerely. He that ſhall enter our houſes, let him rather looke on vs then on our moueables. That man is great and generous, who vſeth earthen platters like ſiluer veſſell, and no leſſe is hee that vſeth ſiluer veſſell as earthen platters. Not to be able to endure riches is the part of a weake mind. But to impart vnto thee the profit I haue made this day: I haue found in *Hecaton*, that the end of coueting ſufficeth to remedie feare. *Thou wilt giue ouer, ſaith he, to feare, if thou ceaſeſt to hope.* But thou wilt ſay, How can theſe things being ſo diuers, be together? So is it my *Lucilius*, although that theſe things ſeeme to be contrarie, yet are they ioyned and vnited the one with the other. Euen as one and the ſame chaine bindeth both the officer and the priſoner, ſo likewiſe theſe things although they ſeeme different, are conioyned and martch together. Feare flyeth hope, and I wonder not thereat; both of them are paſſions which proceed from an inconſtant and moueable minde, and that is in thought and care for that which is to come. But the greateſt cauſe both of the one and other is, for that we moderate not our ſelues, and content not our ſelues with things that are preſent, but ſend our thoughts out farre before vs. So prouidence which is the greateſt benefit that betideth mortall men, becommeth hurtfull and harmeful vnto vs. Brute beaſts flie thoſe dangers which they ſee before their eyes, and hauing eſcaped them, their preſent ſecuritie extinguiſheth the memory of their feare: but we are affrighted not onely with our dangers paſt, but with thoſe alſo that are to come. Many of our goods do harme vs; for our memorie reuiueth and repreſenteth vnto vs the torment of the feare paſt, and prouidence anticipateth it. There is no man miſerable alone by preſent euils.

Epist. VI.

He declareth that it is an argument that he profiteth in Philoſophie, becauſe he acknowledgeth his vices. He expreſſeth his affection to communicate all things with him as his true friend, eſpecially ſuch as are profitable. That the counſaile of wiſe-men ſeemeth verie effectuall and aboue their precepts, which he teacheth by example of ſome Philoſophers.

I Know, my *Lucilius*, that I am not onely amended, but transfigured and reformed; not that I eyther vaunt my ſelfe, or ſuppoſe that there remaineth not any thing in me that may not be amended: I know there are many things, that both ought to be corrected, extenuated, and wholly lifted vp; but euen this is a teſtimonie of a mind that beginneth to be changed for the better, when it knoweth in it ſelfe thoſe vices that before times it was ignorant of. There is ſome hope in thoſe that are ſeazed with certaine ſickneſſes, when as they feele themſelues to be diſeaſed. I would therefore wiſh to communicate with thee this ſudden change that is made in me; then ſhould I begin to haue a more certaine confidence of our friendſhip, of that true friendſhip I meane, which neyther hope nor feare, neyther any other conſideration of particular profit ſhould diſioyne, with which men die, and for which they die. I will reckon vp vnto thee diuers men that haue not had want of a friend, but want of friendſhip: ſuch a thing cannot happen when as two ſoules are coupled together by a ſtrict alliance, and vniformitie of will in deſiring honeſt things. Why can it not? for they knowe that all things are common vnto them, and chiefly aduerſitie. Thou canſt not coniecture in thy minde how much profit I perceiue that euery day bringeth me. Send me, ſayeſt thou, thoſe things whoſe efficacie I haue ſo tried. Truely I could wiſh that I might in ſome ſort poure them all into thee: I am glad to learne, to the end I may teach; and there is not any thing, how rare and commodious ſoeuer it be, that can or ſhould yeeld me content, if I might only know it

it for my partcular profit. If wisedome it selfe were giuen me vpon condition to conceale it, and not to publish it, I would refuse the same. The possession of no benefit is contenting without a companion. I will send thee therefore the bookes themselues: and lest thou shouldest take too much paines in following those things which profite publikely, I will put certaine markes to finde those things quickly, which I proue and admire; yet our speaking and liuing together will profit thee more, then onely reading. It therefore behooueth thee to transport thy selfe hither: first of all, because men giue better credit to their eyes then to their eares. And againe, because the way of precepts is long, where that of example is more short, and far more fruitfull. *Cleanthes* had neuer expressed *Zeno* had he onely heard him: but he alwaies was conuersant with him, and had an eye into the secrets of his studie, and warily obserued whether he liued according as he taught. *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and all other Sages which afterwards spread themselues into diuers families, haue receiued more instructions by the manners then the words of *Socrates*. *Metrodorus*, *Hermacus*, and *Poliænus* were great men, not because they had frequented the Schoole of *Epicurus*, but for that they had conuersed with him. But I call thee not onely vnto me, to the intent thou shouldest receiue profit, but to the end thou shouldest profit others: for we will continually assist one another; mean while to acquit my selfe of the rent I owe thee, I will tell thee that which pleased me to day in *Hecaton*: *Asketh thou*, saith he, *wherein I haue profited? I haue begun to be a friend to my selfe.* He hath gotten much: he will neuer be alone. Know this, that he that is friend to himselfe is a friend to all men.

Epist. VII.

To him that is proficient too much company is to be auoyded, and that vices are contracted thereby, Playes and Showes also, chiefely those that are bloodie: neyther is it beseeming publikely to recite or dispute amongst vnequals. Let, saith hee, one or two auditors of iudgement be esteemed, or none at all.

Wilt thou know that which in my iudgement thou oughtest especially to flie? The multitude. For as yet thou canst not safely commit thy selfe vnto them: and for mine owne part I confesse my weakenesse: I neuer returne backe againe with those manners that I carried out with me. Somewhat of that which I had composed is troubled; somewhat of those things which I had chased away returneth backe againe vnawares. That which befalleth the sicke who are in such sort attainted with a long debility, that they can neuer be remoued, except they grow worse. So fareth it with vs, whose spirits begin to recouer from a long sickenesse. The conuersation of the people is contrarie vnto vs; euery one lendeth vs some staine, or imprinteth it in vs, and leaueth an impression in vs before we can beware: and the greater the companie is wherewith we conuerse the greater is the danger. But nothing is so hurtfull to good manners as to sit in a Theatre, for there by the pleasures we conceiue, the vices steale on vs more easily. What thinkest thou that I say? I tell thee that I not onely returne more couetous, more ambitious, more luxurious, but more cruell and inhumane, because I haue beene amongst men. By casualtie I fell vpon the Showes at noone, expecting some sports and wittie jests, and recreation whereby mens eyes might

might be reposed awhile, that in the morning had beene, fedde with the shedding of mens blouds! But I finde it contrarie; whatsoeuer was fought before was mercie. Now letting passe trifles, there is nothing but detested murther: combatants haue not wherewith to couer them, but expose their naked bodies to the stroake, and neuer strike without wounding. This spectacle doe many preferre before that of the ordinarie couples, or that of the extraordinarie, asked for by the people. And why should they not preferre the same? The weapon is kept off neyther by Helmet nor Target: whereto serue these fencings and Gladiatorie Arts? All these are but the delayes of death. In the morning men are exposed to Lions and Bears, at noone to the spectators. The killers are commanded to be set against those that are to kill, and they reserue him that is conqueror for another slaughter: the end and ayme of those that fight is death, by fire and sword the matter is managed. These are done during the intermission of the spectacle. But some man hath committed a theft: what therefore deserueth he? To be hanged. He slew a man: he that slew him deserued to suffer no lesse. But what, hast thou deserued to behold this spectacle? Kill, burn, whip, why runnes he so fearfully on the weapon? Why kilies he not couragiously? Why dies he not willingly? By stroakes are they compelled to wounds, and with naked and exposed bodies they receiue the stroakes of one another. Is the spectacle intermitted? in the meane time men are slaine, lest nothing should be done. Go too, vnderstand you not this, that euill example reflecteth on those that doe this? Giue thankes vnto the immortall gods, that you teach him to be cruell who cannot learn. A tender mind and too little apprehensiue of the truth is to be withdrawn from the common people: it is easie to find out many. The frequentation of a different multitude might peraduenture haue shaken the great mindes of *Socrates*, *Cato*, and *Lælius*. So farre is any of vs (though in height of our composed iudgement) from being able to sustaine the force and charge of vices, comming with so great a troupe. One onely example of lust or auarice causeth much mischiefe. The companie of a delicate man by little and little effeminateth those that conuerse with him. A rich neighbour kindleth our couetousnesse. A mischieuous and corrupt man rubbeth on the rust of his infirmities, and soileth the most simple and vprightest man. What thinkest thou then will befall those to whom all the world flocketh and approacheth publikely? These of force must thou eyther imitate or hate; but both the one and the other of these ought to be auoyded, for feare lest thou be eyther like vnto the wicked, by reason they are manie, or enemie to diuers, because they are vnlike to thee. Retire thy selfe therefore into thy selfe: haunt those who can make thee better, admit those whom thou canst better; for these things are reciprocally done. Men in teaching others learne themselues. Aboue all things beware lest thou expose thy selfe to great assemblies, or affectest to dispute or teach by way of ostentation, or desire to shew thy selfe. I could well wish that thou shouldest doe so, if thou couldest in any sort be profitable to the people: but there is not any one amongst them that can vnderstand thee; and if happely thou finde out one or two, yet must thou instruct them how they may vnderstand thee. Why then wilt thou aske me, Haue I learned these thing? Feare not that thou hast lost thy labour, if thou hast learned these things for thy selfe. But lest I should reserue vnto my selfe the profit I haue gotten this day, I will communicate with thee three most worthy sentences to one sense; of which the one shal be to acquit this Epistle of that which it oweth thee; the other two shall be giuen thee aforehand. *Democritus* saith, *I count one onely for a whole multitude,*

ttude, and a whole multitude as one. And he whosoeuer he was (for it is doubted of the author, when it was demaunded of him, why he tooke so great paines to preferre an arte, which should profit but a few, answered very wisely, *A few*, saith he, *suffice me, one is enough, none is enough.* And the third is most excellent. *Epicurus* writing to one of the consorts of his studies. These things, saith he, write I not to manie, but to thy selfe; for we our selues are a Theatre great enough for one another. Such things as these, friend *Lucilius*, are they which thou must commit to memorie, to the end to contemne this pleasure which proceedeth from the reputation and consent of diuers. For to be praysed by manie, what cause findest thou to reioyce at the more? Then if thou be such as diuers do esteme thee, let them see thy goods within thee.

Epist. VIII.

This present dependeth on the former Epistle, and is as it were an Obiection: what, wilt thou that I anoyde the multitude and the people? But thy Stoicks teach to follow businesse, and to die in affaires. He answereth, that he perswadeth not idlenesse, but a retirement by his example, who dismissing other offices, intendeth wisedome, and propagateth the precepts thereof in writing. This, saith he, is of all actions the greatest and most excellent. In conclusion, he inferteth that of Epicvrvs: *that Philosophie giueth true libertie.*

THou commaundest me by thy aduice to flie the people, to retire my selfe apart, and to be contented with my conscience: What shall then becom of all those precepts of thine, that commanded me to end my life in action? What, seeme I then in this interim to intertaine idlenesse? To this end haue I withdrawne my selfe, to this intent haue I shut vp my doores, that I might profit many men. I spend not a day in idlenesse; yea, and for the most part of the nights, I spend them in studie, maintayning and forcing mine eyes against sleepe. I retired my selfe not from me onely, but from affaires, and principally from mine owne particular: I wholly traffique for posteritie, by writing that which may be profitable vnto them: I set before their eyes in writing many good and wholsome counsailes, as it were receipts of profitable medicines, which I haue found fruitfull in mine owne vlcers; the which although they be not altogether healed, haue desisted to fester. I shew others the right way, which I haue learned too late: and after I haue beene too long wearied with wandring and tracing heere and there, I cease not to crie out. Flie all those things which eyther please the common sort, or casualtie attributeth: runne not after casuall benefites, but rather suspitiously and fearfully apprehend, and intertaine all vncertaine pleasures. Both wilde beast and fish is bewitched with the baite is laid for them. Thinke you that these are the giftes of Fortune? Trust mee, they are her lyings in waite; what one soeuer of vs would liue a sweet life, let him flie as much as he may these limed benefits, wherein we most miserably be deceiued. We think to enioy them, and they enioy vs: this course carrieth vs to a downefall. The issue of a life so eminent is to fall; and that which is worse, it is impossible for vs to stand, when as felicitie hath begunne to transport vs, and carrie vs hither and thither: at least wise eyther content thy selfe with such things as are good and certaine, or be thou possessor and lord of thy selfe. Such as doe this, fortune doth not only ouerturne

ouerturne them, but casteth headlong and crusheth them. Remember therefore to obserue this wholsom and fruitfull forme of life, in affoording thy body no further nourishment, then may suffice to continue thee in good health: chastise the same seuerely, lest it rebell against the soule. Let thy meat appease thy hunger, thy drinke asswage thy thirst, thy coat couer thee from cold, thy house be a defence against those things as may offend thy bodie. It skilleth not whether it be builded of Turfe or rich Marble. Know that a man is as well couered with Thatch as with Golde. Contemne all these things which superfluous labour preferreth eyther for shew or ornament. Thinke that there is nothing admirable in thy selfe, but thy minde, to which nothing is great, which euen it selfe is great. If I discourse this with my selfe, if I conferre this with posteritie, thinkest thou not that I profit more, then when as vpon demaund I passe my bond for my friend, or set my hand and seale in testimonie to a Testament, or should giue my hand and suffrage to a candidate in the Senate house? Beleeue me, those that seeme to do least, doe the greatest things; for they intreat both of diuine and humane matters. But it is high time for me now to make an end, and to pay that impost that I owe for this Epistle: it shall not be at mine owne expence, but on *Epicurus* charges; in whom this day I read this sentence: *Thou must of necessitie serue Philosophie, to the end thou mayest obtaine true libertie.* Hee that submitteth and subiecteth himselfe to her, is on the instant made a freeman; for to serue her is to be at libertie. Thou wilt thinke it strange peraduenture why I vsurpe so often the *Epicures* words, rather then those of other men; but wherefore thinkest thou not that those sayings are common and publique? How manie things are they which the Poets haue written, which haue beene or ought to be spoken by the Philosophers? I mention not the Tragedians nor those Poems of ours, which are called *Togatæ*; for these haue also some seuerity, and are the mean betwixt Comedies & Tragedies: how many eloquent verses are there in vse euen amongst the Cynicks? How many things of *Publius*, which not only exceed the Commodies, but are worthy to be inserted in Tragedies? I will repeat one of his verses, which appertaineth to Philosophie, and to this part which now last of all we debated of, wherein he denieth that we ought to account casuall things our owne;

Each thing is forraine that befals by wishing.

I remember this Verse likewise of thine, not much better but more succinct;

It is not thine that fortune made thine.

Neyther will I let slip that likewise which was farre better set downe by thee:

The good that might be giuen, may be bereft.

I require no acquittance for these; for I pay thee with thine owne.

Epist. IX.

A part and explication alſo of the former: that a wiſe-man ſeeketh not men, but is contented with himſelfe. What then? Not a friend alſo; yea can he likewiſe be without him: he can loſe him, and hauing loſt him, can repaire him againe. In himſelfe is the fruit and pleaſure whilſt he prouideth him. What for his owne cauſe as the Epicures thinke? No, but rather for another, whom he may profit, for whom he may vndergo danger, for whom he may die: the reward of vertue is it ſelfe. At length more copiouſly and ſubtilly: how farre content with himſelfe, how farre not; and in words ſome Stoicall diſtinctions.

THou deſireſt to know, whether vpon iuſt ground the Epicure in a certaine Epiſtle of his, reprehendeth thoſe that ſay, thathee that is perfectly wiſe is content with himſelfe, and that for this cauſe he hath no neede of a friend: this is obiected by the Epicure to *Stilpho*, and thoſe who think that the impaſſibilitie of the mind is their chiefeſt good. We ſhall fall into ambiguitie, if we ſhall ſtriue ſignificantly to expreſſe the Greeke word ἀοδυνησία in one word, and call it *Impatience*. For the contrarie of that which we would expreſſe may be vnderſtood: for we intend, him that deſpiſeth all ſenſe of euill, let him be conceiued that can endure no euill: ſee therefore whether it be better eyther to ſay an inuulnerable mind, or a minde ſetled beyond all patience. The difference which is betwixt them and vs is this; our wiſe-man ouercommeth each incommoditie what ſoeuer, but feeleth the ſame; theirs hath not ſo much as a ſenſe thereof. In this we accord, we ſay that a wiſe-man is contented with himſelfe, yet notwithſtanding that he will haue a friend, a neighbour, a companion, although he himſelfe ſufficeth, and in ſuch ſort ſufficeth, that ſometimes he is contented with a part of himſelfe. For if eyther a ſickeneſſe or enemie hath taken his hand from him, if any accident hath bereft him of his eye, that which remaineth with him ſhall ſuffice him, and as ioyfull ſhall he be in his maimed and mangled bodie, as hee could be were it whole. He had rather that he wanted nothing; neuertheleſſe he deſireth not that which he wanteth. Thus is a wiſe-man ſo farre content with himſelfe, not that he will be without a friend, but that he can be; whichis as much to ſay, as that he beareth patiently the loſſe of a friend, without a friend he ſhall neuer be; it lyeth in his power to repaire him as ſoone as him liſteth. As *Phidias* hauing loſt one ſtatue, can ſuddenly faſhion another; ſo this good Arteſan of amitie ſuddenly ſubſtituteth another friend in the place of him that is loſt. If thou demandeſt of me, how he can ſo ſuddenly make and repaire ſo many friendſhips, I will tell thee, if this firſt all be agreed betweene vs, that I remain acquit of the debt of this letter. *I will ſhew thee,* ſaith Hecaton, *a meanes to increaſe loue without medicine, hearb, or inchantment: if thou wilt be beloued, loue.* But there is not only a pleaſure in the fruition of an old & ancient amitie, but likewiſe in the creation of a new: and the ſame difference is between him that hath a friend alreadie gotten, and him that is a getting, as between the laborer when he ſoweth and when he reapeth. *Attalus* the Philoſopher was wont to ſay, that it was a farre more pleaſant thing to make a friend, then to haue a friend; as it is more agreeable to a painter to paint, then to haue finiſhed his picture. This attention which he applyeth to his worke, hath in it ſelfe ſuch ſweetneſſe, that he cannot be partaker of that that hath ſet his laſt hand to his labour: after hee hath painted, he poſſeſſeth the fruit of his art; but he tooke pleaſure in the arte it

it ſelfe when he painted. The youth of our children is more fruitfull vnto vs, but their infancie more ſweet. And to returne to our purpoſe; the wiſe-man although he be content with himſelfe, will notwithſtanding haue a friend, if to no other end but to exerciſe his amitie, will not endure that ſo great a vertue ſhould remaine without vſe, not (as *Epicurus* ſaid in the ſame Epiſtle) to haue ſome one to aſſiſt him when he is ſicke, or to ſuccour him if he be in priſon and neceſſitie, but contrariwiſe to the end he may haue ſome one whom he may aſſiſt and ſuccour being ſicke, relieue and ranſome being in need and captiuitie: for he hath an euill intention, that onely reſpecteth himſelfe, when he maketh friendſhip: ſo ſhal he end his friendſhip euen as he began the ſame. He that hath purchaſed himſelfe a friend, to the intent he may be ſuccoured by him in priſon, will take his flight as ſoone as he feeleth himſelfe deliuered from his bonds. Theſe are thoſe kindes of friendſhips, which the common ſort call *Temporarie*. He that is made a friend for profit ſake, ſhall pleaſe as long as he may be profitable: ſo thoſe that are in felicitie ſee themſelues inuironed with a multitude of friends, & where the diſtreſſed make their abode there is nothing but ſolitude: for ſuch manner of friends flie thoſe places where they ſhall bee proued: from thence we ſee ſo many wicked examples of ſom forſaking for feare, of ſome betraying for feare. It is neceſſarie that the beginning & the end haue correſpondence. He that hath begun to be a friend becauſe it is expedient, he that hath thought that there is a gaine in friendſhip beſide it ſelfe, may well be induced and ſuborned againſt the ſame, by the offer of a greater gaine. For what cauſe then doe I entertaine a friend? To the end to haue one for whom I may die, whom I may accompanie in baniſhment, and for whoſe life and preſeruation I may expoſe my ſelfe to danger and death. For the other, which onely regardeſt profit, and that makeſt account of that which may yeelde thee commoditie, is rather a traffique then a friendſhip. Certaine it is that friendſhip hath in ſome ſort a ſimilitude and likeneſſe to the affections of louers. And not vnfitly may a man call this paſſion a fooliſh amitie. But the ſcope of loue is neyther gaine, nor ambition, neyther glorie; but deſpiſing all other conſideration of himſelfe, hee kindleth in our ſoules the deſire of the beloued forme, vnder hope of a mutuall and reciprocall amitie. And who dare ſay that a vicious habitude is produced from a cauſe more honeſt. But if thou wilt ſay vnto me, that if friendſhip be ſo deſired a thing in it ſelfe, it behoueth not a wiſe-man who is contented with himſelfe to follow the ſame for any other conſideration, how honeſt ſoeuer it be, then for the beautie that remaineth in the ſame: and that it is an abatement of the maieſtie and dignitie thereof, to obtaine the ſame for any other reſpect. I will anſwere thee my friend *Lucilius*, that where we ſay that the wiſe-man is contented with himſelfe, is badly interpreted by diuers men. They exclude euery way the wiſe-man from euery place, and incloſe him within himſelfe. But we muſt diſtinguiſh what and how farre this word extendeth. The wiſe-man is contented with himſelfe to liue happely, but not to liue. To this diuers things are requiſit; to that there needeth no more then an intire and erected minde, and ſuch as deſpiſeth fortune. I will ſhew thee how *Chryſippus* diſtinguiſheth them: He ſaith that a wiſe-man wanteth nothing, and yet hath neede of many things: a foole hath neede of nothing, becauſe he can make vſe of nothing, but wanteth all things. The wiſe-man hath neede of hands and eies, and diuers other parts of him for the ordinarie vſes of life, yet neuertheleſſe he wanteth nothing: for to haue neede importeth neceſſitie; but to him that is wiſe nothing is neceſſarie. Thus although he be content with himſelfe, yet deſiſteth

ſiſteth he not to make vſe of his friends, but deſireth to haue more, but not in regard that he hath need of them to liue happily, for he can liue happily without his friends. The ſoueraigne good ſeeketh not externall inſtruments, it is wholly accompliſhed in it ſelfe. It beginneth to bee ſubiect vnto fortune, if it haue neede to ſeeke any part of it ſelfe out of it ſelfe. But yet what ſhall a wiſe-mans life be, if he be left in priſon without friends, or if in ſome ſtrange country he be abandoned of all the world, or retained in ſom long Nauigation, or caſt on ſome deſert and vnknowne ſhoare? Euen as *Iupiter*, when in the diſſolution of the world, and the confuſed mixture of the gods all into one, when the nature of things beginning to ceaſe by little and little, he repoſeth himſelfe, and retireth himſelfe into himſelfe, giuen ouer to his owne thoughts. The like doth the wiſe-man, he is hidden in himſelfe, he is only with himſelfe: but whilſt it is lawfull for him to order his affaires, he is contented with himſelfe: he marrieth a wife, he is contented with himſelfe: he bringeth vp children, hee is content in himſelfe; and yet would he not liue, if he ſhould liue without mankinde. No profit but a naturall inſtinct inciteth him to entertain friendſhip: for as in other things we haue a certaine inbred ſweetneſſe, ſo haue we of friendſhip. Euen as ſolitude is odious, ſo is companie agreeable: euen as nature aſſociateth man with man, ſo like wiſe is there a certaine inſtinct in this, that maketh vs deſirous of friendſhips; notwithſtanding although he be moſt affectionate to his friends; although he equall and oftentimes preferre them before himſelfe, yet ſhall all his good be incloſed, and bounded within himſelfe, and he ſhall ſpeake as *Stilpon* did, I meane him againſt whom *Epicurus* diſputed in his Epiſtle: for hauing, vpon the ſurpriſall and taking of the Cittie wherein he liued, loſt his wife and children, and himſelfe left deſolate (yet neuertheles happie and content) deliuered from the publique ruine & deſolation. *Demetrius* he that was ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, that is to ſay the deſtroyer of Citties, demanded of him if he had loſt nothing. *No* (ſaid he) *I haue loſt nothing, becauſe all my goods are with me.* Behold how this great and generous perſonage is victorious ouer the victorie of his owne proper enemie. I haue not (ſaith he) loſt any thing. He compelled him to doubt, whether he were a conqueror, or no. All my goods, ſaith he, are with me, that is to ſay, iuſtice, vertue, temperance, prudence, and eſpecially to thinke nothing good that may be taken away. We wonder at ſome creatures that trauerſe the fire without any harme; how much more admirable was this man, that without loſſe or harme eſcaped both fire, ſword and ruine? Doeſt thou ſee how farre more eaſie it is, to conquer a whole Nation then one man? This voyce is common to him with the Stoicke, who in his owne perſon beareth away his goods without hurt, thorow the middeſt of Citties burned downe, becauſe he is content in himſelfe: himſelfe is the ſcope of his owne felicitie. Thinke not that we alone are they that vtter theſe great and generous words. *Epicurus* himſelfe that reprehendeth *Stilphon*, hath ſpoken to the like effect; which take in good part, although I haue payed thee this daies rent alreadie: *Whoſoeuer* (ſaith he) *ſuppoſeth not his owne ſufficient to content him, though he be the Lord of this whole world, yet is he miſerable.* Or if thou thinke it better ſpoken in this ſort (for we muſt relie on ſenſe, not on words) *Hee is miſerable that thinketh not himſelfe moſt happie, although he command the whole world.* And to the end thou mayeſt know, that theſe ſenſes are common, which nature infuſeth into all in generall, thou ſhalt finde that in the Cynique Poet,

He is not bleſt that thinkes himſelfe not ſo.

For

For what preuayleth it thee of what reckoning or eſtate thou art of, if in thine owne iudgement it ſeeme but abiect? What then mayeſt thou ſay, if he that is vnworthily rich, and he who is lord ouer diuers other men, but ſlaue vnto farre more, calleth himſelfe happie; ſhall he be ſo? I tell thee that thou oughteſt not to regard that which he ſaith, but that which he thinketh; and not that onely which he thinketh one day, but ordinarily. But doe not feare leſt an vnworthy man ſhould enioy ſo great a good: to no one but a wiſe-man can his goods yeeld any pleaſure; all follie laboureth with loathing of it ſelfe.

Epist. X.

That ſolitude is only good to thoſe that are good, and haue profited in goodneſſe, to others otherwiſe: for wicked and fooliſh men commit moſt ſinne therein, being removed from a reformer and left to themſelues. By the way ſome precepts of vowes, and that we ought not to conceiue any thing, except that which we durſt make knowne to euerie man.

SO it is, I change not mine opinion, but counſaile thee to flie the great aſſemblies, yea the leaſt; and not the leaſt onely, but the frequentation of one alone. I finde not any man with whom I would haue thee to converſe. Conſider a little the iudgement that I haue of thee; I dare well truſt thy ſelfe to thy ſelfe. *Crates* the Auditor of that *Stilpon*, of whom I made mention in my former Epiſtle, when he perceiued a young man walking apart by himſelfe, asked him what he did there all alone? I ſpeake, ſaid the young man, vnto my ſelfe. Take heed, I pray thee, replyed *Crates*, that thou ſpeake not with a wicked man. We are accuſtomed to obſerue thoſe that mourne and feare, when they retire themſelues apart, for feare leſt they abuſe their ſolitude. There is no imprudent man that ought to be left alone: for then is the time that they complot and deuiſe their euill deſignes, and ſtudie how to effect their euill intents, both to themſelues and others: then diſpoſe they their vnlawfull deſires: at that time the minde diſcouereth and publiſheth that which before time their feare or ſhame enforced them to conceale: then animate they their boldneſſe, quicken they their luſts, and awaken their choler. To conclude, the onely good that ſolitude hath in it ſelfe, which is to commit nothing to any man, and to feare no reuealer, that is loſt to a foole: for he diſcouereth and betrayeth himſelfe. Conſider thou that which I hope, or rather that which I promiſe my ſelfe of thee (for to hope is a word of vncertaine good) I finde not any man with whom I could better finde in my hart that thou ſhouldſt be conuerſant, then with thy ſelfe. When I called to remembrance the high and generous diſcourſes that I haue heard thee vtter, I did congratulate with my ſelfe, and ſaid, Theſe are not words onely, but theſe wordes haue their foundations; this man is not of the vulgar, he tendeth to ſaſetie. Continue then my friend *Lucilius*, and ſpeake alwayes after this manner, liue continually thus, that one thing abaſe thee not, neyther maſter thy courage. Giue thankes vnto god for the auncient vowes thou haſt made vnto him, and recommend vnto him all the new thou haſt conceiued: aske at his hands a good mind, and firſt of all pray vnto him for the health of thy ſpirit, and next for that of thy bodie. Why ſhouldeſt thou not oftentimes make theſe vowes vnto him? boldly beſeech god, ſince thou intendeſt to aske nothing of him that is

another

another mans. But to the end that according to my custome I may accompany this letter of mine with some present, receiue that which I haue found to day in *Athenodorus*: *Then know that thou art disburdened of all euill desires, when thou hast attained so farre, that thou demand nothing at gods hands, but that which may be required of him openly.* For how great at this day is the madnesse of men? They mumble betwixt their teeth some vileinous prayers, and are suddenly silent if any man yeeld an eare vnto them, supposing to hide that from men which they are not ashamed to discouer vnto God: iudge then if this precept should not be profitable; So liue with men as if God saw thee, so speake with God as if men should heare thee.

Epist. XI.

That he hoped well of Lvcilivs *his friend, in whom appeared much shamefastnesse and blushing. That the same is sometimes naturall, and cannot be shaken off by any precepts, and followeth a wise-man also. that somtimes it appeareth in euill men, and is a signe of euill. Then he citeth a wholsome admonition of* Epicvrvs. *That we ought alwayes represent vnto our selues a good man, who might restraine vs as a Tutor; and that we should doe and speake all things as if he were present.*

THat honest natured man thy friend hath spoken with me. The first words he vttered, incontinently testified vnto me how great his hurt was, and how good his spirit, and how much he had profited in the study he had enterprised: he left me a taste, whereunto I assure my selfe he will answer; for I haue taken him vpon the sudden, and he hath spoken vnto me without preparation. When he recollected himselfe he easily blushed, which is a good signe in a young man, yea, so blushed as he could not moderate it. I doubt not but when he shall be best retired, and despoyled of all his vices, that then this complexion will accompanie him, yea, euen then when perfect wisedome hath possessed him. For those vices which are connaturall eyther in minde or bodie, cannot be wholly defaced by any industrie. That which is borne with vs may be sweetned and corrected by arte, but neyther mastered or rooted out. It hath bin noted that the most assured men in this world, at such time as they presented themselues before a great assembly, to discourse of any thing, were no lesse troubled with a cold sweat, then they that are wearie and pant with trauell: to some their knees tremble, to others their teeth chatter, their tongue varies, their lips simper. Neyther discipline nor vse can wholly take from them these imperfections: for nature exerciseth his force herein, and admonisheth each one of his defects and weakenesse, and I know that blushing is to bee numbred amongst these things. For oftimes wee obserue that it spreadeth it selfe, and flusheth euen in the face of the graueſt men, yet is it more apparent in young men, who haue more heate and are of a soft nature, notwithstanding the eldest are not exempt from the same. Some there are that are neuer so much to be feared then when they blush, as if at that instant they had lauished out all their shamefastnesse. Then was *Sylla* most violent when his face was most redde. There was nothing more soft then *Pompeis* countenance. For he neuer spake in solemne companie without blushing. And I remember that *Fabianus* did as much, being summoned by the Senate to depose in a certain matter, and herein his blushing did maruelously become him, This happeneth not thorow the feeblenesse of the mind, but

but rather from the noueltie of the accident, which although it shake not, yet moueth it these which are not accustomed and exercised, and who by a naturall facilitie and tendernesse of their bodie, are subiect to blushing. For as there are some who haue their bloud both good and well tempered, so other some haue it moueable, and readie to flush vp into the face. No wisedome, as I haue said, can take away this infirmitie, other wise nature it selfe should be subiect therunto, if wisedome had power to raze out those vices which she had imprinted in vs. That which attendeth vs thorow the condition of our birth, and the temperature of our bodies, when the mind hath much and long time composed it self, will remain continually. We cannot eschue these things at our pleasures, no more then we can command them to come at our will. The Commedians who imitate affections, who expresse feare and trembling, who represent sorrow, are accustomed to counterfeit shamefastnesse after this manner: they cast downe their countenance, they speak softly, they fix their eyes on the ground, but blush they cannot; for blushing may neyther be prohibited nor commanded. Wisedome promiseth nothing against those things; profiteth nothing: such things as these receiue no law but from themselues; they come against our wils, and depart without asking leaue. Now this Epistle requireth a clausuall; receiue then from me this precept, as most necessarie and behouefull for thee, & which I wish thee alwayes to retain in memorie: *We ought to chuse out som good man, and alwaies fix him before our eies, that we may so liue as if he alwayes lookt on, & do all things as if he continually beheld vs.* This, O my friend *Lucilius*, is one of *Epicurus* precepts. He intendeth to giue vs a Guardian and a Tutor, and not without cause. The greatest part of sinnes is taken away, when a witnesse is alwayes present with him that would offend. Let the minde therfore propose vnto it selfe some personage that she respecteth, by whose authoritie shee may make her secret more holy and more religious. O how happie is he that not onely reformeth his actions but his thoughts! Happie is he that can respect one of that sort, that by the onely remembrance of him he can reforme his minde: who can respect in that sort shall suddenly be made worthie to be respected himselfe. Chooſe therefore *Cato*, or if he seeme vnto thee ouer-sharp and seuere, chooſe *Lælius*, who is more facile and sweet: chooſe him whose life and wordes shall be most agreeable vnto thee, and fixing alwayes before thine eyes his minde and countenance, take him eyther for thy guide or thine example. It behoueth vs to haue some one, according to whose maners we may conforme our own. Such things as are depraued, are not corrected but by rule.

Epist. XII.

He pleasantly discourseth of his olde age, and sheweth how he was admonished thereof in his countrey-house, but so admonished that it was without griefe. That his olde age must not be tedious but pleasant, and lesse subiect to vices. That all life is short, but whatsoeuer to be made ours by vse, and that hand is to be laide thereon. Let vs daily say and thinke we haue liued.

ON which side soeuer I turne my selfe I perceiue the proofes of mine olde age: I repaired lately to my countrey-farme, which adioyneth the Cittie, and complayned of my daily expence in reparations, and my Bayliffe that had the keeping thereof answered me, that it was not his fault, alleaging that he had done the best

beſt that he could, but that the building was ouer-olde and ruinous; yet notwithſtanding it was I my ſelfe that builded it, I leaue it to thee to iudge of mee, ſince the ſtones of mine age decay ſo much through antiquitie. Being touched herewith I tooke occaſion to be diſpleaſed with him vpon euery firſt thing that encountreth me in my walke. It well appeareth, ſaid I, that theſe Plane trees are not well laboured, they are altogether leaueleſſe, their boughes are knottie and withered, and their ſtockes couered with moſſe and filthineſſe: this would not happen if any man had digged about them, and watred them as they ought to be. He ſweareth by my *Genius*, that he doth his vttermoſt indeuour, and that he hath neglected them in no manner, but that the trees were olde. Then remembred I my ſelfe that I had planted them with mine owne hands, and ſeene them beare their firſt leafe. Turning my ſelfe to the doore, what decrepit fellow is that, ſaid I, that for his age is left at the gate as dead bodies are wont to be, for he looketh outward? Whence came he? What pleaſure haſt thou to carrie forth the carkaſſe of a ſtrange man? Knoweſt thou me not, ſaith he? I am *Felicio* to whom thou wert wont to bring childiſh gifts; I am the ſonne of *Philoſitus* thy Bayliffe, thy play-fellow. Vndoubtedly, ſaid I, this man doateth. My darling then is become an infant; vndoubtedly it may ſo be, for he is almoſt toothleſſe. This owe I to my Farme, that my olde age appeareth vnto me which way ſoeuer I turne my ſelfe. Let vs then embrace and loue the ſame: it is wholly repleniſhed with agreeable delights, if a man know how to make vſe of it. The Apples are neuer ſo good then when they begin to wither and ripen. Infancie is moſt agreeable in the end thereof. To thoſe that delight in carrowſing, the laſt draught is moſt pleaſant, that which drowneth him in wine, and conſummateth his drunkenneſſe. Whatſoeuer moſt contenting, all pleaſure hath contained in her ſelfe, is deferred till the end. The age that declineth is alſo moſt agreeable, when as yet it is not wholly decrepit and ſpent: neyther iudge I that age, without his particular pleaſure, whoſe foote is almoſt in the graue, or thus ſucceedeth in place of pleaſure that he needeth none. O how ſweet and pleaſant a thing is it to ſee a mans ſelfe diſcharged of all couetouſneſſe! But thou mayeſt ſay that it is a tedious thing, to haue death alwayes before a mans eyes: firſt of all this ought as well to be preſented to a yong as to an olde mans eyes; for we are not called by the Cenſor according to our eſtate, and there is none ſo old that hopeth not to liue at leaſt one day longer: and one day is a degree of life; for all our age conſiſteth of manie parts, and is a ſpheare that hath diuers circles, the one incloſed within the other. And one there is that incloſeth and comprehendeth all the reſt, which is that of the Natiuity vntill death; another that excludeth the yeares of youth, another that containeth all child-hood; after theſe ſucceedeth the yeare which incloſeth all, the time by the multiplication whereof life is compoſed. In the circle of the yeare is the moneth, and in that of the moneth is the day, which is the leaſt of all: yet notwithſtanding he hath his beginning and his end, his riſe and his ſet. And for this cauſe *Heraclitus* that was called *Scotinus*, by reaſon of the obſcuritie of his ſpeech, ſaid that one day is like to all which another hath interpreted after another manner to wit, that one day is like to all; in number of houres: and he ſaid true; for if a day be the time of foure and twentie houres, it is neceſſarie that they ſhould be all alike, becauſe the night hath that which the day hath loſt: another ſaid that one day was like to all, by reaſon of the conformitie and reſemblance; for there is nothing in the ſpace of a very long time, that thou ſhalt not finde in one day the light and the night, the turnes and returnes of the heauens.

The ſhortneſſe and length of the nights make theſe things more plainely appeare. Therefore ought we to diſpoſe of euery day, in ſuch ſort as if it did leade vp the rereward of our time, and ſhould conſummate our liues. *Pacuuius* he that vſurped ouer *Syria*, being buried in the euening, being buried in his wine, and thoſe meates which hee had cauſed to be richly and ſumptuouſly prepared for him, as if he himſelefe had ſolemnized his owne obſequies, cauſed himſelfe to be tranſported from his banquet to his bedde, in ſuch manner, that amidſt the dances and clapping of hands of his curtezans, it was ſung to the Muſique, *He hath liued, he hath liued*: and no day ouer-paſſed his head wherein he buried not himſelfe after this manner. That which he did of an euill conſcience let vs performe with a good, and addreſſing our ſelues to our reſt, let vs ioyfully and contentedly ſay,

I haue liued, and ended the courſe that fortune gaue me.

If God vouchſafe vs the next morrow, let vs receiue the ſame with thankſgiuing. He is thrice-happie, & aſſuredly poſſeſſed of himſelfe that expecteth the next day without care. Whoſoeuer hath ſaid I haue liued, doth daily riſe to his profite. But now I muſt cloſe my letter: What, ſayeſt thou, ſhall it come to me without any preſent? Doe not feare, it ſhall bring ſomwhat with it. Why ſaid I ſomewhat? It will be a great deale. For what can be more excellent then this ſentence, It bringeth vnto thee? It is an euill thing to liue in neceſſitie, but there is no neceſſitie to liue in neceſſitie: for the way that leadeth vnto libertie is on euery ſide open, ſhort, & eaſie to keepe. Let vs giue God thanks for this, that no man can be conſtrained to liue; and that it is lawfull for euery one to treade neceſſitie vnder his feete. Thou wilt ſay, that theſe words are of *Epicurus*. What haſtthou to doe with another mans? That which is true is mine, I will perſeuer to vrge *Epicurus* vnto thee, that they who ſweare and conſent to the words, and conſider not what is ſpoken, but by whom; let them know, that thoſe things are beſt that are common.

Epist. XIII.

He excellently informeth againſt caſualties, and encouraged againſt them: But eſpecially he aduiſeth vs not to be tormented with the feare of things to come; he auoweth them to be vncertaine, and ſuch as may not fall out. He concludeth therefore that all feare is to be tempered by hope. Then addeth he this, full of farre more confidency; Doe and teach things to come, they are of God, and for our good.

I Know that thou haſt much courage; for before I inſtructed thee with wholſom precepts, and ſuch as ſubdue aduerſitie, thou wert contented enough to exerciſe thy ſelfe againſt fortune, and haſt aſſured thy ſelfe alſo farre more, ſince thou haſt made tryall of thy forces, and grapled with her hand to hand; which can neuer giue an aſſured proofe of themſelues, but where as many difficulties ſhall appeare on euery ſide, yea, ſometimes neerely aſſault them. In like manner a true mind, and ſuch as will not ſubiect it ſelfe to other mens wils, approueth it ſelfe: This is his touch-ſtone. The wreſtler cannot enter liſts with an vndaunted courage, who hath neuer beene ſharpely encountred and beaten. He that hath

oftentimes seene his bloud shed, whose teeth haue beene shattered by a fist. He that hauing beene ouerthrowne hath made his enemie lose his footing, that being cast downe hath not lost his courage, that as oftentimes as he hath been foyled recouered new footing and became more fell and furious; he that, I say entreth the fielde with the greateste assurance. And to persist in this similitude; Fortune hath oftentimes been aboue thee, yet hast thou neuer at any time yeelded thy selfe her prisoner, but hast alwayes restored thy selfe, and made head against her with more courage and alacritie: and in truth also a generous mind getteth ordinarily some aduantage when he is prouoked; notwithstanding if thou thinkest it good, accept some forces from me to strengthen and defence thy selfe more and more. Diuers things, my *Lucilius*, do more feare then hurt vs, & oftentimes we are more troubled by opinion then effect. I reason not with thee at this time in a Stoicall language, but somewhat more submisly and vulgarly: for we say that all these things, which cause in vs these feares and grones, are but light and contemptible. Let vs omit these great words, yet notwithstanding most true. I onely admonish thee not to make thy selfe miserable before thy time, by fearing that those things are wholly neere vnto thee, which happily will neuer befall thee, or at least wise are not yet happened. Some things therefore doe more afflict vs then they ought, some before they ought, other some torment vs when they should not at all. We eyther augment our euill, or presuppose the same, or imagine them to our selues vpon no ground at all: that first because the matter is in controuersie, and the pleas are alreadie recorded; let vs deferre for the present. That which I terme light thou contendest to be most grieuous: I know that some doe laugh in their tortures, others groane for a little stroake. We afterwards shall see whether these things are to be valued by their owne forces or our weakenesse. First graunt me this, that as oftentimes as thou shalt be amongst men, that shall endeuour to perswade thee that thou art miserable, thou wilt grow into consideration with thy selfe, not of that which thou heerest, but of that which thou feelest: consult first of al with thy patience, & ask thou thy selfe. Who should better know that which toucheth thee then thy selfe? Speake vnto thy selfe thus; Why is it that these men lament my fortune? Why tremble they, as if they feared that the [illegible] gion of my misfortune should attaint and torment them? That which I feare, is it not more infamous then dangerous? Enquire of thy selfe after this manner; Am I not perplexed and sorrowfull without cause? Make I not that an euill which is not? How sayest thou, shall I vnderstand whether the things I feare be eyther vaine or true? Take this rule to discerne the same: eyther present, or future, or both terrifie vs: the iudgement of the present is facile, if the bodie be free, healthfull, and without any griefe, caused by some iniurie done vnto thee. We shall see what shall happen hereafter, to day thou hast no neede to complain. But it will come. First consider whether there be any certaine arguments of thy future misfortune; for, for the most part we are troubled with suspicions, and affrighted by the illusions of common report, which is accustomed to end whole warres, but much more particular men. Vndoubtedly so it is my friend *Lucilius*, we are quickly conceited and ouer-ruled by common opinion: we checke not those things which cause our feares, neyther shake them off: but tremble thereat, and turne our backs like those whom a cloude of dust, raised by the triumphing of a troupe of beasts putteth to flight, or those that are dismayed by a report that runneth abroad, that hath neyther ground nor author. And by mishap, I know not how it commeth to passe that false and fained things

things doe trouble vs farre more then true; for the true haue a certain measure, the others are deliuered vs to a wandring coniecture, and license of the fearefull minde, which is alreadie affrighted: whence it happeneth that there are no dismayes so pernicious and irremediable then those that are mad and distracted; for all the rest are without reason, but this without minde. Let vs diligently inquire vpon this businesse; Is it likely some mischance will happen? It is not straight-wayes true. How many vnexpected things haue chanced? How manie expected neuer came to passe? And put the case it should happen, what helpeth it to meet with a mans sorrow? We shal partake the pain too ouertimely when it commeth, meane while let vs promise to our selues some better successe; at the leastwise it shall be so much good time gotten. And againe, many things may fall out, by meanes whereof the danger when it shall be more, yea, almost borne by vs, eyther shall subsist or wholly passe away, or happily shall be diuerted on another mans head. Oft-times the flames haue broken and giuen passage thorow the middest of their furie, to auoyde themselues. Such a one hath falne from the top of a house that was softly layde when hee light on the ground. Sometimes he that was exposed to his last punishment, hath beene saued euen in the verie attempt of execution, and some haue suruiued to burie those who should haue beene their hangmen: euill fortune it selfe is neuer without her inconstancie and leuitie. It may be the mischance shall come, it may be it shall not come: and meane while that it is not come, at least propose vnto thy selfe that better fortune may befall thee. But contrariwise, that happeneth sometimes, that euen then when there is no appearance of euill presage, the minde faineth to it selfe false imaginations, or interpreteth some word of a doubtfull signification to the worst, or proposeth to it selfe the indignation and displeasure of som one greater then it is, and dreameth not how much hee is incensed, but how much he may if so be he be prouoked. But there is no more occasion of liuing, there is no end of miserie, if a man feare as much as he may feare. It behoueth contrariwise to reiect and contemne the feare it selfe: which is attended euerie way with [illegible]grant occasions. Herein it is, where[illegible] prudence and the force of our vnderstanding ought principally to serue [illegible]stwise it befitteth vs to [illegible] one vice by another, and to temper hope. For there is no[illegible] so certaine of all that which a man may [illegible]at is not also more certaine, that the things that are feared may [illegible]nd vanish, and those that are hoped for deceiue. Balance therefore the[illegible]e with thy hope; and if there be doubt on all sides, beleeue that which best [illegible]keth thee, and thou shalt best desire should fall out; and although thou [illegible] haue more and [illegible]obable appearances for to feare, notwithstanding dispose thy selfe to [illegible] the better part, and cease to afflict thy selfe. Discourse alwayes in thy vnderstanding, that the greateste part of mortall men are troubled and perplexed in themselues for a thing wherein there is no euill; neyther can there be any euill, and the reason hereof is, because no man resisteth himselfe when he beginneth to be shaken and assaulted. No man pretendeth to take the paines to verifie his feare, no man thinketh with himselfe that the author is a vaine man, that eyther might haue dreamed the same, or beleeued it lightly. We yeelde our selues wholly to him that first commeth and reporteth any thing vnto vs: we feare the incertaine as certaine, neyther can we keep any measure. A doubt doth incontinently become feare. But I am ashamed to talke after this manner with thee, and to applie vnto thee so sleight remedies: when any other man shall say vnto thee; be confident that which thou feareste shall not befall thee, say thou quite

contrary,and when it ſhall happen, what of that ? Perhaps it ſhall be for my good and aduantage if it happen,and this death ſhall doe honour to my life. *Ceuta* hath made *Socrates* moſt famous and renowned. Wreſt from *Cato* the ſword that aſſured his libertie, and thou ſhall detract from him the greateſt part of his glorie. True it is,that I am too tedious in exhorting thee, who haſt no need to bee exhorted, but inſtructed and admoniſhed onely. Theſe are not contrarie to thy nature, thou art borne to accompliſh all that which wee ſpeake of; and by ſo much more oughteſt thou to be carefull, to augment and beautifie the graces that nature hath giuen thee. But now is it high time to finiſh my Epiſtle,as ſoone as I haue ſigned it with ſome high and generous ſentence,to be conuayed vnto thee: *Amongſt other euils ſolly hath likewiſe this,that it beginneth alwayes to liue.* Conſider, worthy *Lucilius*, what theſe things ſignifie, and thou ſhalt vnderſtand how loathſome mens leuitie is,who are alwayes occupied to proiect new foundations of life, and in their laſt time bethinke them of new hopes. If thou caſt thine eye on euery man, thou ſhalt meete with olde men that addreſſe themſelues to ambition,trauell,and negotiations. And what is there more abſurd,then for an olde man to begin to liue ? I would not alledge the author of this ſentence, if that it were not one of the moſt ſecret, and not couched amongſt the vulgar ſpeeches of *Epicurus*, which I haue permitted my ſelfe both to vſurpe and adopt as mine owne.

Epist. XIIII.

A moſt wiſe Epiſtle. He admoniſheth that care muſt be had of the bodie and of life,but not too much: but that three things are feared touching the bodie; Pouertie, Sickneſſe,and Violence,but eſpecially this laſt,which proceedeth from powerfull men and tyrants: To the end thou mayeſt not feare, three things are to be auoyded; Hatred, Enuie,and Contempt. But how wiſedome ſhall inſtruct,and in ſhort words he.

I Confeſſe that nature hath imprinted in euery one of [us] affection & care of [his] owne perſon. I confeſſe that our bodie [is] committed to our tutelie and protection. I denie not but that we ought to [allow it] indulgence in the behalfe thereof, yet ought it not to holde vs in ſeruitude. He ſhall be ſlaue to many that will be ſlaue to his owne bodie,ſhall too much feare for the ſame,and referre all things vnto that. So ought we to behaue our ſelues,not as though it behoued vs to liue for our bodie; but as if we might not liue without the ſame. The too tender affection we beare vnto it,diſquieteth vs with fears,chargeth vs with diuers thoughts, & expoſeth and ſubiecteth vs to diſgraces. Honeſtie is baſe to him,that maketh too much account of his bodie. Reaſon it is that it be kept carefully,yet ſo,as when reaſon, honour,and faith requireth it,a man be ready to caſt it into the middeſt of a fire. Let vs flie notwithſtanding as much as in vs lieth,not onely the dangers,but the incommodities. Let vs ſecure our ſelues and retire vs into a place of ſecuritie, thinking hourely,by what means we may ſeparate from vs thoſe things which are to be feared; of which (if I deceiue not my ſelfe) there are three ſorts: we feare pouertie,we feare ſickneſſe,we feare thoſe things that may befall vs thorow the violence of the mightie. Of all theſe three is no one thing more that ſhaketh vs,then that which hangeth ouer vs from another mans greatneſſe; for that commeth with a great noyce and tumult. The naturall euils which I haue reckoned

reckoned vp,ſuch as are pouerties and infirmities, doe ſilently aſſault vs: they neyther affright our eyes nor our eares, but the other miſchiefe marcheth forth with greater pompe. He hath about him fire, ſword, and bonds, and a troupe of greedy wilde beaſts to glut themſelues on our entrails. So many priſons,ſo many gallowſes,ſo many rackes and hookes, and the ſtakes which men are ſplitted on,the tortures of drawing a man with wilde horſes,and ſuch other types of tyrannie,the variety whereof is ſo great, and the preparation ſo terrible. No maruell though they bring much feare with them: for euen as the hang-man,the more inſtruments of torture he preſenteth to the condemned, the more he afflicteth him; ſo amongſt thoſe things that ſurcharge and wound our minds,thoſe haue the greateſt force that preſent the moſt obiects to the eie. This is not to inferre that other plagues,I meane famine, thirſt, vlcers, and impoſtumes of the inwards, and the feuor which dryeth and burneth our bowels,are not as tedious and painfull,but that they are hidden, hauing nothing that they may produce,or cauſe to martch before them. Theſe as great armies obtaine the entry by the greatneſſe of their ſhowe and preparation. But the true remedie againſt theſe dangers,is to abſtaine to prouoke them. Sometimes the people are thoſe whom we ought to feare; ſometimes, if the diſcipline of the Cittie be ſuch,that diuers things are concluded by the Senate, ſome gratious men therein,or ſome one particular man that beares the ſway of the Common-wealth,and hath the gouernement ouer the people. To haue all theſe thy friends is too difficult,it is enough for thee that thou haſt them not thine enemies. A wiſe-man therefore will neuer prouoke the diſpleaſure of the mightie, but rather will decline the ſame, in ſuch ſort, as in ſayling the Marriner ſhunneth a ſtorm. When thou ſhippedſt for *Sicily*, thou diddeſt cut ouer the Sea, and the vnaduiſed Maſter of thy ſhip contemned the threatning Southarnly windes,which is that winde which exaſperateth the *Sicilian* Seas, and driueth on the ſhoales and whirlpooles; he ſhapeth not his courſe by the left ſhoare,but ſayleth by that ſhoare which is neerer *Charibdis*. But ſome other more skilfull, would haue enquired of thoſe of the countrey before he had embarqued himſelfe,of the nature of this Sea,and of the ſignes which the cloudes imported,and had held his courſe farre aloofe from theſe dangerous places and whirlepools. In like ſort doth the wiſe-man, he flyeth thoſe that may hurt him,hauing an eſpeciall regard to this, that he ſeeme not to flie them: for the greateſt part of ſecuritie conſiſteth in this,to make no ſhow or appeareance to ſearch the ſame; becauſe that thoſe things which a man flieth he condemneth. We muſt therefore looke about vs,how we may be ſecure from the common ſort, which wee ſhal bring to paſſe,if firſt of all we couet not any of thoſe things, which ſet competitors together by the eares; and then, if we haue not any thing,that by appearance of profit may make vs ſubiect to treacheries: I alſo counſaile thee that thou haue not any thing in thy bodie that thou mayeſt be ſpoyled of. No man thirſteth after a mans bloud onely,or at leaſt-wiſe very few. The greater ſort rather hunt after the prize then the life. A naked man walketh freely before the thief,& in a dangerous paſſage a poore man findeth no man to bid him ſtand. Afterwards it behoueth thee,according to the auncient precept, to endeuour thy ſelfe to auoyde three things; that is,to be hated, enuied, and deſpiſed. Wiſedome onely can ſhew vs how this may be affected, otherwiſe it is a hard thing and much to be feared, leſt diſtruſt of enuie bring vs into contempt, leſt whilſt we will not be trod vpon,we ſeeme able to be trod on. It hath beene a cauſe of much feare to manie by hauing power to be feared. Let vs euery

way retire our ſelues: it is no leſſe harmefull to be contemned then to be admired at. Let vs therefore haue recourſe vnto Philoſophie, the inſtructions whereof ſhall be as markes of dignitie vnto vs, not onely with good men, but ſuch alſo as are indifferently euill: for eloquence and ſuch other profeſſions, which tend to moue the common ſort, haue their aduerſarie; but it is peaceable and retired, and ſuch as intermixeth it ſelfe with nothing but it ſelfe, that neyther can be contemned, which is reſpected by all other artes, yea by the conſent of the moſt wicked. Neuer ſhall vice obtaine ſo great force, neuer ſhall any conſpire ſo much againſt vertue, but that the name of Philoſophie ſhall alwaies remaine holy and venerable; yet muſt Philoſophie it ſelfe be moderately and peaceably handled. True it is, that happily thou wilt obiect vnto me, that *Marcus Cato* hath not handled the ſame with that modeſtie, who perſwaded himſelfe, that he might repreſſe by his onely counſailes the heate of ciuill warres, that thruſt himſelfe amidſt the armies of two diſpleaſed and inraged Princes, that whereas ſome diſpleaſed *Pompey*, other ſom *Cæſar*, he feared not to offend them both at once. But I will anſwer thee, that it may be debated, whether during that time it was wiſely done of him to buſie himſelfe with publique affaires? What pretendeſt thou to doe *Cato?* The title of libertie was not then in queſtion; for long time before it was troden vnder foot: the queſtion is onely whether of theſe two eyther *Cæſar* or *Pompey* ſhall bee maiſter of the Commonweale: what haddeſt thou to doe with this quarrell? Thou haddeſt no part herein; the queſtion was to chooſe a Soueraigne: what could it auaile thee which of them it were that conquered? The better cannot conquer, and hee may be the worſt that ſhall be ſubdued; he cannot be the better that getteth the maſterie. I haue touched the laſt parts of *Catoes* life, but neyther were his former yeares euer ſuch, that it was conuenient for a wiſe-man to intermeddle with the Common-weale, which was already expoſed for a pray. For what other thing did he but exclaime, and caſt out vnprofitable ſpeeches, whilſt the people taking him vp, playde with him like a foot-ball, ſpit in his face, and drew him perforce out of his place, and from the Senate-houſe ledde him vnto priſon? But we ſhall ſee hereafter, whether a wiſe-man ought to imploy his labor in a place where it ſhould be vtterly loſt? Meane while I recall thee to theſe Stoicks, who excluded from the Common-weale, retired themſelues to reforme mens liues, and to make lawes for all mankinde, without incurring the indignation of the mightie. Vndoubtedly it is more expedient for a wiſe-man to behaue himſelfe thus, then to goe and trouble publique cuſtomes, and cauſe himſelfe to be pointed at through the ſtrangeneſſe of his life. What then? ſhall he that followeth this courſe be wholly ſafe and ſecured? No more may a man promiſe this then health to a temperate man, and yet temperance entertaineth and cauſeth the ſame. It hath beene ſeene ſometimes that ſhips haue beene loſt in the Hauen, but the danger is greater when they ſaile in the maine Sea: how much more at hand ſhould his danger be, that intermedleth with manie affaires, and complotteth more, who cannot aſſure himſelfe, no not in his ſolitude? The innocent is ſometimes condemned, but the faultie farre more often. His arte coſteth him deare, that is harmed by the verie ornaments of arte. Finally, the wiſe-man regardeth that which is moſt expedient in euery thing, and not the ſucceſſe: for our deliberations are in our hands; but fortune diſpoſeth of the euents, to whoſe iudgement a wiſe-man neuer ſubmitteth himſelfe, yet will it bring ſome vexation and aduerſitie. The thiefe is not condemned but when he killeth. But I perceiue thou ſtretcheſt out thy hand to receiue a rent

rent which this letter ſhould bring thee, I will pay thee in golde; ſee thou how the vſe and fruition of the ſame may be more gratefull vnto thee; *He moſt of all poſſeſſeth riches, that leaſt needeth them.* Tell me, thou wilt ſay, who is the author? That thou mayeſt know how bountifull I am, I intend to praiſe another mans; it is eyther *Epicurus* or *Metrodorus* ſaying, or ſome one of that ſect: what skilleth it who ſpake it? he ſpake to all men. He that wanteth riches, feareth for them: but no man enuieth a good that breedeth feare: whilſt he thinketh to encreaſe the ſame, he forgetteth the vſe of them; it behoueth him alwaies to haue the counters in his hand, to aſſiſt at the burſſe time, and viſit his bookes of account: briefly, of a Maſter he becommeth a Factor.

Epist. XV.

Exerciſe tendeth to the care of the bodie; but let it not be laborious or troubleſome: eaſie and ſhort ſufficeth, as running, leaping, carriage of the bodie, intention of the voyce. A clauſe from the Epicure, to the end that life ſhould not be deferred, content thee with the preſent.

THE auncients had a cuſtome, which hath been obſerued as yet to my time, to begin their letters with theſe words; *If thou art in health, it is well; for mine owne part I am healthie.* Now thinke I that he ſhould ſay as well, who ſhould begin thus: If thou attendeſt thy Philoſophy, I am glad of it, for that in truth is to be in health. Without it the minde is ſicke, and the bodie alſo notwithſtanding it be ſtrong and able: for it is no otherwiſe healthie then as a man might ſay, the bodie of one that is madde and troubled with the frenſie. Haue care therefore eſpecially of this firſt health, afterwards of the ſecond, which will not coſt thee much, if thou behaue thy ſelfe wiſely. For it is an vnſeemely thing for a man that trauelleth to obtaine wiſedom, to imploy himſelfe in exerciſing his armes, to feed himſelfe fat, and to ſtrengthen his ſides. When thou ſhalt make thy ſelfe fleſhy and brawny to the vttermoſt thou canſt imagine, yet neyther in force or waight ſhalt thou equall a fat and browne Oxe. Beſides this, the mind being choaked vp with the great charge of thy bodie, is farre leſſe agile and quicke of conceit. Containe therefore and reſtraine thy bodie the moſt that thou mayeſt, to the end thou mayeſt giue a fayrer and more ſpacious place and harbor vnto thy minde. They that are ouer-carefull of the ſame, draw after them diuers incommodities: firſt of all the trauell of exerciſe ſpendeth the ſpirit, and diſableth it to apprehend the ſtudie of the moſt ſecret and hidden ſecrets. And they leade with them a traine of moſt dangerous reuolts and debauchments, as that foule and vilainous cuſtome of men, occupied betweene the wine and the oyle, in whoſe opinion the day is happily paſſed, if they haue ſweat well; and if in ſtead of that which is exhaled by ſweat, they haue anew repleniſhed their emptie ſtomacks with ſtore of another liquor. To drinke and ſweat is the life of him that is ſicke of the *Cardiacque* conuerſions of the ſtomacke. There are certaine kindes of exerciſe, which are eaſie and ſhort, which looſe and ſupple the body, without great loſſe of time, to which we ought to haue a principall regard, as to runne, dance, leap, and vault. Chooſe of all theſe which thou wilt: the vſe will make it eaſie vnto thee: whenſoeuer thou doſt retire ſuddenly from thy bodie to thy minde, exerciſe the ſame day and night. Shee is nouriſhed and entertained with

a little labour: neyther cold nor heat hinder not her exercise, no not olde age it selfe. Trauell therefore carefully after this good, which is bettered by waxing olde, yet will I not alwayes that thou hang ouer thy booke, or that thy hand be continually labouring on thy tables. There must some intermission be granted to the minde; yet so, that it be not giuen ouer altogether, but remitted onely. The carriage of a man in a Litter or otherwise, stirreth the bodie, but hindereth not the studie. Thou mayest reade, dictate, speake and heare also in walking. Contemne not also the eleuation of thy voyce, which I forbid thee to raise by certaine degrees and manners, and afterwards to depresse. Againe, if thou wilt learne how thou shouldest walke, admit those whom hunger hath taught new cunnings: some there be that will temper thy pace, and obserue thy mouth as thou eatest, and will proceede so farre, as by the leuitie of thy patience thou shalt giue way to their boldnesse; what then? shall thy voyce and discourse begin with clamorous accents, and in the entrance be most violently enforced? Vndoubtedly it is a thing so naturall to raise the voyce by little and little, that such as pleade are ordinarily accustomed to begin their discourse in an humble and submisse manner, and to prosecute the same with a more liuely and lowder accent. No man at the first imploreth the mercie of the Iudges. How soeuer therefore the force of thy minde shall perswade thee sometimes to exclaime on vices vehemently, sometime more moderately, according as thy voyce and force shall enable thee: when thou hast humbled the same, and drawne it to a lower straine and pitch, so let it fall that it faile not: let it be tempered according to the abilitie and discretion of the speaker, and not breake out after a ruffickе and vnciuill manner. For it is not our intention to exercise the voyce, but our minde is, that our voyce should exercise vs. I haue disburthened thee of no small businesse of requitall, now will I adde a gratefull office to these benefits. Behold a worthy precept: *The life of a foolish man is ingrate, and full of feare, and wholly transported with expectation of future things.* But who, sayest thou, speaketh after this manner? The same that spake before. Now what life is that which in thy opinion may be called foolish, that of *Babæ* and *Ixion*, the noted fooles of our time? It is not so. It is, and is called our life whom blinded couetousnesse casteth headlong vpon those things which torment vs, or at least whiles neuer content vs, to whom if any thing had beene sufficient, already it should be. Who consider not how pleasant a thing it is to demand nothing, and how magnificent a thing it is to be full in him selfe, and not to holde or acknowledge any thing from fortune. Remember thy selfe therefore euery houre, friend *Lucilius*, how great those things are to which thou hast attained hitherto, when thou hast beheld those things that march before thee. behold also those that march after. If thou wilt not be vngratefull towards God, and towards thine owne life, consider how many thou leauest behinde thee. But why compare I thee with others? Thou hast, if thou obseruest thy selfe well, gone beyond thy selfe. Prefix thy selfe certaine bounds which thou wilt not exceede or breake although thou mightest. The flattering and deceiueable blessings, and such as proue better to those that hope for them then those that enioy them, will vanish in the end. If there were any solid thing in them, they would sometime satisfie vs: or contrariwise they inuite vs to taste them onely for their appearance; and the more a man tasteth the more is he altered. But that which the incertaine fate of future time carrieth with it selfe, why should I rather intreat fortune to bestow vpon me, or my selfe not to demaund the same? And why in demanding the same should I forget the frailtie of mankinde? Shall I hoord

hoord vp wealth? To what? Shall I take paines? Beholde here the last day, or if it be not, it is the next neighbour to the last.

Epist. XVI.

That Philosophie is necessarie to life; but that is the true onely which is in action and proficient. Dispose by that thine actions and counsailes. It skilleth not whether fate or fortune be: for Philosophie teacheth to obey God, and contemne fortune and casualties. There is a clause likewise of Epicvrvs. *He that liueth according to nature is rich. Despise opinion.*

Know, friend *Lucilius*, that thou perfectly vnderstandest that no man can liue happily, nay, scarcely tollerably without the studie of wisedome, and that the life is made happie by the perfection of the same, and tollerable by her onely beginning. But it sufficeth not onely that thou know this, it behoueth thee also to imprint it in thy soule, and assure the same by continuall contemplation. For there is lesse to do to propose a thing which is honest, then to conserue the same, when a man hath proposed the same to him selfe. We must persеuer, and by continuall diligence adde strength, till that which is now only a good will, may become an habituall good minde. Thou needest not therefore to court me with many affirmatiue and long discourses: for I know that thou hast profited very much. I know from what minde the things thou writest do proceed, and that they are neyther fained nor disguised: yet will I tell thee freely mine opinion. I haue alreadie some hope of thee, but not as yet an entire assurance; and if thou wilt beleeue, thou shalt conceiue no otherwise of thy selfe. Beleeue not thy selfe so suddenly and so easily. Sound and obserue thy selfe, and aboue all things see whether thou hast profited, eyther in thy science or in thy life it selfe. Philosophie is no vulgar craft, neyther is it for ostentation: it consisteth not in wordes but in deedes. She must not be made vse of to passe the time withall, or extinguish the tediousnesse of idlenesse. She it is that formeth and conformeth the minde, that disposeth life, and guideth our actions, and sheweth vs what wee ought eyther to flie or follow. She it is that guideth the helme, and directeth their course that saile amidst the shoales and rockes of this life: without her no man is assured. Daily and hourely there fall out innumerable things which require counsel, which no man may receiue from any other but her selfe. But som one may say, whereto serueth Philosophie, if there be a destinie or a God that ruleth all things, or a fortune that commandeth ouer all men? For such things as are certaine cannot be changed, and against those that are vncertaine what prouision may be made, if God hath preoccupated al the deliberations of men? If alreadie he hath determined that which ought to be done? or if fortune permitteth nothing vnto my counsaile? whatsoeuer be of all this, or if all this were so, we must, my *Lucilius*, intend Philosophie, whether that destinie detaine vs captiues to her irreuocable lawes, or God the gouernor of the world, disposeth of all things; or fortune confusedly enforceth, or altereth humane affairs, Philosophie must be our retreat. She will exhort vs to obey God willingly, and to resist fortune constantly: she will teach vs to follow God, and to beare with casualties. But we are not now to call in question, whether we haue any interest, and whether prouidence be in our will or power, or whether fate with ineuitable bonds

bondes draweth vs to his ſubiection, or any ſudden or caſuall power be our abſolute miſtris. I returne to exhort thee not to ſuffer thy ſelfe to waxe colde, or permit this heate and conſtancie of thy minde to be weakened. Entertaine the ſame in ſuch ſort, that the viuacitie and agilitie that at this preſent is contained therin may grow into a habitude. From thy very infancie (if I haue knowne thee well) thou haſt fixed thine eie on that which this preſent letter importeth. Peruſe it well, and thou ſhall finde it, thou needeſt not maruaile at me. I continue ſtill to be liberall of other mens goods; yet are they not others, becauſe that all that which is well ſaid, by whom ſoeuer it be ſpoken, I may tearme mine owne. *Epicurus* ſaith, *If thou liueſt according to nature, thou ſhalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion, thou ſhalt neuer be rich: nature hath neede but of a little, opinion of infinite.* Be it thou were Lord of all that wealth which many mightie men doe poſſeſſe, or that fortune enricheth thee beyond the meaſure of a priuate man: although ſhe couer thee with golde, and cloath thee in purple, and bring thee to that height of delights and riches, that thou mayeſt couer the earth with marble, and mighteſt not onely poſſeſſe riches, but treade on them: adde herevnto moreouer pictures and ſtatues, and what elſe ſoeuer any arte or engine hath inuented; thou ſhalt learne from thoſe to couet alwayes more. Our naturall deſires are limited; thoſe that are deriued from falſe opinion haue no end: for there is no limit from a falſe ground; to him that goeth in the right way, there is an end; error is infinite. Retire thy ſelfe therefore from vaine things, and when thou wouldeſt know, whether that thou askeſt haue a naturall or blinde deſire, conſider whether it may reſt any where: if the neerer thou approacheſt it, the farther daily it flieth from thee, be aſſured it is not according to nature.

Epist. XVII.

That Philoſophie is not to be deferred, but, all other things laide aſide, to be embraced. But I ſhall be poore. What if this were to be wiſhed for? Thou ſhalt play the Philoſopher more freely. Nature deſireth but a little, and that ſhall not be wanting. A clauſe. To him that accounteth pouertie grieuous, riches will be likewiſe burthenſome, for the defect is in the minde.

CAſt away all theſe things if thou beeſt wiſe, or rather to the ende thou mayeſt be wiſe: then addreſſe thy ſelfe ſpeedily and with all thy power to get a good minde. If any thing detaine thee, eyther vnbinde thee alſo out of the bond or breake it. I am (thou wilt ſay) hindered by my home-affaires: I will take ſuch a courſe that my reuenue may maintain me, without doing any thing; to the end that pouertie may not be a hinderance to me, nor I to any other. Whilſt thou ſayeſt this, thou ſeemeſt not to know the power and ſtrength of that thing whereof thou thinkeſt. Thou ſeeſt generally and in ſumme, how much Philoſophie is profitable to thee; but thou doeſt not ſubtilly examine all her parts, neither knoweſt thou yet how much ſhe helpeth vs, and in what ſort ſhe may ſuccor vs in great affaires (that I may vſe *Tullies* words) and in what ſort thee aſſiſteth vs in great things, and applieth her ſelfe to the leſſe things. Beleeue me, take aduice of her, ſhe will counſell thee not to buſie thy ſelfe about thine accounts. All then that thou ſearcheſt is to exempt thy ſelfe from pouertie; and what wilt thou ſay if it be deſireable? Riches haue hindered many men from ſtudying Philoſophie: pouertie

pouertie is alwayes free, is alwayes ſafe. When the enemies trumpet ſoundeth, the poore man knowes well that the alarum threatneth not him: in a ſurpriſe or yeelding vp of a towne for loſt, he takes no care how to get away, or what to carrie with him: if he muſt needs make a voyage by Sea, no man attendeth him at his entrance nor at his launching forth: he hath not ſo great a troupe of ſeruants to attend him, that he muſt needes nourith them vpon the fertilitie of a forraine countrey. For it is eaſie to fill a few bellies, and well taught, that deſire but to be filled: it coſteth little to appeaſe hunger; but a dainty mouth too much. Pouertie is contented with the ſatisfaction and ſupplie of her neceſſitie: why then wilt thou refuſe to make her thy companion, who ſe manners the richeſt themſelues doe imitate? If thou deſireſt to enioy the freedome of thy minde, eyther it behoooueth thee to be poore, or like a poore man. A man cannot profit in this ſtudie without the care of frugalitie, which is a voluntarie pouertie. Lay then apart all theſe excuſes; Say not that thou haſt not as yet all that which thou haſt neede of, and that if thou mighteſt compaſſe that ſumme, thou wouldeſt retire thy ſelfe from the world, to conſecrate thy ſelfe wholly vnto Philoſophie. But contrariwiſe, ſhe it is that ought eſpecially to be ſought after, which thou deferreſt and ſeekeſt to attaine laſt of all. By her it is by whom thou ought eſt to begin. I will, ſayeſt thou, recouer wherevpon to liue: learne then afterwards how thou ought eſt to get; if any thing hinder thee from liuing well, nothing hindereth thee from dying well. There is no reaſon that pouerty ſhould recall vs from Philoſophie, no not neceſſitie it ſelfe. We ought in her behalfe endure hunger, which diuers men haue voluntarily endured in ſieges. As if the onely price of this patience was not to yeelde it ſelfe to the diſcretion of the conquerour: how much more great is that by which a perpetuall libertie is promiſed, and an aſſurance neyther to be affrighted by God nor man? Sometimes hunger enforceth vs to this. Whole armies haue ſuffered extreame neceſſitie, yea, ſo great as to feede vpon the rootes of hearbes, and to ſupport an horrible famine; and all this ſuffered they (to make the wonder the more) to get a Kingdome, and that which is more ſtrange, for another mans ſeruice: who then will doubt to endure pouertie, and ſo free the minde from madnes? There needeth not any preparation for maintenance before hand. A man may attaine vnto Philoſophie without prouiſion and ſupplies. But touching thy ſelfe, thou wilt attaine therevnto after all other things, thou eſteemeſt it for the laſt inſtrument of life, or to ſpeake more aptly, the acceſſion. Contrariwiſe whether it be that thou haſt any thing, apply thy ſelfe vnto her (for whence mayeſt thou know whether alreadie thou haſt ſo much?) or be it thou haſt nothing at all, ſeeke after her the rather, and more then any other thing. Feare not, the want of any neceſſarie ſupplyes; nature is contented with a little, to which let a wiſe-man accommodate himſelfe: and if happily extreame neceſſitie doe ſurcharge him, he ſhall eſcape from this life, and ſhall ceaſe to be troubleſome to himſelfe. And if he haue wherewith to weare out and prolong the ſame, he will take it in good part, and will no further endeuour himſelfe, but for thoſe things that are neceſſarie: he will beſtow that on his bellie and his backe which appertaineth vnto them and being content with himſelfe, ſhall laugh at the occupations of the rich, and the goings and comings of thoſe who ſweat to get riches, and ſhall ſay, To what end ſearcheſt thou the longer way? Wherefore expecteſt thou the gain of thy vſurie or the ſucceſſion of ſome olde man, or the profit of merchandize, if thou canſt become rich ſuddenly. It concerneth thee no more but to recouer wiſdome, ſhe will pay thee before hand, and giueth riches

to

to whomſoeuer ſhe maketh them ſeeme to be ſuperfluous. But this were good payment for another man; for thine own part thou art rich, diſcharge thy ſelfe therefore, for thou haſt too much. In euery age ſhalt thou finde that which is ſufficient. I might in this place end my Letter, if I had not taught thee an euill cuſtome. A man may not ſalute the Kings of *Parthia* without a preſent: but to thee a man may not bid adiew *gratis*. I will therefore borrow of *Epicurus* to pay thee: *To manie the obtayning of riches hath not beene the end, but the change of their miſerie.* Hereat wonder I not; for vice is not in the things themſelues, but in the minde. The ſame occaſion made riches tedious, that made pouertie grieuous. Euen as it is all one to put a ſicke man into a bedde of wood, or into a bed of golde, becauſe that into what place ſoeuer he be remoued, he beareth alwaies his griefe with him. In like manner, there is no difference to thruſt a ſicke mind into riches or into pouertie, becauſe his euill alwayes followeth him.

Epist. XVIII.

That a wiſe man temperately behaueth himſelfe in publique ryots, and is tainted little or nothing with their maners. Howſoeuer, that it is profitable ſome dayes to abſtaine, ſpare, and reſemble the poore, it is a ſore exerciſe to trie pouertie if it come ſo. A clauſe from Epicvrvs: *wrath aſſiſteth madneſſe.*

DEcember is a moneth wherein all the Cittie is much buſied; euery one in publique giueth way to laſciuiouſneſſe, each eare is filled with the rumour and report of thoſe preparations which are made to ryot with, as if the time were extraordinary, and that there were ſome difference betwixt the Saturnals and other delights. So little difference is there, that in my opinion hee ſeemeth to haue no way erred, that ſaith, that in times paſt December was a moneth, but that now it is a yeare. If I had thee heere, I would willingly inquire of thee, what in thine opinion ought to be done, whether we ſhould change any thing of our ordinarie cuſtome, or if (leſt we ſhould ſeeme to diſtaſte the common faſhion) wee ſhould fall to, and frame our ſelues to doe that which other men doe: for that which was not wont to be done but in times of tumult, and in the turbulent eſtate of the Cittie, for pleaſure and the holy-dayes ſake we changed our garment. If I knew thee well, the matter being committed to thy iudgement; neyther wouldeſt thou permit that in all things we ſhould reſemble the round-cap multitude; neyther alſo in euery ſort to be vnlike vnto them, except happily in theſe dayes eſpecially, we ought to command our mindes to retire themſelues, and to abſtaine from pleaſures, wherein all the world is ſo diſordered: ſhe receiueth a moſt certaine proofe of her firmitie, if ſhe neyther yeeld nor ſuffer her ſelfe to be tranſported by adulations, and ſuch things as inuite her to ſuperfluitie. But it is a matter farre more difficult, and worthie a noble mind, to be ſober alone: at ſuch time as all the people ſurfeiteth in drunkenneſſe, this hath more temperance and diſcretion in it ſelfe, not to ſequeſter a mans ſelfe wholly from popularitie, neyther to particularize himſelfe ouer-much, neyther intermix himſelfe with them, but to do the ſame things that they do, but not after the ſame manner. For a man may celebrate a feſtiuall day without drunkenneſſe. But ſo am I pleaſed to tempt the conſtancie of thy minde, that according to the counſailes of many great men, I aduiſe thee to chooſe out certaine dayes, wherein thou mayeſt

mayeſt content thy ſelfe with the leaſt, and cheapeſt dyet, and mayſt cloath thy ſelfe in a hard and courſe garment: ſay to thy ſelfe, Is this that which the world ſo much feared? In the fulneſſe of thy ſecuritie let thy mind prepare it ſelfe vnto aduerſities, and againſt fortunes iniuries confirme it ſelfe euen in the height of her fauours. In the middeſt of peace the Souldier exerciſeth himſelfe in armes and skirmiſhes, and wearieth himſelfe with ſuperfluous labour, to the end he be more able and exerciſed when time requireth. If thou deſireſt a man ſhould not feare vpon any occurrence, exerciſe him before hand to the accident. They that euery moneth exerciſe themſelues in imitation of pouertie, haue profited to this: as not to feare pouertie it ſelfe, which they ſo oftentimes had both entertained and apprehended. Thinke not now that I command thee to go ſometime and take an ill ſupper with a poore man, contenting thy ſelfe with his bread an I wine, or whatſoeuer elſe it is, whereby luxurie ſmootheth ouer, and playeth with the tediouſneſſe of riches. I aduiſe thee that both thy bedde and thy apparell be truely poore, and that thy bread be ſtale and mouldie, and that thou entertaine this hard pittance for three or foure dayes; yea, ſometimes more, to the end it may be vnto thee, not as a paſtime but as a proofe. Then beleeueme, my *Lucilius*, thou ſhalt leap for ioy, when being ſatisfied with a little, thou ſhalt vnderſtand that to ſatisfie our ſelues we haue no need of fortune, for that which ſufficeth neceſſitie ſhe oweth vs in ſpite of her diſpleaſure, yet haſt thou no reaſon in accompliſhing all this, to perſwade thy ſelfe that thou haſt done much: for what doeſt thou that many thouſand ſlaues and beggers doe not daily? All the honor thou canſt giue thy ſelfe, is, that thou doeſt it voluntarily. It ſhall be as eaſie for thee to endure it alwayes, as to attempt it ſomtimes. Let vs therefore prepare our ſelues to all caſualties, leſt fortune ſurpriſe vs vnprouided. Let vs make pouertie familiar vnto vs: we ſhall be more aſſuredly rich, if we know that it is no grieuous matter to be poore. That Maſter of pleaſure *Epicurus* had certaine dayes wherein he very ſparingly and niggardly repreſſed his hunger, to proue if any thing were wanting of his full and conſummate pleaſure, or how much wanted, or whether it were a thing of that deſert, that a man ſhould employ much labour in repayring the ſame. Himſelfe ſaith this in his Epiſtles, which he wrote to *Polienus Charinus*, being magiſtrate, & he glorieth therein, that all his victuals for one day coſt him not three pence halfepenie, and that *Metrodorus* diet, who had not ſo farre forth profited as himſelfe, coſt him no more. Thinkeſt thou that in this kinde of life there is not a ſaciety? Vndoubtedly there is pleaſure in it, and not ſuch pleaſure which is fomie and fleeting, and often times to be repaired, but ſtable and certaine: for neyther is water, nor broth, nor a morſell of barley bread a pleaſant dyet; but it is an eſpeciall pleaſure for a man to be able to take his contentment in theſe, and to haue eſtabliſhed himſelfe ſo farre in himſelfe, that no iniurie of fortune can ſhake his reſolution. The ordinarie allowance of the priſons is farre more then this, and they that are condemned to die, are not ſo poorely intreated by him that is their executioner. How great is the magnitude of his minde, that maketh that habitude voluntarie in himſelfe, to admit thoſe things with willingneſſe which ordinarily are accuſtomed to be enioyned for a penaltie: this is to preoccupate the weapons of fortune. Begin therefore, my *Lucilius*, to follow theſe mens cuſtomes, and take ſome dayes to thy ſelfe, wherein thou mayeſt retire thy ſelfe from thine affaires, and content thy ſelfe with a little. Begin to haue ſome conuerſe and familiarity with pouertie.

Be bolde my gueſt, and ſet proude wealth at nought,
And make thee worthy God by modeſt thought.

No other man is worthie God, but he that hath contemned riches, of whoſe poſſeſſion I debarre thee not; but my deſire is, that thou mighteſt poſſeſſe them without feare, which by one meanes thou ſhalt obtaine, if thou canſt perſwade thy ſelfe that thou mayeſt liue happily without them, and regard them no otherwiſe then as fleeting benefites, thou canſt well want. But now let vs begin to conclude our Epiſtle: firſt, ſayeſt thou, Pay me that thou oweſt. I will ſend *Epicurus* to pay thee my debt: *Immoderate wrath engendreth madneſſe.* How true this is thou muſt needes know, when thou haſt had both a ſlaue and an enemie. This affection kindleth it ſelfe againſt al men, it ariſeth as wel from loue as from hate, as well amongſt ſerious things as playes and paſtimes; neyther skilleth it from how great a cauſe it grow, but what kinde of minde it meeteth with: ſo it is no matter how great the fire be, but where it falleth; for the greateſt and ſoundeſt tymbers haue ſuſtayned a great fire: againe, drie trees and ſuch as are apt to be fired, nouriſh a ſparkle ſo long till it breake into a flame. So is it, my *Lucilius*, furie is the end of immoderate wrath, and therfore is anger to be auoyded, not for moderation, but for healths ſake.

Epist. XIX.

That publique affaires are to be omitted and caſt off, and priuacie to be affected: but priuacie and not ſolitude, and deteſtation of conuerſation. He counſelleth to forſake the Court and the pompe thereof, both which are attended with tumults and troubles. A clauſe of the ſame Maſters. See with whom thou communicateſt at the table.

I Am heartily glad as oftentimes as I receiue thy letters, for they fill me with much good hope: for now they promiſe not, but aſſure me in thy behalfe. Doe therefore in ſuch ſort, I pray and beſeech thee, as thy letters doe import: for what better thing can I intreat at my friends hand, then that for which I ſhould implore God in his behalfe? Withdraw thy ſelfe, if thou mayeſt, from theſe buſie affaires; or if thou canſt not forcibly deliuer thy ſelfe, we haue ouer-long beene prodigall of time, let vs begin now in our age to play the good husbands. Is this diſtaſtfull to thee? We haue liued in the ſtormie Ocean, let vs die in a quiet harbor. Yet would I not aduiſe thee to affect a ſingularitie and name by thy retirement, which neyther thou oughteſt to boaſt of or to conceale. For neuer will I ſo much condemne the furie of mankinde, that to the end thou mayeſt auoyde the ſame, I would haue thee locke thy ſelfe vp in an hermitage, and burie the affaires of this world in euerlaſting forgetfulneſſe. Behaue thy ſelfe in ſuch ſort, that retreat of thine be apparent but not eminent; and then ſhal they who haue libertie to liue according to their own good liking, perceiue whether they ought wholly to hide themſelues or no. For thine owne part thou mayeſt not. The vigor of thy wit, the elegancy of thy writings, thy many great and famous alliances haue brought thee forth into the face of the world. Thou art alreadie ſo farre engaged in the knowledge of men, that though thou wert confined in the furthermoſt corner of the world, yet would thy former actions diſcouer themſelues. Thou canſt not be concealed, there will be alwayes ſome luſtre of thy former light, which will attend thee, whither ſoeuer thou retireſt thy ſelfe. Canſt thou ſettle thy ſelfe in repoſe without the hate of any man, without deſire or agonie of minde? For what ſhalt thou leaue which thou mayeſt imagine to haue forſaken vnwillingly? What thy clients? But of theſe no one affecteth thee, but gapeth for ſomewhat from thee, & hath it be thy friends? In times paſt men affected friendſhips, now hunt they after profits. Art thou afraid that the older ſort, being abandoned by thee, ſhould chaunge their willes? Conſider in counterpoize of all this, that a thing ſo pretious as is libertie, cannot be purchaſed but very deerly. Finally, bethink thy ſelfe, whether thou hadſt rather loſe either thoſe things that belong vnto thee, or thy ſelf. Would to God thou hadſt beene ſo happie as to waxe old after the manner of thine anceſtors; and fortune had not made thee ſo eminent as the hath done; a ſudden felicitie, thy prouince and procreation, and what ſoeuer is promiſed by theſe haue tranſported thee very farre from the light of a contented life. And greater things beſides theſe ſhall ſeaſe thee hereafter, and the one ſhall beget the other. What ſhall be the end? Thinkeſt thou thy contents and honours ſhall be ſo affluent, that nothing ſhall remaine for thee to deſire? That time ſhall neuer happen. That which we ſay to be the order and vniting of cauſes which tie deſtinie, the ſame likewiſe ſay we to be of couetouſneſs; the one taketh his beginning from the end of the other. Into that life art thou demiſed, which ſhall neyther end thy miſerie nor ſeruitude. Pull thy necke therefore out from the yoake: it is better to cut it in pieces all at once, then to ſuffer it perpetually to be reſtrained. If thou withdraw thy ſelfe to a priuate life, all things will be leſſer, but they will fill thee the more; but now diuers things, and heaped one vpon another, ſatisfie thee not. But whether haddeſt thou rather to haue fecuritie in want, or hunger in abundance? Felicitie is both couetous, and expoſed to others greedineſſe. As long as nothing ſhall ſuffice thee, thou ſhalt not giue contentment to others. How ſayeſt thou, ſhall I eſcape this? By any meanes what ſoeuer. Bethinke thy ſelfe, how many things thou haſt raſhly attempted for money, how many things thou haſt laboriouſly vndertaken for honor; ſomthing alſo is to be attempted for thy quiet ſake, or in this ſolitude of procuration, and afterwards of ciuill offices, thou muſt waxe old in trauell, and be alwayes toſſed with new waues, which thou canſt not auoyde by any modeſtie or quiet of life. For what auayleth thee to be willing, to ſettle thy quiet, if thy fortune will not? What alſo if thou permit the ſame to encreaſe? the better the ſucceſſe is, the more the feare increaſeth. I will recount vnto thee in this place the ſaying of *Nicanor*, who ſpake truth amidſt the tortures of his dignitie, and fauours in the Court of Avgvstvs: *For Highnes it ſelfe thundereth at the highest.* If you enquire of me in what booke he ſaid it: it was in that which was intituled *Prometheus*. What this would he ſay that feare and amaze poſſeſſeth the higheſt. Is there therefore any power of that eſteem that thy ſpeech ſhould be ſo diſordred? The man was ingenious, and ſuch as was to giue a great example of Romane eloquence, if felicitie had not enfeebled him, nay rather geldod him. This bridleth and reſtraineth if thou reſtraine not thy ſelfe preſently, and ſhorten thy ſayles, except (which he ſo lately affected) thou beare for the land. I could be quit with thee for this ſentence of *Mecenas*, but I feare me thou wilt not receiue it for good payment in this ſort, but wilt cauill (if I know thee well) and accept of my paymony in the coyne I hold currant. How ſoeuer the matter lie, I will borrow from Bibvlvs: *Thou art* (ſaith he) *to take care with whom thou eateſt and drinkeſt before thy*

thy meate, then what thou eatest and drinkest: for a plentifull and fleshie feast without a friend, is the life of a Lion or a Wolfe. This shall not happen to thee, except thou retire thy selfe, & separate thee from the multitude; otherwise thou shalt haue at thy table, not thy friends, but such as thy remembrancer hath chosen amongst the multitude of thy saluters. But he deceiueth himselfe that searcheth a friend in the base court, and approueth him in the banquet. A man much occupied and besieged by his goods, hath no one greater mischiefe, then that hee thinketh them to be his friends whom he loueth not, that beleeueth that his benefits are powerfull enough to get him friends, whereas some the more they owe a man, the more they hate him. A little debt maketh a man a debtor, a great an enemie? What therefore, doe not benefits beget friendships? They doe, if a man might make choyse of those that should receiue them, if they were well imployed, and not rashly cast away. Therfore whilst thou beginnest to be thine owne man, in the mean while vse this counsel of the wise-men, that thou think it to be more pertinent to the matter, to regard who receiueth then what.

Epist. XX.

That Philosophie is in deedes not in words, and that therefore we ought to addresse our selues to them, and that constantly. For wisedome is the conueniency and vniforme tenor of our wils and life. Pouertie also is not to be feared, and riches if they be present not to be loued. Moreouer, a warning that on certaine dayes we act and imitate poore men.

IF thou art in health, and thinkest thy selfe worthy at some time to be made thine owne I reioyce: for it shall be my glorie, if I may drawe thee out from thence, whereas thou floatest without hope of getting out. But this I heartily begge and earnestly exhort thee too, my *Lucilius*, that thou shut vp Philosophie in the secret of thy heart, and that thou make an experiment of thy progresse, not by thy speech or writings, but by the firmitie of thy minde, and the diminution of thy desires. Approue the words by the deedes. One is the scope of those that declaime and demand applause of an assembly. Another of those that detaine the eares of yong and idle men with diuers and voluble disputation. Philosophie teacheth vs to doe and not to speake, and exacteth this of vs, that euery one liue according to her law, lest the life should differ from speech, that the life be in it selfe of one colour, without any discord of actions. This is both the greatest office, and token of wisedome, that the actions be correspondent to the words, and that hee which followeth her be alwayes equal & like vnto himselfe. Who shal perform this? Few, yet some shall. This thing is difficult, neyther say I that a wise-man should alwayes march one pace, but one path. Obserue therefore whether thy garment and thy house doe disagree, whether thou art liberall towards thy selfe, and niggardly towards thine, whether thou suppest frugally and buildest prodigally? Take once vnto thee a certaine rule and measure of life, and leuell the same according to that square. Some men in their houses restraine themselues, abroad are lauish and prodigall. This diuersitie is a vice, and the signe of an vnconstant minde, and not as yet brought in frame. Moreouer I will tell thee whence this inconstancie of affaires and counsailes doth proceed. No man proposeth vnto himselfe an end whereunto he will tend, neyther if he haue proposed

posed it, doth he persever in the same, but ouer-shooteth himselfe; and not only changeth he, but returneth and re-intangleth himselfe in those vices, which he himselfe had forsaken and condemned. That I may therefore leaue the olde definitions of wisedome, and comprehend the whole manner of humane life, I can be content with this. What is wisedome? To will one thing, and to nill the same: although thou adde not the exception, that it be iust which thou willest. One and the same thing cannot alwayes please any man, except it bee right. Men therefore know not what they will except in that very moment wherein they will. In summe, no man is positiue in his willing or nilling. The iudgement is daily varied, and turned into the contrarie, and to many men life passeth away like a May-game. Pursue then that which thou hast begun, and thou shalt happily attaine eyther to the height, or at least-wise to that thou alone shalt vnderstand that as yet it is not compleat. What shall become, sayest thou, of this troope of my familiars? All this troope when thou desistest to feed them will feede themselues, or that which thou canst not know by thy merites, thou shalt vnderstand by the meanes of pouertie. She will retaine thy true and certain friends, and whosoeuer shall leaue, followed not thee but another thing. And is not pouertie to be loued for this one thing, that she discloseth vnto thee who are thy vnfained friends? O when will that day come that no man will belie thine honour? Let therefore all thy thoughts tend hither, studie and wish this, remitting all other vowes vnto God, that thou mayest be content with thy selfe and such goods that accrue by thy selfe. What felicitie may be neerer vnto God? Reduce thy selfe, and content thee with the least estate, lower then which thou canst not fall: and that thou mayest the more willingly doe it, to this shall belong the tribute of this Epistle. Although thou enuie it, yet shall *Epicurus* euen at this present voluntarily defray the duetie for me. Beleeue me, this thy discourse shall haue more lustre and magnificence in a lowe bedde, and vnder a ragged coate; for it shall not onely be said but approued. And for mine owne part haue I during my life time otherwise heard that which my friend *Demetrius* said, when as I saw him naked, couched and lying vpon lesse then straw? For then is he not a Master of truth, but a witnesse. What then, ought we to set light by the riches which are in our possession, and as it were in our bosome? Why may we not? Great is his courage, which hauing long time and much admired them about him, laugheth at them, and rather heareth then feeleth that they are his. It is much, not to be corrupted by the fellowship of riches. Great is he that is poore in his riches, but more secure is hee that wanteth riches. I know not, sayest thou, how this man will beare his pouertie, if he fall into the same; neyther know I, saith *Epicurus*, if this poore man wil contemne his riches if he fall on them. Therefore in both of them the minde is to be esteemed and looked into; whether the one affected his pouertie, the other flattered not his riches. Otherwise the strawe bed, and ragged coate would be but a slender argument of good will, except it were manifest, that any one suffered them not of necessitie but voluntarily. But it is the signe of a great wit, not to runne after the things as if they were the better, but to prepare himselfe to endure them with facilitie. And truely, *Lucilius*, they are easier: but when as with mature consideration thou shalt entertaine them, they will be pleasant also; for in them there is a securitie, without which nothing is pleasant. I therefore iudge that necessarie, which as I wrote vnto thee, great men haue often done, to interpose certaine dayes, wherein by imaginarie pouertie we may exercise our selues to entertaine the true; which is the rather to be done because we haue beene

drowned in delights, and all things in our iudgements are hard and difficult: rather ought the minde to be awakened and rouſed from ſleepe, & to be inſtructed and admoniſhed, that nature hath propoſed vs the leaſt. No man is borne rich: whoſoeuer entreth life, is commanded to bee contented with bread and milke. From theſe beginnings Kingdomes containe vs not?

Epist. XXI.

That true ſplendor is in Philoſophie, and proceedeth not from honours or titles. That ſhe giues to thoſe that haue her, and cleaue vnto her, a perpetuall name and fame. An embleme from Epicvrvs. *To the intent thou mayest increaſe thy riches diminiſh thy deſires.*

THinkeſt thou that thou haſt to doe with thoſe thoughts whereof thou haddeſt writ to me? Thou haſt a mightie buſineſſe with thy ſelfe, and art troubleſome to thy ſelfe. Thou knoweſt not what thou wouldeſt: thou doeſt better allow then follow honeſt things. Thou ſeeſt where felicitie is planted, but thou dareſt not attaine thervnto. But what it is that hindereth thee, becauſe thou thy ſelfe doeſt little conceiue or prie into, I will tell thee. Thou thinkeſt theſe things great matters which thou art to leaue, and when as thou haſt propoſed to thy ſelfe that ſecuritie whervnto thou art to paſſe the light of this life from whence thou art to part, retaineth thee as if thou wert to fall into ſome loathſome and darke places. Thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe *Lucilius*, we aſcend from this life to the other. The difference which is betweene ſplendor and light, whereas this hath a certaine originall, and from it ſelfe, that ſhineth by reaſon of another: the ſame difference is there twixt this life and that. This becauſe it is reflected vpon by an externall light will preſently yeeld a thicke ſhadow to whomſoeuer ſetteth himſelfe before the ſame; but that other ſhineth by his owne light. Thy ſtudies will make thee famous and noble. I will relate an example of *Epicurus* when he wrote to *Idomeneus*, and reuoked him from a pompeous life to a faithfull and ſtable glorie, who was a miniſter at that time of rigorous and regall power and had the handling of many mightie matters. *If* (ſaith he) *thou art touched with glorie, my Epiſtles ſhall make thee more famous then all thoſe things which thou honoureſt, and for which thou art honoured.* Whether, I pray you, lied he? Who had knowne *Idomeneus* except *Epicurus* had regiſtred and engraued him in his Letters? All thoſe Potentates, Princes, and the King himſelfe, from whom *Idomeneus* had his eſtate and dignitie, are buried in eternall oblitiion. *Ciceroes* Epiſtles ſuffer not the name of *Atticus* to be exſtinguiſhed, neyther had *Agrippa* his ſonne in law, nor *Tiberius* his neeces husband, nor *Druſus Cæſar* his nephewes ſonne, amongſt ſo great names he had beene obſcured, had not *Cicero* maintayned his reputation, and kept him in memorie. After vs there ſhall come a long and hidden tract of time, ſome few wits ſhall lift vp their heads, and being likely at length to ſleepe in the ſame ſilence, ſhall reſiſt oblitiion, and ſhall keepe themſelues long time in reputation. That which *Epicurus* could promiſe his friend, that promiſe I thee, *Lucilius*. I ſhall haue fauour with poſteritie, and can beare away with me the names of ſuch as ſhall liue in memorie. One *Virgil* promiſed and performed to two eternall memorie:

You both are fortunate if ought my verſes can,
No day ſhall you exempt from memorie of man;
Whilſt haught Æneas *houſe ſhall ſtand, and laſting bide*
Vpon the Capitols rocky and loftie ſide,
And Romane father ſhall the Romane Empire guide.

All thoſe whom fortune hath aduanced, al they that haue bin the members and parcels of another mans power, their credite hath beene inhanced, their houſes haue beene frequented during the time that they themſelues flouriſhed, after them their memorie was quickly extinguiſhed. The reputation of wits increaſeth daily, and not onely continueth for them, but all that is receiued, which is adherent vnto them. And to the end that *Idomeneus* be not *gratis* incloſed in my Epiſtle, he ſhall redeeme the ſame at his owne charge. To him *Epicurus* wrote this noble ſentence, wherein he exhorteth him to make *Pithocles* rich after no vulgar or vncertaine manner: *If thou wilt* (ſaith he) *make* Pithocles *rich, thou muſt not amplifie his poſſeſſions, but diminiſh his deſires.* This ſentence is ſo plaine that it needeth no interpretation, and ſo expreſſe as it needeth no helpe. I admoniſh thee this one thing, that thou ſuppoſe not this onely to be ſpoken of riches, how ſoeuer thou applyeſt it, it is all one. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* honeſt thou muſt not amplifie his honours, but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt that *Pithocles* be in perpetuall pleaſure, thou muſt not amplifie his pleaſures but diminiſh his deſires. If thou wilt make *Pithocles* olde, and cauſe him to liue a compleat life, thou muſt not amplifie his yeares, but diminiſh his deſires. Thou haſt no reaſon to iudge that theſe are onely *Epicurus* ſpeeches, for they are publik. That which was wont to be don in the Senate, that alſo think I fit to be don in Philoſophie. When any one hath deliuered his minde, which partly pleaſeth me, I bid him diuide his ſentence, and I follow the ſame ſo diuided. The more willingly recite I theſe good ſayings of *Epicurus*, to the end I may ſhew thoſe who build thervpon, being conducted with a fooliſh preſumption, and that thinke to haue a cloake for their vices, that they ought to liue honeſtly in what place ſoeuer they bide. When they ſhall approach theſe Gardens, and ſhall ſee written ouer the gate of them,

Heere well mayſt thou abide my gentle gueſt,
Heere pleaſure is eſteem'd the chiefeſt beſt.

The Hoſt of this houſe courteous vnto his gueſts, full of hoſpitalitie and humanitie, will be addreſſed, and ſhall entertain thee with a cake, and preſent thee with water, as much as will ſuffice thee, and in the end will ſay vnto thee: *Haſt thou not beene well entertained?* Theſe Gardens, I tell thee, prouoke not but extinguiſh hunger: neyther make they thee thriſe-more great by the drinkings; but aſſwage them by a naturall and gratuitall remedie. In this pleaſure am I waxen olde, I ſpeake with thee of theſe deſires which receiue no conſolation, to which it is good to releaſe ſom things, to the end they may ceaſe. For in regard of the extraordinarie which a man may deſire, chaſtice and oppreſſe, I will aduertiſe thee of one thing, that this is neyther a naturall nor neceſſarie voluptuouſneſſe. To this thou art in no manner tyed, what ſoeuer thou beſtoweſt on it, it is voluntarie. The bellie heareth no precepts, it demandeth and calleth on vs; yet is he not a troubleſome creditor, but ſatisfied with little, prouided thou giue him that which thou oweſt, not that which thou payeſt.

Epist. XXII.

We ought manfully to diſlodge our ſelues of buſineſſes, and how the ſnares are eyther to be looſed or broken; yet let opportunity and good occaſion be reſpected, and not let ſlip. Furthermore he deſpiſeth and caſteth from him theſe falſe ſplendors. Then citeth he a ſentence of Epicvrvs. That all men part out of this life children, that is ignorant of the true life.

THou vnderſtandeſt now that thou art to acquit thy ſelfe of theſe buſineſſes, in appearance faire, but euill: but how thou mayeſt effect the ſame, thou askeſt my counſell. Many things cannot bee taught but in preſence. A Phyſitian cannot chooſe by his Letters the time of repaſt and bathing, he muſt feele the pulſe. It is an olde prouerb; *That the Fencer taketh counſaile in the field appointed for combat.* The countenance of his aduerſarie makes him thinke on ſomwhat, the motion of his hand, and the inclination of his bodie aduiſeth ſomewhat to him that beeholdeth or looketh on. A man may in generall giue aduice eyther by ſpeech, or writing of that which hath beene accuſtomed, or of that which is needfull to be done; and ſuch counſell both to the abſent and to poſteritie, but that other when it ought to be done, and how, no man will aduiſe from a farre off: we muſt deliberate with the things themſelues. It is the duetie of a good man that is not onely preſent but well aduiſed, to take the occaſion when it commeth; and therefore be intentiue after her, take her by the forlocke when thou ſeeſt her, and with all the force of thy minde, and to the vttermoſt of thy power labour to disburden thee of all theſe charges, which thou haſt taken on thee. Aboue all things obſerue what my counſaile is; my opinion is, that eyther thou muſt diſmiſſe this kinde of life, or loſe thy life. But I thinke this alſo that thou muſt keepe ſome moderate courſe, to the end that what thou haſt intangled lewdly, thou mayeſt rather looſe then breake off. And when there ſhould be no other meanes to diſcharge thy ſelfe, that thou mighteſt boldly breake the ſame. There is no man ſo faint hearted, that had rather abide alwayes hanging in the ayre, then to fall once. Meane while beware thou principally, that thou engage not thy ſelfe ouer-farre, content thy ſelfe with thoſe affaires thou haſt vndertaken, or (ſince thou wilt that we beleeue ſo) that haue ſurpriſed thee. Thou muſt not entangle thy ſelfe further; otherwiſe thou wilt looſe thy excuſe, and wilt make it knowne, that they haue not ſurpriſed thee. For theſe excuſes which are wont to be made, are falſe. I could not do otherwiſe; and what if I will not? I was forced to doe it. There is no man that is conſtrained to follow felicitie head-long. It is much if a man cannot repulſe her, at leaſt-wiſe to make head againſt her, and to reſiſt the ſwiftneſſe of fortune. Art thou diſpleaſed if I come not onely to giue thee counſaile, but if I call others alſo to thy aſſiſtance? Truely they are more wiſe then I am, it is of them that I take aduice, if I haue any thing to deliberate. I haue read an Epiſtle of *Epicurus*, that tendeth to this purpoſe, which is written to *Idomeneus*, whom he intreateth that as much as in him lieth, he flie and haſten before any greater force intercept, and cut off his liberty from retiring: yet addeth the ſame man, that nothing is to be attempted except when it may be aptly and lively executed. But when the time that a man hath ſo long expected ſhall come, he ſaith that we ought to diſlodge ſuddenly. Hee forbiddeth him ſleepe that ſuppoſeth to flie; hee hopeth alſo an happie iſſue of thoſe things that are moſt difficult, if we haſten not our ſelues before the time, and if wee be not negligent when it ſhall bee time to haſten. But I thinke

thinke thou demaundeſt the aduice of the Stoicks; there is no man ought to accuſe them towards thee of temeritie, they are more warie then ſtrong. Happily thou expecteſt that theſe things be ſpoken to thee. It is a ſhame to faint vnder the burthen; thou oughteſt to wraſtle againſt the charge thou haſt vndertaken. A man that flyeth trauel, is neither valiant nor hardie; he is the man whoſe courage redoubleth, the more difficult his affaires grow. All this ſhall be ſaid vnto thee, if perſeuerance ought to bring any profit, if it be neceſſarie if nothing ought to be done or ſuffered that is vnworthie a good man; otherwiſe hee will not tire himſelfe after a ſhamefull and diſhoneſt trauaile, and would not meddle with affaires, leſt he ſhould reape paine thereby, much leſſe would he doe that which thou thinkeſt he would doe, that finding himſelfe entangled in affaires, full of ambition he would alwayes ſupport that paſſion: but after that he ſhall know the dangers wherein he is plunged, to be full of incertaintie and doubts, he will withdraw his foote, yet not turne his backe, but by little and little will retire in ſafetie. Truely it is an eaſie thing, my *Lucilius*, to eſcape from buſineſſe, if thou contemne the profit of them: they are thoſe that retaine and ſtay vs. What ſhall I doe then? ſhall I leaue ſo long hopes? Shall I then deſiſt when I am to receiue the profite? Shall I not haue any man to attend me, and giue me? Shall my litter be vnattended? and my baſe Court without ſutors? With much hearts-griefe and vnwillingneſſe doe men depart from theſe hopes; they loue the profit that proceedeth from theſe miſeries, yet hate they the miſeries themſelues. So complaine they of their ambitions as of their miſeries: and if thou conſider well their true affection, they hate them not, but they are angrie with them. Shake off thoſe men which deplore that which they haue deſired, and ſpeake of the forſaking of thoſe things which they cannot want, thou ſhalt ſee that they inceſſantly keepe company with that which they report inceſſantly to be moſt diſtaſtefull and diſliking to them. True it is, my *Lucilius*, that ſeruitude retaineth few perſons, and few perſons retaine ſeruitude: but if thou art reſolued in thy minde to diſmiſſe the ſame, and that in good earneſt libertie beſt pleaſeth thee; and that to this one intent thou demandeſt counſaile, that without perpetuall felicitie thou mayeſt haue power to doe the ſame. Why ſhould not the whole company of Stoicks allow thereof? All *Zenoes Chryſippi* will perſwade moderate, honeſt, and true things. But if for this cauſe thou recoileſt, that thou mayeſt looke about thee, how much thou ſhalt carrie with thee, and what great riches thou needeſt to liue in repoſe, thou ſhalt neuer finde an iſſue: a man loaden with a burden cannot ſaue himſelfe by ſwimming. Depart from that to enter with the fauour of the goddes into a better life, prouided that this fauour be not like vnto theirs, to whom they haue giuen euils with a ſmiling and gratious countenance, excuſed by this one thing, that the goods which burn and torment, were giuen to thoſe that wiſhed for them, I had alreadie ſealed vp my letter, but I muſt open it againe, that I may ſend it to thee with a ſolemne preſent, and bring with it ſome magnificall ſentence; and beholde I know not whether one more true or more eloquent is falne in my hand. Whoſe is it, ſayeſt thou? *Epicurus*: for as yet do I fill my packet with other mens purpoſes. *No man departeth otherwiſe out of this life, but as if he did but newly enter.* Surpriſe what man thou wilt, young, of middle age or olde; thou ſhalt finde them alike afraid of death, and all of them as ignorant of life. No man hath finiſhed any thing: for we alwayes refer our affaires to the time to come. There is nothing in this ſentence that pleaſeth me ſo much, then when it reproacheth olde men, that as yet they are infants. No man, ſaith he, doth otherwiſe depart out of this life,

then

then as he was borne. It is falſe, we die worſe then we were borne: it is our error and not natures; ſhe muſt complaine of vs, and ſay, what meaneth this, I haue bred you without deſires, without feares, without ſuperſtition, without perfidiouſneſſe, and other plagues, depart out of life ſuch as you entred? That man is ſeaſoned in wiſedome, who dieth as ſecurely as he is borne. But now feare we, when danger approacheth our heart, our colour faileth vs, and fruitleſſe teares fall from our eyes. What is more abſurd then to be fearefull euen in the very entrance of ſecuritie? But the cauſe hereof is this; becauſe we are voyde of all goodneſſe, whereas in the end of our life we labour with the deſire of them: for no part thereof remaineth with vs, it is loſt, it is vaniſhed, no man careth how well he liueth, but how long, whereas all men might haue the hap to liue well, as no men haue to liue long.

Epist. XXIII.

He warneth to ſeeke out true ioy: what is that? That which is ſeuere and bred of true goodneſſe. The reſt are fallacious and fugitiue, this ſolid and firme, becauſe it is ſeated in a reſolute minde, which is the beſt part of vs: in a word, it is ſeated in conſcience. At laſt Epicvrvs *his ſaying. It is a loathſome and troubleſome thing alwayes to begin to liue, and ſuch as are inconſtant are condemned.*

IHou ſuppoſeſt that I will write vnto thee how kindly the winter hath dealt with vs, which was both remiſſe and ſhort; how vnkindly the ſpring was, and prepoſterous the colde, and ſuch other toyes as delight thoſe that loue words. But I will write ſomthing which may profit both thee and me. And what elſe ſhall that be but to exhort thee to a good mind? Askeſt thou me what the foundation thereof is? Doe not ioy in vaine things. Said I that this is the foundation, it is the perfection and fulneſſe thereof. Hee obtaineth the fulneſſe of this good, who knoweth wherein his pleaſure lyeth, and hath not builded his felicitie on another mans power: he is altogether in care, and ill aſſured, who is tickled with any hope, although hee holdeth it in his hand, although hee eaſily obtaine the ſame, although the things he hoped for haue neuer deceiued him. Doe this aboue all things, my *Lucilius*, learne to reioyce. Thou thinkeſt now that I take many of thy pleaſures from thee, who driue from thee thoſe that are gotten by caſualtie, who ſuppoſe that theſe hopes and ſweeteſt delights are to be auoyded, nay, rather it is quite contrarie. I will not that at any time thou be without ioy. I will that it be bred vnto thee in thine owne houſe; and it is bred, if ſo be that it be within thy ſelfe. All other delights repleniſh not the ſoule, but cleare the countenance: they are toyes except thou iudgeſt him to be merrie that laugheth. The minde ought to be reſolute and confident, and lifted vp aboue all things. Truſt me, true ioy is a ſeuere thing. Thinkeſt thou that a man with a ſmooth and ſmiling countenance, and, as theſe wanton fellowes ſpeake, with a merrie eye, contemneth death, openeth his houſe to pouertie, bridleth his delights, and meditateth on patience? He that thinketh on all theſe things is in great gladneſſe, but little pleaſing: in poſſeſſion of this gladneſſe I would haue thee be, it will neuer faile thee, when as thou once findeſt out from whence it proceedeth. The beſt of the ſlighteſt mettals is in the vpper part, they are the moſt rich which haue their vaine hidden in their centre, and wil make him moſt rich who ſhall ſearch their mine with diligence. Theſe toyes and trifles where-

with the common ſort are delighted, haue a pleaſure tender and facile to melt, and all that ioy which commeth from without vs, is without foundation. This whereof I ſpeake, wherevnto I endeuour to draw thee, is ſolid and farre more apparent inwardly. Endeuour, I beſeech thee, my welbeloued *Lucilius*, to practiſe that only which may make thee happie: deſpiſe and ſpurne at thoſe things that outwardly ſhine, and which are promiſed thee from another: fixe thie eye vpon the true good, and take thou pleaſure in that which is thine owne. But what meaneth this? of thy ſelfe, and the better part of thy ſelfe: thinke alſo of thy bodie (although nothing may be done without it) to be a thing rather neceſſarie then great. It ſuggeſteth vaine, ſhort and remorſfull pleaſures, and ſuch as, if they be not well tempered with great moderation, will turne into a contrarie effect. I ſay this, that pleaſure is ſtill falling headlong, and declining vnto griefe, except it keep a mediocritie; and hard it is to keep a mean in that which thou firmely beleeueſt to be good. The deſire of true good is aſſured. Askeſt thou me what this true good is, and whence it proceedeth? I wil tell thee; from a good conſcience, from honeſt deliberations, from vertuous and iuſtifiable actions, from contempt of ſuch things as are caſuall, from a peaceable, and continuall inſtitution of life, which hath alwayes traced the ſame courſe. For they who leapt from ſome purpoſes to other, or elſe iumpe not, but by a certaine chance are tranſported; how can they haue any thing certaine or permanent, being themſelues inconſtant and in ſuſpence? Few there are that diſpoſe both themſelues and their eſtates by counſaile. The reſt after the manner of thoſe ſedges that floate on great riuers, goe not, but are carried; whereof ſome are detayned, and are ſoftly conuayed by a flower ſtreame, other ſom carried away by a more vehement, others a ſoft tyde hath ſlowly carried to the ſhoare, others a ſtrong current hath caſt into the Sea. We muſt therefore be reſolued what we will, and in it muſt we perſeuer. Here is the place to pay my debt: for I can pay thee in the words of thine owne *Epicurus* and diſcharge this Epiſtle: *It is a tedious thing alwayes to begin life*: or if in this manner the ſenſe may be the better expreſſed; *Badly liue they who alwayes begin to liue.* Why ſayeſt thou? for this word requireth an explanation. Becauſe their life is alwayes imperfect: but it cannot be that hee ſhould be prepared for death, that doth but lately beginne to liue. We muſt ſo doe, as if we had liued long enough. No man hath thought it that beginneth to liue, when he onely beginneth in good earneſt: neuertheleſſe thinke thou not that theſe are few in number, for almoſt all are ſuch. Some doe then begin to liue, when they ought to ceaſe: if thou thinke this and wonder, I will adde that which ſhall drawe thee more into admiration; ſome haue ceaſed to liue before they haue begun.

Epist.

Epist. XXIIII.

An Epistle worthie to be ranked amongst the best. He exhorteth not to feare euils to come, although they threaten. But rather to propose them to happen, and so to forme a mans selfe by examining or extenuating them. For what are all these feares? The last of them is death, and contemne that by reason. Great men haue done it. Plebeians and Slaues haue done it. Why (bouldest thou not aspire? Take the visard from things: that which thou fearest is paine, which a tender woman hath suffered in her child-bed. Finally, thou art borne to this, to be tossed, to grieue, to die: acknowledge thy destinie: yet with Epicvrvs *precept, neither wish for death, neither feare it.*

THou writest vnto me that thou art disquieted in mind about the euent of thy iudgement, which the furie of thine enemie doth denounce against thee, and thou thinkest that I will perswade thee; to propose vnto thy selfe in the meane time good successe, and feed thy selfe with vaine hopes. For what needeth it vs to call on and anticipate our calamities, which will befall vs too soone, and lose the present good for feare of the euill to come? Vndoubtedly it is a great folly to make a mans selfe miserable for the present, because that sometimes hereafter he must be: but I will leade thee to securitie by another way, if thou wilt disburthen thy selfe of all care; make account, that whatsoeuer thou feareſt shall befall thee, is alreadie happened, and what euill soeuer it be, measure it by thy selfe, and taxe thy feare. Thereby shalt thou iudge vndoubtedly, either that thine euill is not great, or that it is not long: neither mayest thou spend much time in gathering examples, to conforme thee, euery age is stored with them. In whatsoeuer part of affaires, either ciuill or externall, thou fixest thy memorie, thou shalt meet with wits, either proficient in wisdome, or of great towardnesse. Can there then, if so be thou be condemned, a worse fortune befall thee, then to be banished, to be led to prison? Is there any thing more to be feared by any man, then that he shall be burned, then that he shall die? Thinke verie neerely on euery one of these things, and represent vnto thy selfe all those that haue despised them, who are not to be sought for, but chosen out. *Rutilius* so suffered his condemnation, as if no other thing more troubled him, then for that he was wrongfully iudged. *Metellus* tooke his exile couragiously, and *Rutilius* also willingly; the one vouchsafeing his returne for the good of the Commonweale; the other refusing *Sylla* his returne, to whom in those dayes nothing was denied. *Socrates* disputed in the prison, and whereas there were some that promised him flight, he refused to make escape; yea and he remained to the intent to take from men the feare of two the most dreadfullest things, that is to say, Imprisonment and Death. *Mutius* thrust his hand into the flame. A bitter thing it is to be burned, but how farre more intollerable, if thou suffer it by thine owne act? Thou seest an vnlearned man, neuer strengthened by my Precepts against death or griefe, onely furnished with militarie fortitude, exacting punishment from himselfe, of his frustrated attempt: he stood looking on his right hand dropping away in his enemies fire, neither removed he his scorched hand burned to the bones, before the fire was withdrawne from him by the enemie himselfe. Something might he haue performed in that campe more happily, but nothing more couragiously. See how more eager Vertue is to entertaine perill, then crueltie to command it. More easily did *Porsenna* pardon *Mutius*,

tius, for that he would haue killed him, then *Mutius* did himselfe, because he had not murthered him. These fables, thou wilt say are ouerworne, and sung amiddest the Schooles. Now wilt thou (now the cause is handled of contempt of death) alledge me *Cato*. And why should I not nominate and represent him reading that last night *Platoes* booke with his sword behind his pillow? These two instruments in extremities had he prouided, the one to haue will to die, the other to haue power. Hauing then giuen order to his affaires, as farre as a broken and desperate estate permitted him; he thought that onely concerned him to act: that no man might either haue power to kill, or opportunitie to saue *Cato*. And hauing his sword drawne, which vntill that time he had kept pure and neate from all murther. Thou hast not O Fortune, said hee, as yet done any thing against me, in opposing thy selfe against all my designes and enterprises. I haue not as yet fought for mine owne, but my countries libertie, neither haue I endeuoured so much to liue free, as to liue amongst free men. Now since the affaires of humane kind are desperate, *Cato* will well finde a meanes to see himselfe at libertie. After this he grieuously wounded himselfe in the bodie, which being dressed and bound vp by his Physitians. *Cato* that had alreadie lost much blood, and much strength, but nothing lost of the greatnesse and goodnesse of his minde: now not only angrie with *Cæsar*, but incensed against himselfe; he forced his naked hands into his mortall wound, and rendred or rather thrust out that generous soule of his, that contemned all power. I haue not vp together these examples for this present, to the intent to exercise my wit, but rather to giue thee courage against a thing that seemeth so dreadfull and terrible. And more easily shall I exhort thee in my opinion, if I shew, that not only great and generous persons haue contemned this moment of yeelding vp the ghost, but that some men of little value in all other things, haue in this equalled the vertue of the most generous, as that *Scipio* the father in law to *Cneius Pompeius*, who being forced by a contrarie winde to be transported into *Affrica*, and perceiuing his ship to be in the possession of his enemies, stabbed himselfe, answering those, who demanded where the emperour was, that the Emperour was well. This vow of his made him equall with his ancestors, and suffered not that the glorie which seemeth to be fatall to the *Scipions* in *Affrica*, should be interrupted. It was much to conquer *Carthage*, but more to conquer death. The Emperour, saith he, is well: and in what other sort should an Emperour die, namely, such a one that commanded *Cato*? I will not referre thee to former Histories, nor gather together from all ages the many contemners and despisers of death. Looke onely into these very times of ours, whose negligence and daintinesse we complaine of, thou shalt meet with men of all estates, all fortunes, all ages, which haue cut off the course of their misfortunes by their deaths. Beleeue me *Lucillius*, so little ought death to be feared, that nothing is to be preferred before the benefit thereof. Heare therefore securely and confidently the threats of thine enemie, and although thy conscience make thee confident, yet because that many things haue credit, beside the cause, hope for that which is iust, and prepare thy selfe against iniustice. But aboue all things, remember thou to esteeme things simply as they be, and despoile them of the tumult and bruit that is accustomably giuen them, and thou shalt find in them, that there is nothing terrible in them, but the only feare. That which thou seest befall yong children, befalleth vs also that are greater boyes; they are afraid of those whom they loue, and with whom they frequent and disport euerie day, if they see them masked and disguised. Not from men onely ought we

to take the maske, but from things themselues, and yeeld them their true and naturall appearance. Why theweſt thou me ſwords and fire, and a troope of grinning hang-men about thee? Take away this pompe, vnder which thou lieſt hidden, and wherewith thou terrifieſt fooles: thou art Death, which of late my ſlaue or my hand-maiden hath contemned. Againe, why theweſt thou me theſe whippes and torments, vnder ſo mightie a preparation? Why ſeuerall engines for ſeuerall ioynts, fitted to torture men, and a thouſand other inſtruments to plucke a man in pieces? Lay aſide theſe things which aſtoniſh vs, command the groanes and exclamations, and the irkſomeneſſe of the cries extorted in the middeſt of the torture. Vndoubtedly it is but the paine, which this goutie man contemneth, which that man ſick with the paine of the ſtomacke, in his very daintineſſe endureth, which the tender woman ſuffereth in her childing. Light it is, if I can endure it, ſhort it is, if I can ſuffer it. Toſſe theſe things in thy minde, which thou haſt oftentimes heard, which thou haſt often ſaid. Approue it by effect, if thou haſt truely ſaid it, or truely heard it. For it is a villainous reproach, which is wont to be obiected againſt vs, if we handle the words of *Philoſophie*, but not the workes. What thinkeſt thou? Suppoſeſt thou that this is the firſt time that death, baniſhment, and griefe houered ouer thee? Thou art borne to thoſe. Let vs thinke that any thing may bee done, as if it were hereafter to be done. That which I aduiſe thee to do, I ſurely know thou haſt done. Now do I admoniſh thee, that thou drowne not thy mind in this ſollicitude, for it will be dulled and haue leſſe force, when thou haſt reaſon to raiſe and rouſe it. Withdraw the ſame from a priuate cauſe to a publike; ſay that thou haſt a mortall and fraile bodie, which forraine iniurie and tyranny may not onely hurt, but the very pleaſures themſelues may be transformed into torments. The delicacie of meates cauſeth the cruditie of the ſtomake; drunkenneſſe, trembling and aſtoniſhment of the ſinewes; the pleaſures of the fleſh and luſts, a generall deprauation of hands and feet, and all the ioynts. If I become poore, I haue many fellowes; if I be baniſhed, I ſhall perſwade my ſelfe, that the place wherein I am confined, is the place of my birth; if I be tied and manackled, what then, now I am free? That nature, as ſoone as we are borne, impriſoneth vs in this lumpiſh maſſe of the bodie, as in a ſtrong priſon. If I muſt die, I will comfort my ſelfe in this, that I ſhall ceaſe to be any more ſicke; I ſhall ceaſe to be bound; I ſhall ceaſe to haue power to die. I am not ſo fond as in this place to perſecute *Epicurus* ſong, or to ſay that the feare of hell is vaine, that *Ixion* is not toſt on the wheele, nor *Syſiphus* tied to roule and returne his ſtone on his ſhoulder; nor that any mans bowels could be renewed and deuoured daily. There is no man ſo childiſh as to feare *Cerberus*, and darkneſſe, and the ſhadowes of ghoſts walking by night. Death either conſumeth vs, or deliuereth vs. A better condition exempted from all charge, attendeth thoſe who are deliuered by death. To thoſe that are conſumed, there remaineth nothing more, ſince both the good and the euill are equally taken from them. Permit me in this place to put thee in memorie of a verſe thou haſt made, and thinke that thou haſt not written it to others, but to thy ſelfe. It is a ſhamefull and vnſeemely thing to ſpeake one thing and thinke another, but how odious to write one thing and to thinke another? I remember that thou debating ſometime on this place, diddeſt ſay, that we fall not ſuddenly into death, but by little and little walke vnto death. We die daily, and ſome part of our life is daily ſcantled: and then alſo when we encreaſe, our life doth decreaſe. We haue loſt our infancie, and then our youth, then our mans eſtate; briefely, all that time which is paſſed

paſſed vntill this preſent day is death for vs. And this very day we liue, we diuide with death. Euen as in an houre-glaſſe, the laſt part of the ſand that falleth is not the onely part that diſcouereth the houre, but all that alſo which is falne before; ſo the laſt houre, in which we ceaſe to be, is not the onely that cauſeth death, but it is that conſummateth it. At that time we attaine thither, but we come thereto long before. Theſe things when thou haddeſt deſcribed according to thy accuſtomed ſtile, thou wert alwayes great, but neuer more wittie, then when thou fitteſt thy words to truth, and ſaydeſt,

Death hath degrees, that is not firſt that laſt
Attempts to vaniſh vs, but that is laſt.

I had rather thou ſhouldeſt reade thy ſelfe, then my Epiſtle: it will appeare vnto thee, that this death which we feare, is the laſt, but not the onely which we ſuffer. I perceiue thy bent. Thou expecteſt to ſee what thing I ſhould inſert into this my Epiſtle, what bould ſpeech of any man, what profitable precept. Of this very matter which we haue in hand, I will affoord thee ſomewhat: *Epicurus* is diſpleaſed as much with thoſe that deſire death, as thoſe that feare it, & ſaith thus; *It is a ridiculous thing, that the hatred of life maketh vs runne vnto death, when by the courſe of our life we haue occaſioned no leſſe, but that needs we muſt haue recourſe vnto death.* Likewiſe in another place he ſaith: *What is more ridiculous then to wiſh for death, when thorow the feare of death, a man hath made his life no leſſe then a torment?* Thou mayeſt alſo adde this, which is of the ſame ſtuffe: That the follie or rather madneſſe of men is ſo great, that there are diuers who are conſtrained to die for feare of death. Which of theſe ſentences thou ſhalt keepe in memory, it will confirme thee in the ſufferance eyther of life or death: for we haue need both to be admoniſhed and confirmed in both of theſe, to the end we neyther too much loue, nor too much loath our life; and at that very time when reaſon counſaileth vs to finiſh the ſame, we ought not to doe it raſhly, neyther in fetching our race ought we to runne vpon it. A couragious and wiſe man, ought to leaue his life but not to flie from it: but aboue all things auoyde that affection wherwith many men are poſſeſſed, that is a deſire to die: for euen as in all other things (my *Lucilius*) ſo alſo in death, there is a diſordinate and vnbridled inclination of the minde, that oftentimes ſurpriſeth men of high and generous ſpirits, and oftentimes fearefull and faint-hearted men; the one deſpiſe life, the other loath the ſame. Some other there are that are weary of liuing, and glutted with doing one thing alwayes, and hate not ſo much their life as they are wearie of it. And thereunto Philoſophie it ſelfe leadeth vs, whilſt we ſay, *How long the ſame?* That is, I ſhall riſe, I ſhall ſleepe, I ſhall be full, I ſhall be hungry, I ſhall be a cold, I ſhall be hote; there is no end of any thing, but all things are ſhut in a circle, they flie and follow. The day expelleth the night, the night ſecondeth the day; Summer endeth in Autumne, Winter ſucceedeth it, and the Spring, Winter: all things paſſe that they may returne againe: I ſee nothing new, I doe nothing new, In the end we grow in loathing of theſe things. There are many that acount it not a bitter thing to liue, but ſuperfluous.

Epist. XXV.

He prescribeth of two friends a young and an olde in different sort: how they are to be dealt withall, with the one more roughly, with the other more remisly, lest he despaire. He exhorteth Lucilius *himselfe to mediocritie or powertie: at length by* Epicurus *words, to take to himselfe a Tutor. Do all things as if a man looked on thee.*

AS concerning our two friends, we must proceede after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extinguished. I will vse an intire libertie: I loue not him except I shall offend him. What then wilt thou say? Thinkest thou to containe vnder thy discipline a pupill of fortie yeare olde? Behold his age alreadie hard and vntractable: he cannot be reformed, things plyable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I shall preuaile or no; I had rather the successe then my indeuour should faile me. Despaire not but that a man may heale those that haue beene afflicted with inueterate sickenesses; if thou resist their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things against their will. Neyther of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he blusheth to offend. This shamefastnesse is to be nourished, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be some place for good hope. With this old Souldier I think we must deale more sparingly, lest he fall into desperation of himselfe. Neither was there any more fit time to set vpon him then this, whilst he pawseth and pretendeth a shew of reformation. This intermission deceiued others: for my selfe it abaseth me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vsurie, which for the present I know are at repose, but not dispossessed. I will bestow some time vpon this matter, and I will make tryall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy selfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accustomed, and trusse vp the baggage. Nothing of that which wee haue is necessarie. Let vs retire to the lawe of nature; riches are at hand, eyther that we want is gratuitall or vile. Nature desires bread & water, no man is poor to these. Vpon those things wherein a man hath confined his desire, he may argule with *Iupiter* himselfe of his felicitie, as *Epicurus* saith, some speech, of whom I will inclose in this Epistle: *So doe all things* (saith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is very profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans selfe, and to haue one whom thou mayest respect, whom thou iudgest to haue an insight into thy thoughts. But it is farre better to liue as if one were a slaue to some one good man, who should be alwayes at his heeles: I likewise holde my selfe content, prouided alwayes that that which thou doest, thou doest it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude inuiteth vs to all euill. When thou hast profited so much that thou art ashamed of thy selfe, thou mayest let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time keepe thy selfe vnder the authoritie of some one: eyther let him be *Cato*, or *Scipio*, or *Lælius*, or such as by whose interuiew men of least hope would suppresse their vices also, whilst thou makest thy selfe him before whom thou darest not offend. When thou hast done this, and that thou hast thy selfe in good esteeme, I will begin to permit thee that which *Epicurus* himselfe perswadeth. At that time especially retire thy selfe into thy selfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behoueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while it is no securitie for thee to depart from thy selfe. Consider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatsoeuer, then with himselfe: then especially retire thy selfe into selfe, when as thou

thou art compelled to be in companie, if thou beest a good, quiet, and temperate man; otherwise forsake thy selfe, and seeke out companie: for in this case thou approchest more neere to a man of euill life.

Epist. XXVI.

That he is olde and yet flourishing in minde. He speaketh stoutly of death, which onely (saith he) sheweth if any thing be done. The rest are words. Force and courage shall appeare when thou art dying. A clause from Epicvrvs. *Learne to meditate on death.*

IT olde thee not long since that I am in view of olde age, but now I feare me I haue left olde age behinde me: vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue neede of another word; for olde is the name of an age wearied and feeble, and not of that which is altogether wasted and worne out. Number me amongst the most decrepit; and that haue, as the prouerbe runneth, One foote already in the graue. Neuertheless I accompanie thee in thy ioy: in this I feele not the iniurie of my yeares in my mind, although I am sensible of them in my bodie, only vices and the ministeries of them are quenched by old-age. The mind is frolicke and reioyceth, because it hath not much to doe with the bodie: hee hath discharged himselfe of the greatest part of his burthen, hee exulteth and quarrelleth with me for olde age: This, saith he, is his flower. Let vs beleeue him, and suffer him to enioy his good. I take pleasure to re-knowledge and discerne in my selfe, what part of this tranquillitie and modestie of manners which I haue, I owe vnto Philosophie, and what part vnto mine age, and diligently to discusse what things I cannot do, and what things I would not do, and whether I can any thing that I will not: for if I cannot any thing, I am glad I cannot: for what cause of complaint is there, or what discommoditie; if that which needes must not be, hath ceased to be? It is a great discommoditie, sayest thou, to bee diminished and to perish: and to speake more properly, to melt away. For we are not suddenly forced and cast downe, we are weakened, and euery day depriueth vs of some part of our forces. And what end is better, then to steale softly on a mans end by the dissolution of nature? not that there is any euill in this, to be striken and suddenly deprined of life, but this way is sweet and gentle, to be by little and little dispossessed and robbed of a mans selfe. For mine owne part as if I were on the point of tryall, and the day were come which should pronounce the sentence of all my years, I obserue, and after this manner speake vnto my selfe. All that which we haue eyther spoken or done, vntill this houre, is nought else but a simple and light promise of the soule, couered with much deceit: death shall be the only faithfull testimonie, whether I haue profited or not. Thus prepare I my selfe couragiously for that day, wherein I will pronounce of my selfe and iudge, all crafts & subtilties laide aside, whether I speake or thinke constantly, whether the contumacious wordes, whatsoeuer which I vrged and darted out against fortune, were dissembled or fained. Remoue the estimation of men, it is alwayes doubtfull and diuided on both parts. Remoue thy studies, thou hast handled all thy life time, death must pronounce of thee. I say, this, that the disputes and learned conferences, and the wordes gatherd from the precepts of wise-men, neyther the well-composed discourse doth

Epist. XXV.

He prescribeth of two friends a young and an olde in different sort: how they are to be dealt withall, with the one more roughly, with the other more remissly, leſt he deſpaire. He exhorteth Lvcilvs *himſelfe to mediocritie or powertie: at length by* Epicvrvs *words, to take to himſelfe a Tutor. Do all things as if a man looked on thee.*

AS concerning our two friends, we muſt proceede after a different manner: for the vices of the one are to be amended, of the other to be extinguiſhed. I will vſe an intire libertie: I loue not him except I ſhall offend him. What then wilt thou ſay? Thinkeſt thou to containe vnder thy diſcipline a pupill of fortie yeare olde? Behold his age alreadie hard and vntractable: he cannot be reformed, things plyable may be wrought vpon. I know not whether I ſhall preuaile or no; I had rather the ſucceſſe then my indeuour ſhould faile me. Deſpaire not but that a man may heale thoſe that haue beene afflicted with inueterate ſickeneſſes; if thou reſiſt their intemperance, and if thou compell them to doe and endure many things againſt their will. Neyther of the other can I haue any great hope, except this, that as yet he bluſheth to offend. This ſhamefaſtneſſe is to be nouriſhed, which as long as it continueth in the mind, there will be ſome place for good hope. With this old Souldier I think we muſt deale more ſparingly, leſt he fall into deſperation of himſelf. Neither was there any more fit time to ſet vpon him then this, whilſt he pawſeth and pretendeth a ſhew of reformation. This intermiſſion deceiued others: for my ſelfe it abaſeth me not; I expect the return of his vices with great vſurie, which for the preſent I know are at repoſe, but not diſpoſſeſſed. I will beſtow ſome time vpon this matter, and I will make tryall whether any thing may be done or no. Approue thy ſelfe a man vnto vs, as thou art accuſtomed, and truſſe vp the baggage. Nothing of that which we haue is neceſſarie. Let vs returne to the lawe of nature; riches are at hand, eyther that we want is gratuitall or vile. Nature deſires bread & water, no man is poore to theſe. Vpon thoſe things wherein a man hath confined his deſire, he may argue with *Iupiter* himſelfe of his felicitie, as *Epicurus* ſaith, ſome ſpeech, of whom I will incloſe in this Epiſtle: *So doe all things* (ſaith he) *as if another man looked on.* Vndoubtedly it is very profitable to haue a guard ouer a mans ſelfe, and to haue one whom thou mayeſt reſpect, whom thou iudgeſt to haue an inſight into thy thoughts. But it is farre better to liue as if one were a ſlaue to ſome one good man, who ſhould be alwayes at his heeles: I likewiſe holde my ſelfe content, prouided alwayes that that which thou doeſt, thou doeſt it as if a man had an eye vpon thee. Solitude induceth vs to all euill. When thou haſt profited ſo much that thou art aſhamed of thy ſelfe, thou mayeſt let goe thy Tutor; in the meane time keepe thy ſelfe vnder the authoritie of ſome one: eyther let him be *Cato*, or *Scipio*, or *Lælius*, or ſuch as by whoſe interuiew men of leaſt hope would ſuppreſſe their vices alſo, whilſt thou makeſt thy ſelfe him before whom thou dareſt not offend. When thou haſt done this, and that thou haſt thy ſelfe in good eſteeme, I will begin to permit thee that which *Epicurus* himſelfe perſwadeth. At that time eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into thy ſelfe, when thou art compelled to be in companie, it behoooueth thee to differ from many men; but in the meane while it is no ſecuritie for thee to depart from thy ſelfe. Conſider the one after the other: there is no man that had not rather be with any man whatſoeuer, then with himſelfe: then eſpecially retire thy ſelfe into ſelfe, when as thou

thou art compelled to be in companie, if thou beeſt a good, quiet, and temperate man; otherwiſe forſake thy ſelfe, and ſeeke out companie: for in this caſe thou approcheſt more neere to a man of euill life.

Epist. XXVI.

That he is olde and yet flouriſhing in minde. He ſpeaketh ſtoutly of death, which onely (ſaith he) ſheweth if any thing be done. The reſt are words. Force and courage ſhall appeare when thou art dying. A clauſe from Epicvrvs. *Learne to meditate on death.*

IT olde thee not long ſince that I am in view of olde age, but now I feare me I haue left olde age behinde me: vndoubtedly my yeares and bodie at this time haue neede of another word; for olde is the name of an age wearied and feeble, and not of that which is altogether waſted and worne out. Number me amongſt the moſt decrepit; and that haue, as the prouerbe runneth, One foote already in the graue. Neuertheleſſe I accompanie thee in thy ioy: in this I feele not the iniurie of my yeares in my mind, although I am ſenſible of them in my bodie, only vices and the miniſteries of them are quenched by old-age. The mind is frolicke and reioyceth, becauſe it hath not much to doe with the bodie: hee hath diſcharged himſelfe of the greateſt part of his burthen, hee exſulteth and quarrelleth with me for olde age: This, ſaith he, is his flower. Let vs beleeue him, and ſuffer him to enioy his good. I take pleaſure to re-knowledge and diſcerne in my ſelfe, what part of this tranquillitie and modeſtie of manners which I haue, I owe vnto Philoſophie, and what part vnto mine age, and diligently to diſcuſſe what things I cannot do, and what things I would not do, and whether I can any thing that I will not: for if I cannot any thing, I am glad I cannot: for what cauſe of complaint is there, or what diſcommoditie; if that which needes muſt not be, hath ceaſed to be? It is a great diſcommoditie, ſayeſt thou, to bee diminiſhed and to periſh: and to ſpeake more properly, to melt away. For we are not ſuddenly forced and caſt downe, we are weakened, and euery day depriueth vs of ſome part of our forces. And what end is better, then to ſteale ſoftly on a mans end by the diſſolution of nature? not that there is any euill in this, to be ſtriken and ſuddenly depriued of life, but this way is ſweet and gentle, to be by little and little diſpoſſeſſed and robbed of a mans ſelfe. For mine owne part as if I were on the point of tryall, and the day were come which ſhould pronounce the ſentence of all my years, I obſerue, and after this manner ſpeake vnto my ſelfe. All that which we haue eyther ſpoken or done, vntill this houre, is nought elſe but a ſimple and light promiſe of the ſoule, couered with much deceit: death ſhall be the only faithfull teſtimonie, whether I haue profited or not. Thus prepare I my ſelfe couragiouſly for that day, wherein I will pronounce of my ſelfe and iudge, all crafts & ſubtilties laide aſide, whether I ſpeake or thinke conſtantly, whether the contumacious wordes, whatſoeuer which I vrged and darted out againſt fortune, were diſſembled or fained. Remoue the eſtimation of men, it is alwayes doubtfull, and diuided on both parts. Remoue thy ſtudies, thou haſt handled all thy life time, death muſt pronounce of thee. I ſay, this, that the diſputes and learned conferences, and the wordes gatherd from the precepts of wiſe-men, neyther the well-compoſed diſcourſe doth

make shew,and approue the true value of a mans minde: for the fearfullest and forward,and bold in words. It then will appeare what thou hast done when thou departest thy life. I accept this condition: I feare not the iudgement. Thus speake I with my selfe, but suppose likewise that I speake this to thee. Thou art younger: what skilleth it? our yeares are not numbred, it is vncertaine in what place death expecteth thee,therfore expect thou him in all places. I would now haue made an end,and my hand was prefixing the period: but all solemnities must be obserued, and I must giue this Epistle his safe conduct. Think that I tell thee not whence I mean to borrow; for thou knowest whose coffer I vse. Tarrie a little and thou shalt be satisfied out of mine owne stocke; in the meane time *Epicurus* shall lend me somewhat,who saith; *Meditate whether it be more commodious that death come vnto vs, or we vnto her.* The end hereof is manifest: it is an excellent thing to learne to die. Happily thou thinkest it to be a fruitlesse thing to learne that which thou must vse but once. This is that for which we ought to meditate; wee must alwayes learne which whether we know,we cannot make proofe of. Meditate on death, who saith thus, commandeth to meditate on libertie: he that hath learned to die,hath forgotten to serue, it is aboue all power,vndoubtedly beyond all. What careth he for prisons,holds, or restraints? He hath alwayes free passage.There is but one chaine that holdeth vs bound,that is the loue of life, which as it is not to be reiected,so is it to be diminished, to the end that if occasion so fall out, nothing may detaine or hinder vs,but that we may be ready to do that presently,which at some other time hereafter we must needs doe.

Epist. XXVII.

He warneth and excuseth,but what? Is he alreadie good, alreadie perfect? I am not, saith he,but amongst those that are rich. I debate with thee of the common end, and the remedy of the same. Pleasures hurt or falsly helpe. Vertue alone bringeth forth a solid ioy. But assume thou and possesse thou her,by another thou mayest not. A short and merrie historie of Calvisius. Epicurus *saying: Riches are a naturall powertie.*

DOest thou admonish me,sayest thou, for already thou hast admonished,already corrected thy selfe? And therfore employest thou thy selfe to reforme others. And I am not so impudent to goe about to cure others, being sicke my selfe; but lying, as it were, in the same Hospitall with thee,and of the same sickenesse,I conferre with thee vpon our common infirmitie, and communicate the remedies.Lend me therefore thine eare,as if I spake within my selfe. I giue thee entrance into my countrey-house,and hauing entertained thee, I expostulate with my selfe: I crie vnto my selfe: number thy yeares, and thou wilt blush for shame, that thou willest the same which thou wouldest being a childe, and professest the like; doe thy selfe this good at the last,that thy vices may die in thee before the day of thy death befall thee. Forsake these loathsome pleasures, which thou shalt full dearely satisfie for, not onely those that are to come, but those also which are past doe hurt thee. Euen as the remorse of sinnes (although vnespied when they were commited) remaineth after them, so the repentance of loathsome pleasures liueth after them: they are not solid, they are not faithfull. Although

though they hurt not, they take their flight. Rather looke after some good that remaineth firme:and no one there is, except that which the mind of it selfe findeth out for him selfe. Vertue onely giueth perpetuall and assured ioy, although there be some obstacle. Yet happeneth it after the manner of clouds, which alwaies fall downwards,and neuer surmount the day. When shall it be our good hap to attaine vnto this ioy? There remaineth much labor for him that maketh halt,what for him that giueth ouer and ceaseth? In which worke it concerneth thee to bestow both thy vigilancie and labour, if thou wilt see it effected. This thing admitteth no procuration. If thou wilt be assisted, thou shalt haue need of another forme of letters. *Caluisius Sabinus* in our time was a rich man, and had both the patrimonie and wit of a libertine and freed man. Neuer saw I man more vndecently happie then he was. This man had so bad a memorie, that now he forgot the name of *Vlisses*, now of *Achilles*, and sometimes of *Priam*, whom he knew as well, as we at this present remember,our Masters.No old fellow, keeping the rowles of the people and seruants, not to report their proper names, but to giue them surnames, that more impertinently saluteth the tribes of the people,then he saluted the *Troians* and *Grecians*,yet would he be esteemed learned. He therefore found out these short meanes, he bought him slaues with great summes of money, one that held *Homer* before him, another that held *Hesiodus*, and to the nine *Liriques*, besides he assigned a seuerall person. That he bought them so hugely deare, thou needest not wonder, he found them not so, but put them forth to be trained. As soone as he had gotten him this family,he began to importunate those, whom he inuited, to eate with him. At his foote he had his slaues, of whom, when he demanded a verse, to recite the same, for the most part he forgot him selfe in the middest of a word. *Satellius Quadratus* a smell-feast, and sharker of foolish rich men, and which followeth,a iester, and that which is adiunct to both these, a scoffer,perswaded him to get him Grammarians, who should recollect that he let slip,and new informe him. And when *Sabinus* had told him, that euery one of his slaues had cost him one hundred thousand *Sestercies*. Thou mightest (said he) haue bought so many cabinets for thy Acates, for lesse price, and better cheape. Yet was hee of that opinion, that he thought he knew all that, that any may in his house knew. The same *Satellius* on a time began to perswade him to wraslle,being both a sicke,pale and leane man. After that *Sabinus* had answered him. Alas, how can I doe it, who haue scarcely a handfull of life? Say not so,I pray you,said the other, seest thou not how many robust and well-set slaues thou hast? A good mind may not be borrowed or bought,and thinke that if it were to bee sould, it should scarcely finde a chapman; but the euill and vnlettered mind,is daily bought. But now receiue thou that which I owe thee, and farewell. *Powertie disposed according to the law of Nature, is a great riches.* This doth *Epicurus* inculcate oftentimes in different manners. But it is neuer said to much, that is neuer learned enough. To some we must shew, to other some forcibly apply remedies.

Epist.

Epist. XXVIII.

The change of place changeth not the minde, thou oughtest to change thy selfe. Take from thee thy inward pensiuenesse, euery place will be good and pleasant; yet will I, if I can, chuse the quietest and least subiect to troubles or vices. A clause, know thine owne sinnes, now art thou safe.

THou supposest that this hath only befallen thee, and admirest it as a noueltie, that in so long a voyage, and many diuersitie of places: thou hast not shaken off the sadnesse and heauinesse of spirit, it is thy minde thou must change, and not the aire. Although thou hast ouer-sailed the vast seas, although, as *Virgil* saith, Lands and Cities retire from thee, yet will thy vices follow thee, and tract thee whithersoeuer thou trauellest. The same answere made *Socrates* to a certaine man, that made the same complaint: *Why wonderest thou that thy voyages profit thee nothing, since thou thy selfe doest nothing but rowle thy selfe vp and downe in thy selfe?* The same cause stayeth thee, that expelleth thee. What can the noueltie of Lands profit thee, whereto serueth the knowledge of Cities and places: it is a fruitlesse and friuolous labour. Wilt thou heare why these voyages bring thee no good? Thou flieſt with thy selfe. Thou must discharge thy selfe of the burthen of the minde, for before that there is no place will please thee: Imagine thy face that it is as the Poet *Virgil* inducеth and describeth *Sibill*, alreadie wholly troubled, touched, and full of spirit, other then his owne:

The Prophet stormes and cries, and doth aspire
To thrust that god-head out, that did inspire.

Thou goest heere and there to shake off the burthen that ouer-presseth thee, which puzleth thee the more by the length of thy iourney. As in a ship, the ladings that are lesse moueable, are those that are lesse troublesome, & those that are vnequally trussed, doe soonest drowne that side on which they settle. All whatsoeuer thou doest, thou doest against thy selfe, and by thy motion thou hurtest thy selfe; for thou doest shake a sicke man. But when thou hast purged thee of this euill, euery change of place cannot but giue thee pleasure. Thou mayest bee driuen into the most remotest countries, and bee confined in a little corner of *Barbarie*, yet shall that state be hospitable vnto thee, whatsoeuer it be. It importeth more to know what thou art comming, then where thou arriuest. And therefore ought we not to fixe our minde on any place. In this opinion you must liue. I am not borne for one corner. The whole world is my countrie. And if thou knewest it well, thou wouldest not thinke it strange, that in no sort thou art comforted with the varietie of countries wherein thou hast bin, since that the countrie wherein thou last liuedst was loathsome to thee. For the first thou enteredst had beene agreeable vnto thee if thou haddest made account that euery countrie had beene throwne downe. Thou trauellest not, but runnest the countrie: thou trottest and remouest from place to place, although that very thing thou seekest for (that is to say, to liue well) is found in euery place. Can there bee any thing more turbulent then the Pallace; yet if need be, a man may liue peaceably euen there. And yet if it were lawfull for mee to make mine owne choice, I would retire my selfe farre enough from the frontispice

spice and view of the Court. For euen as melancholy abodes may hazard the firmest constitution, so are things which are lesse healthfull to a good vnderstanding, which is not wholely accomplished, but in the way of recoueric. I differ from their opinions that keepe the mid streame, approuing a tumultuous life, and that couragiously fight daily against all sorts of extreames and tribulations. A wise man will endure, but not chuse these, and had rather be in peace, then in fight. For it profitteth not a man very much to reiect his vices, if hee must contest with others. Thirtie tyrants, sayest thou, enuironed *Socrates*, and yet could not make him falter in his resolutions. What skilleth it how many Lords there be? It is but one seruitude. He that hath contemned this seruitude, is free before whatsoeuer troope of Commanders. It is time to giue ouer, prouided that I first pay my tollage. *The knowledge of a mans fault is the beginning of his health. Epicurus* in my opinion hath spoken this very worthily. For hee that knoweth not that he hath offended, will not be corrected. Thou must finde out thine owne errour, before thou amendest thy selfe. Some glorie in their vices; thinkest thou that they dreame of their remedies, that make no difference betweene villanies and vertues? Therefore as much as in thee lieth reproue thy selfe, enquire and search into thy selfe, play the part of an accuser at the first, then of a Iudge, and lastly of a suppliant; once in thy life offend thy selfe.

Epist. XXIX.

That Marcellinvs *is hard to be corrected: For he scorneth and mocketh, yet will I not giue him ouer, and happily in this sort I will ouercome him.* Epicvrvs *Sentence, studie not to please the people, that is to say many.*

THou enquirest some newes of our friend *Marcellinus*, and wouldest know what he doth. He commeth very seldome vnto vs, for no other cause, then for that hee feareth to heare the truth. From which perill he is now free, for we are to speake to none, but such as will giue eare vnto vs. Therefore it is wont to bee doubted, whether *Diogenes*, or any other *Cynicks*, who haue vsed a promiscuous and indiscreet libertie, to exhort all such as they meet withall, whether they ought to doe so or no. For to what intent should a man chide the deafe, or controule such as are mute either by nature or sickneſſe? Why, sayest thou, should I spare my words, they cost me nothing? I know not whether I shall profit him whom I admonish. This I know, that I shall profit some one, if I admonish many. The hand must be scattered. It cannot be, but he shall effect once, that attempteth often. But I thinke not, my *Lucilius*, that this is to be done to a great man. The authoritie of the instructer is diminished, and hath almost no power in regard of those that might bee corrected by a meaner power. It is not alwayes needfull that a good Archer hit the white, sometimes hee may misse. It is not an Art that casually commeth to the effect. Wisedome is an Art that must ayme at a certaine end. Let her therefore seeke out those that may bee profited by her, and retire her selfe from those of whom she despaireth, prouided alwayes that shee abandon them not too soone, but forcibly and desperately attempt all remedies, when as there is lesse hope. I haue not yet lost all my hope of our friend *Marcellinus*, as yet he may be saued, prouided he be suddenly assisted. It

is

is to be feared leſt he ſhould draw him, that ſhould ſet hands to help him. The power of witte is mightie in him, but alreadie depraued, and tending to euill. Notwithſtanding I will vndergoe this perill, and dare to ſhew him his infirmities. I know well that he will follow his old cuſtom, he will ſummon & marſhall out all thoſe ieſts, which can prouoke laughter in the eye of lamentation, and will ieſt at himſelfe firſt, then at vs, and alwaies preuent that in all things, which I am to ſpeake. He will ſearch into our ſchooles, and obiect to our Philoſophers their many gifts, their wenches, and good cheere. Hee will ſhew mee one in adulterie, another in a Tauerne, another in Court. He will repreſent vnto me that merry Greecke, the Philoſopher *Ariſton*, which was wont to diſpute in his Litter, for he had choſen this time to publiſh his workes. Of whoſe ſect a queſtion being mooued, *Scaurus* ſaid vndoubtedly he is no *Peripatetiques*. Of the ſame man, when a queſtion was moued to *Iulius Graecinus*, a man of good reckoning, what he thought of him: *I cannot* (ſaith he) *tell thee, for I know not for what he is proper, for he hath not fixed a firme foote in any degree of Philoſophie*; as if hee were to anſwere from a war-like Chariot. He will caſt in my teeth the Montebanckes, which might with more honeſtie contemne, then ſell Philoſophy; yet am I reſolued to ſuffer his vpbraids. Let him moue me to laughter, happily I will prouoke him to teares; or if he perſeuere in his laughter, I will laugh with him, as in a compleat ſickneſſe, becauſe he is fallen into ſo pleaſant a manner of madneſſe. But obſerue this, this iollitie is not of long continuance. Thou ſhalt behold ſuch as theſe for a while laugh very hartily, and in as little while raue moſt bitterly. I am reſolued to ſet on him, and to ſhew him how farre better he were, when they ſhould eſteeme him furre leſſe. If I cannot wholly cut off his vices, at the leaſt-wiſe I will reſtraine them, they ſhall not ceaſe but intermit; but happily they ſhall ceaſe alſo, if they take a cuſtome to intermit. Neither is this to be diſliked, becauſe in thoſe that are grieuouſly ſicke, a good remiſſion of the ſickneſſe is taken for health. Whileſt thus I prepare my ſelfe for him, ſee that thou, who canſt, and knoweſt whence thou art eſcaped, and in what ſtate thou ſtandeſt, and thereby preſumeſt how farre thou oughteſt to attaine, gouerne thy manners, raiſe thy ſpirit, make head againſt thoſe things that are to be doubted, and number not thoſe that giue thee cauſe of feare. If a man ſhould be afraid of a multitude of people gathered together in one place, by which euery one of them, one after another, muſt haue his paſſage; wouldeſt thou not thinke him a foole? Though diuers men threaten thy life, yet diuers cannot attempt after the ſame manner. The ordinance of Nature is ſuch, that one only may as ſoone ridde thee of thy life, as one gaue it thee: if thou haddeſt any ſhame in thee, thou haddeſt ſent me backe the laſt quarter of my penſion. But leſt I behaue my ſelfe vntowardly, in paying the vſurie of another mans money, I will pay thee that I owe thee. *I would neuer pleaſe the people. For thoſe things I know, the people alloweth not, and that which the people alloweth, I know not.* Who is this, ſayeſt thou? As if thou kneweſt not whom I command. Is it *Epicurus*, but the very ſame will all of them declaime vnto thee, from euery houſe of the *Peripatetiques*, *Academickes*, *Stoickes*, *Cynickes*. For who pleaſeth Vertue, that can pleaſe the common people: popular fauour is purchaſed by euill Artes; thou muſt needs make thy ſelfe like vnto them. They will not allow thee, except they know thee. But it is farre more expedient that thou take heed to that which thou thinkeſt thy ſelfe, then either to attend, or intend the opinion of others. The friendſhip that is borne to diſhoneſt things, cannot be formed, but by diſhoneſt reaſon. What then; ſhall this Philoſophie, ſo much eſteemed and preferred

preferred aboue all arts, and other things haue the vpper hand, that is, that rather thou make account to pleaſe thy ſelfe, then to pleaſe the people; that thou eſteemeſt the opinions of one iudgement according to their waight, and not according to their number, that thou gouerne thy life without feare, eyther of gods, or of men: & as touching misfortunes, eyther that thou ſurmount them, or thou end them. But if I ſhall ſee thee in credite by common voyce, and fauoured amiddeſt the multitude, if then when thou commeſt into the Theatre, the acclamations, the applauſes, and all the equipage of Players and Mimicks make a bruite: if euen to the very women and little children, euery one ſpeaketh well of thee throughout the towne, why ſhould I not haue pittie on thee, knowing what way conducteth thee to this fauour?

Epist. XXX.

That we ought to be prepared for death, and take courage in it by example of Avfidivs Bassvs, *who being olde both willingly heareth of the ſame, and ſpeaketh and proueth it with many reaſons, that it is not to be feared. By the way ſome other things.*

I Saw that good man *Baſſus Auſidius* broken and wreſtling with age, but at this preſent he is ſo much ſurcharged therewith, that it is impoſſible for him to raiſe himſelfe again; age hath throwne himſelfe vpon him with his whole waight. Thou knoweſt very well, that he hath alwayes had a weake, a drie bodie, which hee hath long time continued; or, to ſpeake more properly, repaired and pieced; but in the end it is all at once defeated. Euen as in a leaking Ship a man ſtoppeth a leake or two, but when it taketh in water on euery ſide, there is no more means to auoyde the ſame, but that it muſt needes ſinke to the bottom: ſo in a bodie which is olde and crazed, the weakeneſſe may for a time be relieued and fortified, but when the ioynts fall aſunder as an olde building, and as the one is repayred, the other is looſened, there is no other circumſpection to be had, but to thinke how a man may get out of it. Yet our *Baſſus* hath a good courage, for this Philoſophie yeeldeth him: ſhe maketh couragious in all habitudes of the bodie, ioyfull in the preſence of death, and not faint, hard in the defiance of life. A good Pilot ſaileth although his ſailes be rent; and if the tempeſt hath diſarmed him, yet maketh he vſe of the reſt of his rigging to finiſh his voyage. The like doth our *Baſſus*, and with that minde and countenance beholdeth hee his end, that thou wouldeſt iudge him to be ouer-firme and reſolute, who ſhould in the like ſort behold another mans end. This is a great vertue *Lucilius*, and requireth long time to be learned, to forſake this life with a conſtant reſolution, when that vnauoydable houre of death ſhall approach vs. All other kindes of death are intermixed with hope: Sickneſſes are healed, fire is extinguiſhed, the ruinous houſe ſometimes ſoftly layeth them on the ground, which it ſhould altogether cruſh to pieces. He that hath beene ſwallowed vp with one ſurge of the Sea, hath beene caſt a ſhoare whole and ſound by an oppoſite billow: the ſword which the ſouldier had aymed to ſtrike, hath beene reuoked by his hand from the very necke of the conquered; but he whom age leadeth vnto death, hath nothing more to hope, onely it is that alone which admitteth no compriſe. Men die not more ſweetly then after this manner, neyther alſo in any ſort are they longer a dying. Our friend *Baſſus* ſeemeth ſo to behaue himſelfe,

as

as if he should suruiue himselfe; so great constancie and wisedome sheweth he in this his decadence: for he speaketh much of death, and doth it the more carefully, that if there be eyther incommoditie or feare in this businesse, it is the fault of him that dyeth, not of death; and that there is no more euill in the same, then after the same: and as mad is he, who feareth that which he is to suffer, as he that feareth that which he is not to feele. Can any man thinke that these should come to passe, that a man should feele death, by which we feele nothing? Therefore, saith he, death is not onely out of euill, but out of the feare of all euill. I know very well that such discourses haue beene often had, and must oftentimes be made: but it neuer profited mee so much to reade or heare them; when they that saw the same neere themselues, were farre from danger of those things, which they said should not be feared. But this man had very much credite and authoritie with me, speaking thus of death, whom I saw in himselfe addressed to die. I will freely speake that which I thinke, that he giueth a better testimonie of his vertue and constant minde, that approacheth the confines of death, then he that is in death it selfe, for that it is which giueth heart to the most fearefull, and animateth against that which is inuitable. So the fearefull and dismayed Fencer during the combate, willingly presenteth his throate vnto his enemie, and if the sword slip aside, himselfe addresseth and guideth it with his owne hand. But despise her that giueth vs leisure to see her approach, and is vpon the point to lay hands on vs, there needeth more settled and maturely established constancie, which cannot be but in him that is perfectly wise. I therefore attentiuely lent eare vnto him, and more willingly heard him how hee sentenced of death, and discoursed on the nature thereof; as one that had eyed her very nigh. More trust and credite, as I thinke, should he haue with thee that were newly reuiued from death, and that being experienced in the same, should shew thee that there were no euill in death. What perturbation the accesse of death bringeth, they can best tell thee that haue more neerely obserued her, that haue both seene her comming, and entertained her being come. Amongst these thou mayest number *Bassus*, who vnwilling and loth to haue vs deceiued, telleth vs that it is as foolish a thing to feare death, as to feare olde age: for euen as age followeth youth, so death followeth age. He would not liue that will not die: for life is giuen with an exception of death, to feare which is as much more foolish, then if a man should feare doubtful things, and attend certaine. Death hath a necessitie equall and inuincible, who can complaine that he is in that estate which no man is not in? for the first part of equitie is equalitie. But now it is a vaine matter to pleade natures cause, which would that our condition should be no other then her owne. She resolueth that which she hath compounded, and whatsoeuer she hath resolued, that compoundeth she againe. Now if it be any mans chance to be gently carried away by age, and not suddenly pulled out of life, but drawne away by minutes, hath he not cause to praise the gods, for sending him after facietie, a necessarie repose to humanitie, and agreeable vnto his wearinesse. Thou seest some men wishing death, yea with farre greater zeale, then they were accustomed to demand life. I cannot very well tell which of these giues vs more heart, eyther they which demand, or else they which attend death without trouble or rediousnesse, because rage and sudden indignation may be cause of this first affection, whereas this last can be no other thing, then a tranquillitie which proceedeth from discourse and iudgement. Some man may precipitate himselfe into death through despite and choler, but no man entertaineth her with contentment when shee commeth.

commeth, but he that is formed by long custome and continuance. I confesse that I haue more often visited this good man, and my great friend, to see if I might alwayes finde him the same, and whether the constancie of his mind decayed not through the feeblencsse of bodie: but contrariwise, I haue alwayes found that it encreased in him, euen as we see the ioy more manifest in those, who after they haue been long time tired to gaine the prize of a course, approch the place where the palme is proposed. Hee said (conforming himselfe to the precepts of *Epicurus*) that first of all he should haue no paine in that last gaspe; or if he had, that he comforted himselfe in this, that it should not be long, because there is no griefe which is long, that is, great: and put the case vpon the same point of the diuision of soule and bodie, if there should fall out any torment; he comforted himselfe with this assurance, that at least wise after this griefe, there could neuer any more succeed, and that he knew very well, that the soule and life of an old man stucke but a little within his lippes, and with a little breath would be easily seuered. The fire that hath sufficient matter to feed vpon, is extinguished by water, and sometimes by raine; that fire that wanteth fuell, dieth of it selfe. I very willingly giue eare to these things, my *Lucilius*, not as nouelties, but such as presently henceforth I must make proofe of. What then? haue I not seene very many that haue abridged the course of their life? I haue seene them, but I esteeme them farre more, which come vnto death without hatred of life, and which draw her not on, but entertaine her. Furthermore he said, that this trembling and feare which wee haue, when wee beleeue that death is neere vnto vs, is forged by our selues, and we trauell to tire our selues. For to whom is she not assistant in all places, and at all times? But let vs consider, saith he, when any occasion of death seemeth to approach vs, how many other causes there bee that are more neere, which are not feared at all. Wee should feare death at the hands of our enemie, and in the meane while cruditie, or a cathar cutteth vs short. If we would distinguish the causes of our feare, wee shall finde that they are other then they seeme to be. We feare not the stroake of death, but the thought. For we are not further off her at one time then wee are at another. So if death be to be feared, it is alwayes to be feared, for what time is exempted from death? But I had need to feare, lest thou hate so long Epistles worse then death. I will therefore make an end. But thinke thou alwaies on death, that thou mayest neuer feare her.

Epist. XXXI.

That both the vowes and iudgements of the common people are to be despised. That the true good is to be sought for, and that is the knowledge of things, by which thou mayest discerne truth from falsehood, perishable from durable. He doth illustrate it by examples.

NOw doe I acknowledge my *Lucilius*, he beginneth to discouer himselfe to be such a one, as he alwayes promised he would bee. Continue then to keepe this course, and follow this tract and feruour of mind, by which in contemning the popular goods, thou embracest those things that are of better condition. I desire not that thou shouldest make thy selfe either more great or better, then thou endeauourest to be. Thy foundations haue occupied a great place, onely doe as

much as thou hast intended to doe, and keepe thy selfe to those things which thou hast alreadie conceiued. In summe, thou shalt be wise, if thou knewest well how to close vp thine eares, which it sufficeth not to damme vp with waxe: thou must close stop them after another manner, then *Vlisses* did those of his companions. The voice which he feared was sweet and alluring, yet not publike. But that which is to be feared, commeth not from one rocke only, it soundeth from all parts of the earth. Passe therefore speedily, not onely one suspected place of this trayterous pleasure, but all Cities. Be thou deafe vnto those that loue thee most. They with a good intent afford thee euill wishes, and if thou wilt be happie, beseech the gods that no one of those things that are wished thee, may fall vpon thee. They are no goods, which they wish thou shouldest be replenished with. There is but one good, which is the cause and foundation of a blessed life, to trust a mans selfe. But this cannot happen except labour be contemned, and esteemed in the number of these things, which are neither good nor euill. For it cannot come to passe, that one thing should bee now euill, and straight good; now light and to be suffered, now insupportable, and to be feared. Labour is not good, what then is good? the contempt of labour. I should blame those that are vainely industrious, and to no purpose. Againe, such as endeuour after honest things, the more they busie themselues, and the lesse they permit themselues to be ouercome and kept at a stand, I shall admire and crie, arise by so much better, and respire and get the top of this cliffe with one breath, if thou canst. Labour nourisheth generous minds. Thou art not therefore, according to that old vow of thy parents, to make choice, what thou wouldest, should befall thee, or what thou shouldest wish: and in summe, to a man that hath ouerpassed already mightie things, it is vnseemely and loathsome as yet to wearie the gods. What need there any vowes? Make thou thy selfe happie, and happie shalt thou make thy selfe, if thou vnderstand that those things are good, which are mixed with vertue; euill, which are coupled with malice. Euen as nothing is cleere without the mixture of light; nothing black, but that which hath darkenesse in it, or hath drawne some obscuritie into it selfe. Euen as without the helpe of fire nothing is hot, nothing without the aire is cold; so the societie of vertue and vice, make things honest, or dishonest. What therefore is good? the knowledge of things: what is euill? the ignorance of things. Hee is a prudent man, and his arts master, that according to the time repelleth or chuseth euery thing. But neither feareth he that which he repelleth, neither admireth he that which he chuseth, if so be his mind be great and inuincible. I forbid thee to submit or suffer thy selfe to be depreſt. If thou refuse not labour, it is a little matter, require it. What labour therefore, sayest thou, is fruolous and voide? that into which base causes haue called vs, is not euill no more then that which is employed in worthy actions, because it is onely the patience of the minde, which encourageth it selfe to hard and desperate attempts, and saith: Why feareſt thou? It is not a manly part to feare labour: and hereto let that be annexed, that thy vertue may be perfect, namely, an equalitie and tenour of life in euery thing consonant vnto it selfe, which cannot be, except the knowledge of things happen, and Art, by which both diuine and humane things may bee knowne. This is the chiefest good, which if thou possesse, thou beginnest to be a companion, not a suppliant of the gods. But how, sayest thou, may one attaine thereunto? It is not by the *Apeninne Alpes*, or the mount *Graius*, neither by the deserts of *Candaia*, neither art thou to passe the *Syrtes* or *Scilla*, or *Charibdis*, all which thou hast done, for the price of a base pettie gouernment. The way that

that nature hath made and taught thee, is full of securitie and pleasure. Shee hath giuen thee those things, which if thou forsake not, thou shalt be made like vnto God; but equall with God thy money will not make thee. God hath nothing: Thy proud ornaments will not make thee. God is naked: The reputation of men, thy ostentation, and the knowledge of thy name will not make thee. No man knoweth God, diuers men haue a prepostorous opinion of him, yet are they vnpunished. The troope of seruitours and slaues which are about thy litter; and that beare thee vpon their armes in field and Citie, cannot likewise serue thee any thing. That mightie and most powerfull God, he it is that carrieth all things. Neither thy beautie or strength likewise can make thee blessed, none of these but is subiect to alteration. Thou art therefore to seeke out that, that is not impaired by any, and that is such a thing, as a man cannot wish a better. What is this? a minde: but this right, good, and great. What else wilt thou call this, but a god, dwelling in humane bodie? This mind may fall as well, into a Romane Knight, as a Libertine, or seruant. For these names are forged out of ambition or iniury. It is lawful from the least corner of the world, to leape vp into heauen. Raise thy selfe therefore, and fashion thy selfe worthie of God: but this cannot be made either with gold or siluer. Of such matter as this a man cannot make an Image that resembleth God. Remember that they when they were fauourable vnto vs, their Images were made of earth.

Epist. XXXII.

He praiseth Lucilius *his solitude and retyring. Moreouer, he exhorteth that no man should steale away the time, being so short, and flitting. That he contemne also vulgar vowes.*

DIligently enquire of thy behauiour, and demand of all those that come from the place where thou dwellest, what thou doest, and where, and with whom thou abidest. Thou canst not deceiue me, I am with thee. Liue thou in that fashion, as if I heard what thou diddest, yea as if I saw thine actions. Thou requirest of me, what delighteth me most, of those things I heare of thee? Truly it is that I heare nothing of thee, and that the most part of those whom I question with about thee, know not what thou doest. It is a wholesome aduice not to conuerse with those which are different from thy nature, and that affect other things then thou doest. I am setled in this hope, that thou canst not be misled, and that thou wilt firmely keepe thy deliberation, although a troope of troublesome men doe haunt round about thee. What is it then? I feare not that they will change thee, but I feare they will hinder thee. But he hurteth very much that delayeth and especially in this life, which is so short, which we abbreuiat by inconstancy, giuing it now one beginning, afterwards, and that instantly another. Wee diuide it, and cut it in peeces. Haste thee then, my dearest *Lucilius*, and thinke with thy selfe, how much thou shouldest double thy pace, if behind thee thou wert pressed by thine enemie, if thou thoughteſt the horse-man pursued thee, and traced after the foot-steps of those that fled. Thou art at that point, thou art chased, haste thee, and escape; bring thy selfe into a place of securitie; and then incontinently after consider, how worthy a thing it is to consummate a mans life, before death, then to expect securitie in the remainder part of his

time placed in the poſſeſſion of a bleſſed life, which is not made more bleſſed if longer. O when ſhalt thou ſee that time, wherein thou knoweſt that time appertaineth not vnto thee, wherein thou ſhalt be peaceable and contented, and neglectfull of to morrow, and in chiefeſt ſacietie of thy ſelfe? Wilt thou know what it is that maketh men greedie of that which is to come? No man is for himſelfe: thy father and mother haue wiſhed thee diuers things; but contrariwiſe, I wiſh thee the contempt of all thoſe things, whereof they would haue thee enioy the affluence. Their vowes ſpoyle manie to enrich thee: whatſoeuer they transferre vnto thee, is to be extorted from another. My deſire is, that thou ſhouldeſt diſpoſe of thy ſelfe, that thy ſpirit being aſſailed with incertaine fantaſies ſhould reſiſt them, and be ſetled, that it ſhould pleaſe it ſelfe, and vnderſtanding true goods, which are poſſeſſed as ſoon as they are known, ſhould need no adiection of age. Finally, he hath ouer-gone his neceſſities, and is diſcharged and free, who liueth when his life is done.

Epist. XXXIII.

He denieth that ſentences or ſhort leſſons ſhould be gathered from the Stoicks: firſt, becauſe all things are repleniſhed and full of ſuch things; againe, becauſe it is vnſeemely to ſpeake alwayes by authoritie. Let vs make them ours, and preferre them in our life.

THou deſireſt in theſe Epiſtles alſo, as in the former, that I ſet down certaine ſentences of our Maſters. They were not much occupied about the flowers of diſcourſe: all their maner of ſpeech was ſubſtantiall and manly: know thou that inequalitie is there, where thoſe things that are eminent are notable. No man admireth one tree, when as all the wood is growne to the ſame height. With theſe and ſuch like ſentences, all Poems and Hiſtories are ſtuffed. I will not therefore haue thee think that they are of *Epicurus*: they are vulgar, and eſpecially mine owne. But in that are they moſt noted, becauſe they ſeldome occurre, becauſe vnexpected, becauſe it is a wonder that any thing ſhould be conſtantly ſpoken by a man that profeſſeth delicacie: for ſo doe diuers men iudge; but in my opinion *Epicurus* is valiant, although effeminately dreſſed. Fortitude and induſtrie, and a minde addreſſed to warre, as well lodgeth in a Perſian as a high-girt Roman. Thou muſt not therefore exact at my handes choyce and well digeſted ſtuffe, that is continuall amongſt our Maſters, which amongſt others is ſelected. Wee vent not therefore theſe eye-pleaſing and odoriferous wares, neyther deceiue we our Merchant, like to finde nothing when he entreth, beſides thoſe which are hanged vp in the front for a ſhow. We permit them to take their patterne from whence they pleaſe. Thinkeſt thou that I will take out of the whole Map the particular ſentences of any? To whom ſhall I aſſigne them, to *Zeno*, or *Cleanthes*, or *Chryſippus*, or *Panætius*, or *Poſidonius*? We are not vnder a King; euery one maintayneth himſelfe in his owne libertie: with them whatſoeuer *Hermarchus* ſaith, whatſoeuer *Metrodorus*, it is referred to one. All whatſoeuer any man hath ſpoken in that companie, is ſpoken by authoritie, and directions of one alone. We cannot, I tell thee, although we attempt that out of ſo great abundance of equall things, bring forth any thing:

It is a poore mans part to count his flocke.

Where-

Whereſoeuer thou fixeſt thine eye, thou ſhalt meete with that which might be eminent, vnleſſe it were read amongſt others of equall worthineſſe: for which cauſe lay apart this hope, which flattereth thee with the poſſibilitie, that thou mayeſt ſummarily conceiue the choyſeſt things, which the greateſt ſpirits haue conceited. They are intirely to be looked ouer, & wholy to be diſcuſſed. When a man doth any thing, he intendeth the ſame, and by the proiect of his ſpirit the worke is compiled, of which a man can diſmember nothing without the ruine of the whole. I denie thee not but that thou mayeſt conſider euery member one after another, prouided it be in a man that hath them. The woman is not faire whoſe legge or arme is praiſed, but ſhee whoſe full repreſentation is cauſe that a man admireth not her parts; yet if thou exact the ſame, I will not deale ſo niggardly with thee as I make ſhew for, but with a full hand. There is a huge companie of them that lie ſcattered here and there: they are to be taken, but not gathered; for they fall not, but flow perpetually, and are tyed together amongſt themſelues: neyther doubt I but that they will profite thoſe whoare as yet rude, and yeeld but a ſuperficiall attention. For thoſe things that are circumſcribed and moulded after the manner of a verſe, are more eaſily remembred. Therefore giue we children certaine ſentences to commit to memorie, and thoſe which the Grecians call *Chries*, becauſe a childiſh wit can comprehend them, being as yet vncapable of a more certaine and ſolid ſcience. A complete man hath no honour to gather noſe-gayes, to ſtay himſelfe and build on certaine vſuall or few wordes, and to truſt vnto his memorie, hee ought to truſt himſelfe. Let him ſpeake theſe but not retaine them: for it is a baſe thing for an olde man, or ſuch a one as is ſtept in yeares to be wiſe in nothing but his note-booke. This ſaid *Zeno*, what ſayeſt thou? This *Cleanthes*, but what thou? How long art thou directed by others? both command and ſay what ſhall be committed to memorie, and produce ſomewhat of thine owne. I thinke therefore that theſe neuer-authors, but alwayes interpreters, lying hid vnder the ſhadow of other men, haue no generous nature in them, which neuer dared to publiſh that which they had learned in long ſpace of time, but haue exerciſed their memorie on other mens labours. It is one thing to remember, another thing to know: to remember is to keepe a thing in memorie which is committed; but contrariwiſe, to know is to make euery thing his owne, neyther to hang on examples, and ſo oftentimes to looke backe to his Maſter. This ſaith *Zeno*, that *Cleanthes*: make ſome difference betwixt thee and thy booke; how long wilt thou be a learner? At laſt employ thy ſelfe to teach others: what profiteth it me to heare that I may reade? The liuing voyce, ſaith hee, doth much; not that which is recommended by another mans wordes, and ſerueth but in ſtead of a Regiſter. Adde hereunto now, that they who are neuer their owne Maſters, firſt in that thing doe follow their anceſtors, wherein no man hath not reuoked from the former. Againe, they follow them in that, which is yet in queſtion: and it will neuer be found, if we ſhall be content with thoſe things that are found. Moreouer, he that followeth another man hath found nothing, and which is worſe, he ſeeketh nothing. What then? Shall I not follow the ſteps of mine anceſtors? Truely I will keepe the olde wayes: but if I finde out one more ſhort, I will take it and maintaine it. They that before vs haue managed theſe things, were not our Lords; but our guides. Truth is open vnto all men: ſhe is not as yet borne away all; there is much of her left for poſteritie to finde out.

Epist. XXXIIII.

That hee is glad of Lucilius proficience, because it was from him, and he informed him. Moreouer he exhorteth him to goe forward euen to perfection.

I Grow great, and leape for ioy, and shaking off mine olde age, I grow young againe, as often as I vnderstand by those things thou doest and writest, how much thy selfe exceedest thy selfe (for long since thou haddest forsaken the croupes of common societie) If the tree being grown to beare fruit delighteth the husbandman: if the Shepheard take pleasure in the fruitfulnesse of his flocke: if no man beholdeth his foster childe otherwise, but that he reputeth his young yeares to be his owne: what thinkest thou befalleth them which haue formed young spirits, when those they haue trained vp raw, they suddenly see ripe. I challenge thee for mine, thou art mine own labor. When first I saw thine inclination, I laide hold on thee, I exhorted thee, I encouraged thee; neyther permitted I thee to pace on softly, but I pricked thee forward, and now doe I the like, and henceforward I am to giue thee courage, as long as thou shalt speedily runne forward, and thou reciprocally art to exhort me. What other thing haue I desired hitherto, sayest thou? In this the greater part of time is spent. For so euen as the beginnings of the worke are said to occupie the halfe, so is this businesse for the mind. The greater part of good, is to desire to become good. Knowest thou whom I call good? I mean a perfect and absolute man, whom no force or necessitie can prouoke to doe euill. And alreadie, me thinkes, I espie such a man in thy selfe, if thou persuer and endeuour, and effect this, that all thy deeds and words may be agreeable and correspondent in themselues, and stamped after one coyne. His minde is estranged from the right way, whose acts are discordant.

Epist. XXXV.

He wisheth him to be his friend that is a good man, otherwise no man is a friend, although he loueth. Let him therefore doe, and especially learne this, to liue conueniently; that is constantly, that is wisely.

WHen as so carnestly I intreat thee to studie, I doe mine owne businesse: I will haue a friend, which will not come to passe, except thou persuer to beautifie thy selfe, as thou hast begun. For now thou louest me, but thou art not my friend: what then? is there anie difference betwixt these two? what else? they are vnlike. He that is a friend loueth, and he that loueth is not assuredly a friend. For which cause friendship alwayes profiteth, and loue sometimes hurteth. If thou doest no other thing, profite at least wise so well, that thou mayest learne to loue well. But aboue all things hatte thy selfe during the time thou studiest for me, for feare thou learnest not for another. Verily I doe alreadie participate the fruite, when I imagine with my selfe that wee shall be of one minde, and that all that vigor which is eclipsed in mine age, shall returne vnto me from thine, although there is little difference betwixt the one and the other, yet will I really and essentially take my pleasure. There is a certain contentment that commeth vnto vs from those, we loue although they be absent; but it is but a light and fraile pleasure. The light, the presence, and conuersation haue some liuing pleasure

sure in them, and principally if thou beholdest not onely him whom thou desirest, but him who is such a one whom thou desirest. Present thy selfe therefore vnto me, as an honorable and acceptable gift; and to the end thou mayest presse in the more, thinke me to be old, and thy selfe to be mortall. Hasten thee to me, but first of all to thy selfe, profit thy selfe indeed. And aboue all things let this be thy care, that thou be constant to thy selfe. As often times as thou hastest will to make triall, whether in any sort thou beest changed, obserue thy selfe, whether thou willest the same things to day, that thou didst yesterday. The change of the will betokeneth that the minde swimmeth in one place, and appeareth in another, euen as the winde carrieth it. That which is firme and hath a good foundation varieth not. This perfectly happeneth to a wise man, and in some measure to a proficient, and he that hath as yet attained further. What difference is there then? This is in a manner moued, yet passeth not further, but is shaken from his place, the other is in no sort moued.

Epist. XXXVI.

He prayseth a certaine man that had deposed himselfe to retirement, and forsaken the Common-weale. He aduiseth him to contemne the common talke, to proceed in goodnesse, or rather to be made good. Let him goe forward to despise death, and that with reason.

EXhort thy friend to contemne those with a mightie mind, that blame and reproue him for seeking out retirement and quiet, forsaking his dignities, and for preferring his quiet aboue all things, when as he might haue obtained most honor. Let him make them euery day perceiue, how profitably he hath managed his affaires. They whose felicitie is enuied, will not desist from alterations, some shall be strucken downe, other some shall fall. Felicitie is a turbulent thing, she tormenteth her selfe, she moueth the mind after diuers fashions: she pusheth some into greatnesse, other into effeminacie: these she puffeth vp, those she mollifieth and wholly dissolueth. But some man beareth his felicitie well, yea so as some doe their wine. There is no reason therefore, that these men should perswade thee, that he is happy, who is besieged with many suiters, they flocke to him, as to a lake whom they draw drie, they trouble grieuously. They call this friend, and louer of *Philosophy*, a trifler and a sluggard. Thou knowest that some men speake peruersely in a contrary sense. They called him happie: what of this? was he so? I make no account of this, that to some man he seemeth too seuere and sullen minded. *Ariston* said that he had rather haue a said yong man, then such a one as was pleasing and amiable to the common sort. The wine is made good which is troubled and sharpe when it is new, and it becommeth flat before maturitie, that pleased in the fat. Let them call him sad and enemie to his aduancements: this sadnesse of his will giue him good in his latter dayes. Let him persuer only to loue vertue, and exercise himselfe in the good and Liberall Sciences, not those wherewith it sufficeth to be only tainted and informed, but those wherewith the minde is to bee stained and confirmed in. This is the true time of learning. What then? Is there any time wherein we are not to learne? Not so, but euen as at all times it is honest for vs to studie, so in all ages is it not conuenient to beginne. It is an absurde and base thing to

see

see an old man at his *Abce*. The yong man must get, and the old man enioy. Thou shalt therefore doe a thing profitable for thy selfe, if thou makest him a good man, we ought to seeke to giue thee presents, where it is as much expedient to giue as to receiue. Finally, since he hath alreadie promised very much of himselfe, it concerneth him to continue. For it is lesse absurd to play the banquerout with a mans creditour, then with good hope. To pay this debt of anothers: hee that trafficketh hath need of a good and happie navigation: hee that tilleth the field, of a fertile soile and a fauourable climate, he onely with a good wil may testifie that which he oweth. Fortune hath no power ouer maners. Let him dispose these in such sort, that that most quiet mind of his may come to perfection, which feeleth nothing taken from him, neither added to him, but remaineth in the same state, whatsoeuer casualties befall him: who, if common fortunes be heaped on him, is eminent aboue his meanes, or if any of these things, or all by fortune are taken from him, is no wayes lessened by his misery. If he were borne in *Parthia*, he would presently bend his bow, being an infant, if in *Germany* he were a very infant, he would shake his tender speare. If he had liued in the time of our ancestors, he had learned to ride, and to combate with the enemie hand to hand. These are the things which the discipline of the Countrie teacheth and commandeth euery one. What is it then that this man ought to learne? That which is proofe against all offensiue armes, and all sorts of enemies, is the contempt of death. For it is not to bee doubted, but that it hath in it selfe something terrible, that may offend our mindes (which Nature hath formed in loue of her selfe) neither also should it be needfull for him to addresse and accustome himselfe to that, whereunto our naturall inclination sufficiently disposeth vs, as is the desire to conserue a mans selfe. No man learneth to haue power, if need so required, to lye sweetly and softly amongst the roses: but to this is he accustomed not to submit his faith and honour to torments, but to keepe watch in the trenches standing, yea sometimes wounded: neither leaning to the dart, because in the interim sleepe seemeth to steale on those that leane to any stay. Death hath no incommoditie, for there must bee some thing, whereby she would be indamnified. And if thou hast so great a desire of prolonging thy life, consider that none of these things that flie before our eyes, and hide themselues in the bosome of Nature, from which once they are parted, and shall againe depart, is not consumed. They cease, but perish not, and the death which wee feare and refuse, onely intermitteth life, but ransheth it not. A day will come that shall restore vs once more to light, which happily diuers would refuse, except it reduced those that are forgotten. But hereafter I will shew more exactly, if all things which seeme to perish are changed: he therfore that must returne, ought not to be grieued to depart. Obserue the circle of things that returne into themselues, thou shalt see that nothing is extinguished in this world, but that all things descend and mount againe by changes. The Summer departeth, but another yeare bringeth it againe. The Winter passeth, but yet hath he his monthes to bring him backe againe, The night concealeth the Sunne, and presently the day driueth this away. This course of the Starres returneth backe againe to the place where first they began, and which they passed ouer. A part of the heauen is continually rising and a part setting. To conclude, after I haue annexed this one thing, I will make an end, neither infants nor children or madde men feare death. It were therefore more then an abiect error in vs, if reason should not afford vs that securitie, whereunto folly animateth vs.

Epist.

Epist. XXXVII.

That wee ought to perseuere in the way and warfare of wisedome: on her dependeth health, felicitie, and libertie. That wee may obtaine, and ouercome the same by the conduct of warre.

That which is the greatest obligation to prepare a man to a good minde, thou hast promised to be a good man, and by oath thou hast confirmed it. If any man tell thee that a souldiers profession is delicate and facile, he deceiueth thee; I will not haue thee deceiued. The forme of that honorable oath, and of that other so dishonorable are in the same termes, that is, *To be burnt, bound, and slaine with the sword.* To those that gaue their hands to hire vpon the sands of the *Theater*, that eat and drink that which they ought to pay with the price of their bloods, it is couenanted with them that they suffer these things against their willes: from thee it is expected, that thou willingly and freely suffer the same. To them it is permitted to lay downe their weapons, and to implore the mercie of the people. Thou shalt neither submit thy selfe, nor beg for thy life, it is thy part to die constantly, and with an inuincible minde. But what profiteth it to gaine a few dayes or yeares? We come into this world without releasement. How then, sayest thou, may I acquite my selfe? Thou canst not auoide necessities, but thou mayest ouercome them. Make thy way, and *Philosophie* shall giue it thee; to her haue thy recourse, if thou wilt be safe, if secure, if blessed; and finally (which is aboue all) if thou desirest to be free. This cannot otherwise happen. Folly is a base abiect, sordide, and a seruile thing, subiect to many, and they most cruel affections. Wisdome which is the sole libertie, dismisseth those rude masters, which sometimes command by course, and sometimes are together. There is but one way to attaine thereunto, and certainely it is the right way: thou canst not wander out of it, march boldly, if thou wilt make all things subiect vnto thee, subiect thy selfe to reason; thou shalt gouerne many; if thou be gouerned by reason. Thou shalt learne of her, how and to whom thou shalt addresse thy selfe. Thou shalt not be surprised in affaires. Thou shalt not bring me any man that knoweth how he began to will that which he willeth. He is not inuited thereunto by mature deliberation, but it is an enforcement that driueth him thereunto. Fortune oftentimes doth no lesse haunt vs, then we hunt after her. It is a base thing, not to goe, but to be carried perforce, and suddenly (being altogether amazed amiddest the storme of affaires) to aske; How came I hither.

Epist. XXXVIII.

That precepts are oftentimes more profitable to wisedome then disputes. That they doe feede vpon the minde, and doe fructifie and spend themselues after the manner of seede.

Not without cause requirest thou, that we frequent this commerce of Epistles betwixt thee and me. The discourse profiteth much, that by little and little stealeth into the minde. The disputes which a man is addressed to vent in the eares of the attentiue multitude, haue brute enough and lesse priuacie. *Philosophie* is

good

good counsell. No man giueth counsell with clamour, yet must we sometimes (as I should say) vse these declamations, when he that doubteth had need to be enforced. But where this is not to be effected, to inkindle a will in man to learne; but that in good earnest hee learneth, it is good to vse these more submissiue speeches. They enter more sweetly; but they continue, for there neede not many, but such as are effectuall. We ought to spread them as seede, which although it be little, dilateth his forces, when it falleth into a good soile; and of so little as it is, it extendeth it selfe into great and merualious great encreases. The like doth speech, it hath no extent, if thou looke into it, it encreaseth in the worke. They are few things which are spoken, but if the minde entertaine them well, they fructifie and encrease in themselues. The same I tell thee is the condition of precepts, as of seeds, they effect much, although they be short, but as I haue said; let a minde well disposed and setled, draw them to it selfe. Her selfe will profit very much at her time, and shall restore more then it hath receiued.

Epist. XXXIX.

That diuers, and they diuersly haue written in Philosophy. That we ought to be stirred vp, and enkindled by example. That Nature hath this scope to call vs to high things. In which there is no plebeian felicitie, neither pleasure, because they are either fraile or hurtfull.

THe Commentaries thou demandest at my hands carefully disposed and reduced into an abridgement, I will truely compose. But see whether an ordinarie Oration be not more profitable, then this which is now commonly called a *Breuiarie*, and in times past when we spake Latine, a *Summarie*. The one is more necessarie for him that learneth, the other for him that vnderstandeth; the one teacheth, the other remembreth. But of both these I will reconcile both the one and the other. It needeth not now that thou exact at my hands, either this or that authoritie. He is vnknowne that brings his Proctor with him. I will write what thou willest; but after mine owne manner. In the meane time thou hast many, whose writings I know not whether they bee sufficiently digested or no. Take in hand the list of the *Philosophers*. This very sight will compell thee to rouse thy selfe, and if thou seest how many haue laboured for thee, thou thy selfe likewise wilt desire to be one of them. For a generous minde hath this excellent impression in it, that it is inkindled and incited to honest things. There is no nobly minded man, that is delighted with base and contemptible things: he only seeketh after, and extolleth those things, which make shew of greatnes and worthines. Euen as the flame directly mounteth vpward, neither may be diuerted nor depressed, or lose his actiuitie: so is our spirit in continuall motion, by so much the more stirring and actiue, by how much it is more vehement and mightie. But happie is he that hath imployed the viuacitie hereof in matters of better estimate: he shall settle himselfe in a place exempted from Fortunes command or iurisdiction: his felicities he shall temper, his aduersities conquer, and contemne those things that draw other men to admiration. It is the effect of a great minde to contemne great things, and rather to affect the meane, then bee infected with excesse. For these are profitable and permanent, the other hurtfull,

hurtfull, because superfluous. So too great fertility layeth the corne, so boughes ouer-loaden are broken, so too much fruitfulnesse neuer endeth in maturitie. The like also befalleth those mindes that are broken, and corrupt with immoderate felicitie, because they are not onely imployed to other mens iniurie, but also to their owne. What enemie so outragious against any man, as is some mens voluptuousnesse against themselues? whose impotencie and mad lust thou mayest pardon for this one reason, because they suffer that which they offended in. Neither vndeseruedly doth this furie vexe them; for it is necessarie, that desire should extend it selfe aboue measure, that hath falsified the mediocritie of nature: for naturall affection hath his end, but vaine things, and such as spring from an excessiue lust, are interminable. Prosit measureth things necessarie; how wilt thou confine superfluities? They therefore drowne themselues in pleasures, which they cannot shake off, in that they are brought into a custome: and for this cause are they most miserable, because they are growne vnto those termes, that those things which were superfluous vnto them, are made necessarie; they therefore serue their pleasures, and enioy them not, and loue their owne mischiefe, which is the worst of all mischiefe. And then is infelicitie consummate, whereas such things as are dishonest, not onely doe delight, but also please: and then is the remedy hopelesse, where such things as were dishonest, are reputed for common custome.

Epist. XL.

He exhorteth to write, because in it is the Image of the minde. Then of Serapions *prompt and profuse speech, which he alledgeth to be vndecent for a Philosopher. A graue and slowe speech entreth and descendeth farther.*

WHen that thou writest often vnto me, I thanke thee; for by that onely meanes which thou canst, thou shewest thy selfe vnto me. I neuer receiue thy Epistle, but that forthwith we are together. If the pictures of our absent friends be pleasing vnto vs, which renew their memorie, and by a false and fained solace do lighten the griefe of their absence; how much more pleasing are letters, which set before our eyes the true trace & liuely picture of our absent friends? For that which giueth vs an vnspeakeable content, the hand of a friend that writeth a letter vnto vs, causeth vs to feele. Thou writest vnto me, that thou heardest *Serapion* the Philosopher, when he arriued in those parts, and how it was his custome in discoursing to huddle vp his words with great volubilitie, which he powreth not out together, but smothereth and forceth: for more is vttered then one voyce can articulate. This allow I not in a Philosopher, whose pronounciation, as his life, ought to be composed. But nothing is well ordered that is precipitate and hastie. For this cause that running and continuate discourse in *Homer* that falleth incessantly like snow, is properly attributed to the Orator; where that which is more slow, & sweeter then honey floweth from an olde man. Resolue therefore on this, that this violent and abundant vigor of discourse, is more fitte for a jester or Mountebanke, then him that debateth on a graue and serious subiect, or such a one that will teach another man. Neyther will I that the discourse be too headlong, neyther too dreaming, neyther such as may suspend attention, or confound the hearing For that defect & imbecilitie of speech maketh the auditor lesse attentiue,

tiue, by reason of the disgust of interrupted slowenesse: yet is that more easily imprinted in memorie which is expected, then that which passeth away slightly. Furthermore men are said to giue precepts to those will learne: it is not giuen, that flieth. Adde hereunto now, that the discourse which serueth to manifest truth, ought to be simple and without flourish. This popular discourse, hath no truth in it, it tendeth onely to moue the people, & is forcible to rauish inconsiderate eares, it admitteth no moderation, but suffereth it selfe to be carried away. But how can it gouerne, which cannot be gouerned? Finally, what should a man thinke of that discourse, which serueth to heale the infirmities of the spirit, except it should search and descend into vs? Medicines cure not except they be digested: moreouer, it hath much slightnesse and vanity in it, and hath more report then reckoning in it. The things that terrifie me must be lenified, which prouoke me must be pacified, that deceiue me must be shaken off: lecherie must be restrained, couetousnesse reproued; what one of these things can be done suddenly? What Philitian cureth his Patients by only passing by them? What profiteth this noyce of headlong and vnchosen wordes, which yeeld not a shadow of any pleasure? But euen as it is sufficient to know diuers things, which thou wouldest not beleeue they could be done, so is it sufficient to heare them once, that haue exercised themselues in this manner of discourse. For what can a man learne, or what will he imitate, or what can he iudge of their minds whose speech is confused and hudled, and cannot be restrayned? Euen as they that runne from a steepe hill, stay not themselues in that place where their intention was, but are borne downe swiftly by the waight of their bodies, and transported further then they would; so this viuacitie and celerite of speech, cannot command it selfe, neyther is it sufficiently beseeming Philosophie, which ought to employ wordes, and not to cast them away, but by little and little to aduance it selfe. What then? Shall it not sometimes swell also? Why not, prouided that the honestie of maners be not interessed; which is not depriued by maine force and minicke impetuositie of words? Let her haue great force but moderate. The water must haue a continuall course, but not rauishing. I scarcely will permit an Orator to haue such swiftnesse in discourse so irreuocable, and boundles: for how can a Iudge follow the list of his discourse, especially if it be impertinent and rude, if hee suffer himselfe at that time to be borne away by ostentation, or such a passion as he cannot master? Let him in such sort make hast, and infer that his auditories attention may be able to conceiue. Thou shalt therefore do well, if thou visite them not who seeke how much, and not what they speake. And if it happen that thou art to make an Oration, then make thy choyce to speak after the maner of *Publius Vinicius*, of whom it being on a time demanded, how he discoursed? *Asellius* answered continually: for *Geminius Varius* had said, I know not how you call this man an eloquent man, hee cannot couple three words together. Why haddest thou not rather say so as *Venicius* did? Let some foole come hither, and when he shall see him dreame out his wordes one after another, as if he dictated and not discoursed, bid him *Speake or neuer speake*. My opinion is, that the forme of hastie speech, which in that time the famous Orator *Harterius* vsed, ought to be reiected by men of vnderstanding: hee neuer doubted, he neuer intermitted, he began and ended after the same manner: yet thinke I, that some things are more or lesse conuenient for people of different nations. Amongst the Greekes this licence were to be borne withall, and we also when we write, are wont to point euery word. And now *Cicero* also from whom Roman eloquence gathered excellency, was temperate in his discourses.

The

The Romane tongue ouer-looketh all, and will be both respected and counted. *Fabianus* a worthy man both in life and science (and that is least of these) in eloquence also, disputed more quickly then vehemently, so as it might be said, that it was a facilitie, and not a celeritie. This admit I in a wise-man: I exact not that his speech be deliuered without impediment; rather had I it should be pronounced then laui shed. And the more doe I deterre thee from this sickenesse, because this thing cannot otherwise befall thee, then by ceasing to haue modestie. Thou mayest rubbe thy brow, and not heare thy selfe: for this vnadui sed course will draw on many things, which thou wouldest not let slip without reprehension. These things I tell thee cannot happen vnto thee without preiudice of thy modestie. Besides, thou haddest needs of daily exercise, and thy studie is to be transferred from matters to words: and these also, although they flowe with thee, and may runne fluent without any labor of thine, yet are they to be tempered: for euen as a modest gate becommeth a wise-man, so doth a setled and not extrauagant discourse. The totall summe then of this account shall be this, I enioyne thee to be slowe in speech.

Epist. XLI.

Oh excellent and deep Epistle! That God dwelleth in vs, and that a good man is nothing without him. Let vs honour him, and the minde that descendeth from him. In him are our peculiar and proper goods, all other are forraine. But the thing that is good is perfect reason.

How doest a worthie thing, and profitable to thy selfe, if, as thou writest, thou persuerest to obtaine a good minde. How fond is it to wish the same, when as it dependeth on thine owne will? Thy hands are not to be lifted vp to heauen, neyther is the Prelate to be intreated, to admit thee to the eares of an Image, that thou mightest bee the better heard: God is neere vnto thee, hee is with thee, hee is within thee. Thus tell I thee, *Lucilius*: A sacred spirit is resident in vs, an obseruer and guardian both of our good and euils: he in like manner as we intreate him, so handleth he vs. There is no good man but hath a God within him. May any man insult ouer fortune, except he be assisted by him? he it is that giueth the noblest and most vpright counsailes. In euery good man (but what God it is vncertaine) God inhabiteth. If happily thou light into a thicke groue, full of auncient trees, and such as exceede the common height, shadowing the sight of heauen from thee, through the thicknesse of boughes couering one another; that height of the wood, and secrecie of the place, and the admiration of the shadow, so thicke and continuate in the open skie, will perswade thee there is some diuine presence. And if a Caue ouer-hangeth a Mountaine, eaten out of the Rocke, not made by handes, but hollowed by naturall causes into such a concauity, it will strike thy mind with a certaine conceit of Religion. We adore the head-springs of great riuers. A suddaine eruption of a vast riuer out of the depth hath alters. The fountaines of warme waters are honoured, and the shadow or huge depth of some standing poole hath sacred it. If thou behold a man that is dreadles of perrils, vntouched with desires, happie in his afflictions, pacified in midst of tempests, beholding men from a high place, the gods from an equall; wilt thou not grow into a certaine veneration

of him? Wilt thou not say this is a greater and more high thing, then that it might be trusted to so little a bodie as it inhabiteth? The diuine power descendeth hither. This excellent and moderate minde, ouerpassing all things as if abiect, laughing at whatsoeuer we eyther feare or hope is inkindled by a celestiall power. So great a thing cannot consist without the helpe of a God. Therefore as touching the greatest part of him, he is there from whence he descended. Euen as the Sunne beames doe in a manner touch the earth, but remaine there from whence they are sent; so a great and sacred minde, and to this end humbled, that he may more neerely apprehend diuine things is conuersant in vs, but cleaueth to his originall. Thereon it dependeth, thereat it aymeth, and thereto it endeuoureth, to vs it appertaineth, as the better part. What a one therefore is this? a minde that dependeth on no other good but his owne. For what is more foolish then to praise that in a man which is forraine to him? And what more mad then that man, that admireth those things, which may immediately be transferred vnto another man? The golden raynes make not the horse the better. In one sort doth the golden crested Lion subiect himselfe whilst hee is handled, and is compelled (being ouer-wearied) patiently to receiue his ornaments; in another sort such a one as is generous and vntamed. This being sharp in his assault, such as nature would haue him to be, faire in his dreadfulnesse, whose comlines is in this, not to be beheld without feare, is preferd before that faint and trapped one: no man ought to glorie but in that which is his owne. We praise the Vine if she loade her branches with fruit, if she beareth down her vnder-props vnto the ground, by reason of the waight of those branches shee beareth. Will any man preferre that Vine before this, that hath golden grapes and golden leaues hanging from it? The proper vertue in the Vine is fertilitie: in a man also that is to be praised which is his own. He hath a faire train, a goodly house, he soweth much, he makes much by vsurie; none of these things is in him but about him. Praise that in him, which neyther may be taken away, nor giuen, which is properly a mans. Asked thou what it is? The minde, and perfect reason in the minde. For man is a reasonable creature; his good therefore is consummate, if he hath fulfilled that to which he was borne. But what is that which this reason exacteth at his handes? An easie matter; to liue according to his nature: but common madnesse maketh this thing difficult. We thrust one another into vices, but how may they be recalled vnto health, whom no man restraineth, and the people thrusteth on.

Epist. XLII.

That we are not suddenly to giue credite or iudgement of a good man, because it is a matter of much moment. That some make shew, others dissemble; not vnlikely to proue euill, if occasion be offered. He teacheth this by a certaine mans example. Then, that we are not to labour in externall things, which haue incommodities, or false commodities in them.

THis man hath alreadie perswaded thee, that he is a good man, and yet a good man may not so soone eyther be made or vnderstood: Knowest thou now whom I terme a good man? Him who is ordinarily so reputed: for that other happily like another *Phœnix* is borne once in fiue hundreth yeares: neyther is it to be wondred at, that great and rare things are in long continuance and space of time begotten.

ten. Fortune often times produceth meane things, such are borne in troupes; but such things as are excellent she commendeth in their raritie. But this man as yet is very farre from that which he professeth; and if he knew what a good man were, he would not as yet beleeue himselfe to be one, and happily also hee would despaire that he might be one. But he thinketh ill of the euill, and this doe the euill also: neyther is there any greater punishment of wickednesse, then that it displeaseth both himselfe and his. But hee hateth those that impotently vse a sudden and great power: the same will hee doe when he can the same. Diuers mens vices lie hidden because they are weake, addressed notwithstanding to attempt, and dare as much as they whom felicitie hath discouered, as soone as they may haue any assurance of their forces. They want the instruments to expresse their malice. So may a venemous serpent likewise be safely handled whilst he is stiffe with cold, not that he wanteth his venom, but because they are benummed. The crueltie, ambition, and intemperance of diuers men would attempt as bad offices as the basest men, if fortune fayled them not, giue them onely the power as much as they list, thou shalt easily perceiue their will. Doest thou not remember, that when thou toldest me, that thou haddest such a man in thy power, that I answered thee, that he was vnconstant and variable, and that thou heldest him not by the foote but by the feather? Tolde I thee a lie? He was held by a feather, which he shaked off and fled. Thou knowest verie well what Tragedies he afterwards excited, and how many things he attempted, which in all likelyhood at last were to fall on his owne head: he perceiued not how by other mens perils hee came headlong into his owne, hee thought not how burthensom the things were which he asked, although they were not superfluous. This therefore in those things which we affect, and for which we trauell; for with great labour we ought to obserue and looke into, eyther that there is no commoditie in them, or else more incommoditie. Some things are superfluous, some are not of so much esteeme; but these things wee foresee not, and those things that cost vs most dearely, seeme vnto vs to be giuen for nothing. Herein although our stupiditie be most apparant, that we onely thinke those things to be bought, for which we pay our money, and those things we call gratuitall, for which we sell and giue our selues; which we would not buy if it should cost vs one of our houses, if wee should redeeme the same with som fruitful and pleasant possession: to these are we most ready to attaine with much care, with perill, with hazard of our modesties, libertie, and time, so is there nothing more abiect and contemptible to euerie man then himselfe. Let vs therefore in all our counsailes and affaires doe that which we are wont to doe: as often as we goe to the Merchant of any ware to buy, let vs see and examine that which we desire, and know the price thereof. That often-times is highest prized for which no price is giuen. I can shew thee many things, which being gotten and possessed, haue extorted our liberty from vs: we should be our owne if these were not ours. Thinke therefore very carefully vpon these things, not onely where there shall be question of gaine, but also of losse: is this perishable? for it was casuall; thou shalt as easily liue without this as thou liuedst before. If thou hast had it long, thou losest it after thou art glutted therewith: if but a little while, thou losest it before thou haddest the true taste and vse therefore. If thou haue lesse money, thy trouble shall be the lesse; if lesse fauour, thou shalt haue lesse enuie also. Looke into all these things which outrage vs, and which we lose with many teares, and thou shalt know that the opinion of the damage, and not the damage it selfe is troublesome vnto vs, no man

feeleth but apprehendeth that theſe are loſt. He that hath himſelfe hath loſt nothing; but how many haue had the hap to poſſeſſe themſelues?

Epist. XLIII.

That he doth, lies not hidden, but that rumour publiſheth all things. Therefore ſo liue (ſaith he) as if thou liuedſt in publique. What if thou be hid alſo? Thy minde knoweth and ſeeth.

THou deſireſt to know how theſe newes came to mine eares, who it was that tolde me that thy thought was thus, whereas thou haddeſt diſcloſed it to no man liuing: he that knoweth the moſt, rumor. What then (ſayeſt thou) am I ſo great that I can excite a rumor? Thou art not to meaſure thy ſelfe in regard of this place where I bide, but reſpect thou that wherein thou liueſt: whatſoeuer is eminent amiddeſt the places neere vnto thee, is great in that place where it is eminent. For greatnes hath no certaine meaſure; compariſon eyther extinguiſheth or depreſſeth it. The Ship which is great in the Riuer, is little in the Sea: the helme that to one ſhip is great, to another is little. Now in that Prouince where thou liueſt thou art great, although thou contemne thy ſelfe. It is both inquired of and knowne, both how thou ſuppeſt and how thou ſleepeſt. So much the more oughteſt thou to be more circumſpect in thy carriage. Then iudge thy ſelfe happie when thou canſt liue publiquely, when as thy roofe and walles may couer and not hide thee; which for the moſt part wee iudge to be builded about vs, not to the intent we may liue more ſafely, but to the end we may ſinne more ſecretly. I will tell thee a thing by which thou mayeſt eſtimate our maners, thou ſhalt ſcarcely find any man that can liue with an open doore. Our conſcience, and not our arrogance hath ſet a guard at our gates: ſo liue we that we eſteeme a ſudden eſpiall to be an actuall ſurpriſall. But what profiteth it a man to hide himſelfe, and to haue both the eyes and eares of men? A good conſcience challengeth the whole world, an euill is alwayes doubtfull and carefull, yea euen in the deſert. If thine actions be honeſt, let all men know them: if diſhoneſt, what skilleth it if no man know them, ſo thou know them thy ſelfe? O wretch that thou art, if thou contemneſt this witneſſe.

Epist. XLIIII.

An excellent Epiſtle. Let no man contemne himſelfe for his baſeneſſe of birth, if hee commeth vnto wiſedome, that is, to vertue. This onely enobleth.

ONce againe thou playeſt the coward with me, and ſayeſt that nature firſt; and after her, fortune haue beene contrarie and vnkind toward thee, whereas thou mayeſt exempt thy ſelfe from the common ſort, and obtaine the moſt high felicitie that may befall men. If ought elſe be good in Philoſophie, this is it, that it regardeth not Nobilitie or diſcent. If all men be reuoked to their firſt originall they are of the gods. Thou art a Romane Knight, and to this order thine induſtrie hath aduanced thee: but vndoubtedly there are diuers to whom the fourteene degrees are cloſed. The Court admitteth not all men. The Campe likewiſe cannot without trouble, make choyſe of thoſe whom they entertaine for labour and trauell. A good ſpirit and intention is open to all men, to this we are all noble, neyther dooth Philoſophie reiect or elect any man, but inuiteth vnto all. *Socrates* was no *Patritian: Cleanthes* drew water, and imployed his handes in watering his Garden. Philoſophie intertained *Pluta*, not ſo thorowly nobleas ſhe made him. And what cauſe haſt thou to deſpaire, but that thou mayeſt be like vnto theſe? All theſe were thine auncеſtors, if thou behaueſt thy ſelfe worthy of them: and ſo ſhalt thou behaue and carrie thy ſelfe, if thou incontinently perſwade thy ſelfe that no man can out-ſtrip thee in Nobilitie. There are before vs as many as we are, and the originall of all very farre ſurpaſſeth our memorie. *Plato* ſaith that there is not any King that is not deſcended of a ſlaue, & that there is not any ſlaue which is not deſcended from Kings. All theſe things hath long varietie mingled together, and fortune hath turned topſie-turuie: Who is therefore a Gentleman? He that is well compoſed by nature vnto vertue. This onely is to be expected, otherwiſe if thou recalleſt mee to antiquitie, no man is not but from thence, before which nothing is. From the firſt beginning of this world vnto this day, the line of alteration hath deriued vs from noble to villeinies. It maketh not a Noble-man to haue his Court full of ſmoakie Images: no man liued for our glorie, neyther is that which was before vs, ours. The minde maketh the Noble-man, which from how baſe condition ſoeuer, enobleth vs to riſe aboue fortune. Thinke thy ſelfe therefore that thou art no Roman Knight, but a libertine. Thou mayeſt attaine this, that thou alone mayeſt be free amongſt libertines. But how ſayeſt thou, if thou diſtinguiſh not good and euill by the peoples iudgements? We muſt regard, not whence they come, but whether they goe. For if there be any thing may make the life happie, it is abſolutely good, becauſe it may not be depraued or turned into euill: what is it then wherein we erre? In this, that all who affect a happy life, take the inſtruments thereof for the thing it ſelfe; and whilſt they ſeeke the ſame, flie the ſame: for whereas ſolid ſecuritie is the ſcope of a bleſſed life, and the vnſhaken confidence thereof, they gather the cauſes of ſolicitude, and by a dangerous iourney they not only beare, but draw the burthens of life. Thus alwayes recoyle they farre from the effect of that they ſeek, and the more labour they imploy, the more are they intangled, and carried backward, which happeneth to thoſe that haſte them in a labyrinth, their very ſpeed intangleth them.

Epist. XLV.

That not many, but good bookes are neceſſarie to obtaine wiſedome. That the ancient vainly wrote ſome things ſuperfluous, ſome ſubtilly. Then againſt Cauillers and miſtaking of words. The matter, and the difference thereof is to be ſought for. Who is bleſſed, and what is truely good?

THou complaineſt thee of the want of bookes in thoſe parts where thou bideſt. It skilleth not how many, but how good thou haſt, a certain reading profiteth, & that which is full of varietie delighteth. He that will attaine to his predeſtinated ſcope, let him follow one way, and not wander in many, for this is not to go, but to erre. I had rather, ſayeſt thou, that thou gaueſt me bookes, then counſell, and

for mine owne part, I am readie to send thee wholly, if I haue, and to voide my whole store, and I would transport my selfe vnto those parts, if it were possible, and had I not a hope, that very shortly I should accomplish and set an end to thy endeuour, I had vndertaken the iorney in these mine old yeares, neither might *Charibdis*, *Scylla*, and this fabulous sea affright me. I had not onely sailed, but swomne ouer these seas, so as I might embrace thee, and being present with thee, estimated, how much thou wert encreased in thy courage. And whereas thou desirest, that my bookes should bee sent vnto thee, I esteeme my selfe no more eloquent, for that then I would account my selfe faire, if so be thou shouldest require my picture of me. I know that this proceedeth from thy goodwill towards mee, and not from thy iudgement, and that affection hath entangled and deceiued thee, and not thy iudgement. But whatsoeuer they be, see thou reade them in such sort, as if as yet thou sought the truth, but knew it not, but peremptorily sought it. For I haue not seuerely tied my selfe to any, I beare the name of no man, I ascribe much to the iudgement of great men, and challenge something to my selfe. For they also left vs not things onely found by them, but also those which remaine to be found, and peraduenture they had found out things necessarie, had they not sought after the superfluous. The cauillation of words, and captious disputations, which exercise a vaine braine, stole much time from them. We weaue knots, and tie ambiguous signification to words, and then dissolue them. Haue we so much leasure? Know wee now how to liue, and how to die? Thither with all our mindes are we to addresse our selues, where prouision may be taken, that the things themselues may deceiue vs, and not the words. Why distinguishest thou vnto me the similitudes of words, wherewith no man is euer caught, but when he disputeth, the things themselues deceiue vs, discerne them: we embrace euill things in stead of good, we wish contrarie to that we haue wished, our vowes impugne our vowes, our counsels our counsels. How much doth flattery resemble friendship? It doth not onely imitate the same, but it ouercommeth and outstrippeth it: it is receiued with open and fauourable eares, and descendeth into the inward heart, gratious in that wherein it hurteth. Teach me how I may know this similitude. There comes vnto me, in stead of a friend, a flattering enemie. Vices creepe vpon vs vnder pretext of vertues; temeritie lies hidden vnder the name of fortitude: moderation is called sloth, a warie man is accounted fearefull. In those things we erre with great danger; imprint certaine notes on these to make them knowne. But he that is demanded whether he hath hornes, is not so foolish to rub his brow; neither againe so foolish and beetle-headed, that he is ignorant that he hath none of those hornes, which thou wouldest perswade him to haue by a subtill collection of arguments. But these deceiue without damage; in such manner as the boxes and lots of the Iuglers, in which the very deceit is a delight. Bring to passe that I may vnderstand how it is done, I haue lost the vse. The same say I of these cauellings, for by what more fit name can I call Sophismes? Neither hurt they the ignorant, neither helpe they the vnderstanding: verily if thou wilt take away all ambiguitie of words, teach vs this, that he is not blessed whom the common people tearmeth so, into whose hands great summes of money are gathered; but he, whose minde is all his goodnesse, who is erect, vpright, high minded, and a contemner of those things which other men wonder at, who seeth no man with whom he would exchange himselfe, which estimateth a man onely in that part wherein he is a man, who vseth Nature as his mistresse, and is composed according to her lawes, and so liueth as she

she prescribeth. From whom no force can rauish his good, who turneth euill into goodnesse, assured in his iudgement, vnshaken, vndaunted: whom some power moueth, but none perturbeth; whom Fortune, when with her greatest force, she hath darted the most dangerous dart she hath against him, pricketh, but woundeth not, and that very seldome. For all other weapons of hers, wherwith she warreth against mankind, are as the haile which falleth on the houseeues, it striketh on them, without any incommoditie to the inhabitants of the same, and maketh a noice, and is dissolued. Why detainest thou me in this, that thou callest thy selfe *Pseudomenon*, (that is to say, a lyer) of whom so many bookes haue beene written. Behold, all my life is but lying, reproue thou it, reduce this to truth, if thou art so subtill. She iudgeth those things necessarie, the greater part whereof is superfluous, that likewise which is not superfluous, hath no moment in it selfe, in this that it may make a man fortunate or b'essed. For if any thing be necessarie, it is not presently good. And wee prostitute goodnesse and abuse it, if wee attribute that name to bread and cakes, and such like things, without which life cannot be maintained. That which is truely good is necessarie, but that which is necessarie is not presently good, for some things are necessarie which are most abiect. There is no man that is so ignorant of the dignitie of goodnesse, which comparingly will abuse it with those things that haue their lasting but for a day. What then? Wilt thou not imploy thy study and care to make manifest vnto euery man, and let them see, that with great losse of time a man searcheth for superfluous and vnprofitable things; and that diuers haue ouerpassed their life, in onely imploying themselues in seeking out the instruments of life. Looke into euery particular, and consider the whole, there is no mans life, but is aimed at to morrow. Thou askest me what euill there is herein? Infinite, for they liue not, but are to liue, they deferre all things. Although we were circumspect, yet life would outstrip vs, and now when wee are stayed, she commeth and ouergoeth vs, and is ended in the last day, and euery day perisheth. But lest I should exceed the measure of an Epistle, which should not fill a mans left hand in reading. I will deferre this debate with the ouer-subtill Logitians till another time, who onely haue care of this, and not of that.

Epist. XLVI.

He iudgeth of Lvcilivs *his Booke, and praiseth it.*

I Haue receiued the booke which thou promisedst me, and as if I should reade it ouer at leasure; I opened it, and had onely a will to taste it. But afterwards it so flattered and toled me on, that I thought fit to passe further, which how eloquent it is, thou mayst cõiecture by this, it seemed short vnto me, for that neither of thy time nor of mine, but at first sight it seemed to be either *Titus Liuius*, or *Epicurus*: but with so much sweetnesse it detained and allured me, that without all delay I ouer-read it. The Sunne inuited me, hunger admonished mee, the shower threatened me, yet did I reade it ouer, not so much delighted as gladded. And I would say vnto thee, what a wit hath this man? What a minde? What abilitie? If he had pawsed, if he had risen by degrees. Now hath it not beene vehemencie, but a continuate forme, and a composition masculine and holy,

holy, notwithſtanding there was a mixture of ſweetneſſe and grace. Thou art great and vpright, this courſe I aduiſe thee to; ſo proceed thou. The matter alſo did ſomewhat, therefore is it to be choſen fruitfull, that may rauiſh a mans minde and excite him. I will write more of thy booke when I haue reexamined it; but as yet my iudgement is not ſetled. I ſeeme but as one that hath heard it, and not ouer-read it. Suffer me likewiſe to make inquiſition. Thou needeſt not feare, thou ſhalt heare the truth. O happie man that thou art, that haſt nothing for which a man ſhould lie vnto thee from ſo farre off: but that (euen where the cauſe is taken away) we lye for cuſtomes ſake.

Epist. XLVII.

That we ought to behaue our ſelues, and liue with our ſeruants familiarly. That the error of his age was in their pride and contempt: yet that according to each mans diſpoſition and vertue, that the one and the other are either more freely or ſeuerely to bee handled.

I Haue willingly vnderſtood by thoſe that come from thee, that thou liueſt familiarly with thy ſlaues: this becommeth thy prudence, this is anſwerable to thy wiſdome. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thy companions. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thine humble friends. Are they thy ſlaues? nay rather thy fellow ſeruants. If thou knoweſt that Fortune hath as much power ouer the one, as ouer the other. I therefore laugh at thoſe that thinke it an abiect and baſe thing to ſup with their ſeruants: and why? But for that their ouerweening cuſtome hath enuironed the ſupping Lord with a troope of attending ſeruants. Farre more eateth he, then he digeſteth, and with an exceſſiue greedines loadeth hee his diſtended belly, that with greater labour hee may vomit vp all thoſe things, when with ſurfet he hath ingeſted them; but his vnhappy ſeruants haue ſcarce leaue to moue their lips, no not to this end, to ſpeake. Each murmure is ſtilled by the rod, and ſcarce caſuall things eſcape the whip, a cough, a ſneeſe, a hicket; a great penaltie is threatned, if by any ſpeech a renewed ſilence be interrupted: the liuelong night ſtand they faſting, and waite they mute. So commeth it to paſſe, that theſe ſpeake of their Lord, who in his preſence haue no libertie to diſcourſe. But they who had not onely libertie to ſpeake before their Maſters, but to conferre with them, whoſe mouth was not ſewed vp, were readie to hazard their heads for their Maſters, and turne their imminent perill on their owne neckes. At the banquets they ſpake, but in their torments they were ſilent. Furthermore, a prouerb of no leſſe arrogancie is publiſhed, That as many ſeruants we haue, ſo many enemies. We haue them not our enemies, but we make them. In the meane ſpace, I let paſſe many both cruell and inhumane things: that we abuſe them not, as men only, but as beaſts. That whereas we are ſet at ſupper, one wipeth away our ſpittings, and other crouching vnder the table, gathereth the reliques of the drunkards: another cutteth vp the decreſt fowle, and conueying his cunning hand thorow their breaſts and hinder parts, in certaine conceits of caruing, cut them in peeces: vnhappy he that liueth to this one thing, to cut vp wilde-fowle decently. But that he is more miſerable, that for voluptuouſneſſe ſake teacheth this, then he that learneth it for neceſſitie. Another skinking the wine, attired after woman-like faſhion, ſtriueth with

with age: he cannot flie child-hood, yet is hee drawne backe, and now ſweete faced, his haires either ſhauen or pulled vp by the rootes, in his martiall habite attendeth and watcheth hee all night, which hee diuideth betwixt his Lords drunkenneſſe and luſt, and in the chamber is a man, and at the banquet a boy. Another to whom the cenſure of the gheſts is permitted, attendeth vnhappie as he is, and expecteth thoſe, whom flattery or the intemperance either of their mouthes or tongues reuoaketh the next day. Ad to theſe, the Caterers, who haue a certaine and ſubtill knowledge of their Lords beſt liking; who know the ſauour of that meate, they hold beſt pleaſing to their appetite, what moſt aſſecteth their eye, what meate will quicken their loathing ſtomackes, when hee loatheth in his fulneſſe, what he longeth for that very day. With theſe he cannot abide to ſup, and thinketh it a diminution of his maieſtie, to ſit downe at the ſame table with his ſeruant. God forbid that of thoſe they ſhould find their maſters. I ſaw *Calliſtus* maſter attend at his doore, and him excluded amongſt many that entered, who had ſet him a ſeruile ſchedule on his breſt to be ſold, and had brought him forth to ſaile amongſt his moſt ridiculous and abiect ſlaues. That very ſlaue of his did him fauour, who was by him ſet to ſaile amongſt the moſt abiect firſt rancke, fruitleſſely proſtituted by the Crier, baſely made vendible by the maſter, yea he himſelfe thought him vnworthy of his houſe. The Lord ſold *Calliſtus*: but how many things did *Calliſtus* ſell to his maſter? Wilt thou thinke, that he whom thou termeſt thy ſlaue, was borne of the ſame ſeed, enioyeth the ſame aire, equally breatheth, liueth and dieth as thou ſhalt? Thou mayeſt ſee him as noble, as he thee ſeruile. How many men did Fortune depreſſe in the Marian ſlaughter, of noble birth, and ſuch as after being thrice Tribunes were in election to be Senators? One of thoſe ſhe made a ſhepheard, the other the keeper of a Cottage! Contemne not the man of that fortune, into which thou mayeſt be transferred, whileſt thou contemneſt. I will not intrude my ſelfe into a large field of diſcourſe, and diſpute of the vſe of ſeruants, in reſpect of whom wee are moſt cruell, proud, and contumelious: yet is this the ſumme of my precept. So liue with thine inferiour, as thou wouldeſt thy ſuperiour ſhould liue with thee. As often as thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe what power thou haſt ouer thy ſeruant, bethinke thy ſelfe that ſo much power thy maſter hath ouer thee. But I, ſayeſt thou, haue no maſter, the better thy fortune, happily thou ſhalt haue. Know'ſt thou not in what yeares *Hecuba* began to ſeruit, in what time *Craſſus*, in what time *Darius* mother, in what time *Plato*, in what time *Diogenes*? Liue with thy ſeruant kindly and courteouſly, vouchſafe him conference, admit him to counſaile, and conuerſation with thee. In this place the whole troope of theſe nice companions will crie out at me: There is nothing more baſe, nothing more abiect then this is. Theſe very ſame men will I finde kiſſing the hand of other mens ſlaues. See you not, that likewiſe how by this meanes our anceſtors withdrew all enuie from the maſters, all contumely from the ſeruants? They called the maſter the father of the houſhold, the ſeruants (which as yet continueth amongſt the Mimicks) his familiars. They inſtituted a holy day, wherein not onely the maſters feaſted with their ſeruants, but wherein beſide that, they permitted them to beare honor in their houſe, and to giue ſentence and iudgement, their houſe to be a little common-weale. What then? Shall I ſet all my ſeruants at my table? No more then all my children. Thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that I will reiect ſome of them, as deſtinated to a more ſeruile office, as that Muliter, and that Cow-keeper, I will not meaſure them by their offices, but by their manners. Each one giueth himſelfe

manners,

manners, caſualtie aſſigneth him miniſteries. Let ſome of them ſup with thee, becauſe they are worthy, ſome that they may be worthy. For if any thing bee ſeruile in them by reaſon of their ſordid cõuerſation, their liuing & conuerſing with thoſe that are better nurtured will ſhake it off. Thou art not, my *Lucilius*, onely to ſeeke thy friend in the Market-place, and in the Court, if thou diligently attend, thou ſhalt finde him in thy houſe alſo. Oftentimes a good matter ceaſeth without the work-man; trie and make experiment. Euen as he is a foole, who hauing a horſe to buy, looketh not on him, but on his furniture and bit; ſo is he moſt fond, that eſteemeth a man, either by his garment, or by his condition, which is wrapped about vs after the manner of a garment. Is hee a ſeruant? But happily a free man in minde. Is he a ſeruant? Shall this hurt him? Shew one that is not. One ſerueth his luſt, another his auarice, another ambition, another feare. I will ſhew you a man that hath beene Conſul, ſeruing an old woman. I will let you ſee a rich man ſeruing a poore maid: I will ſhew you the nobleſt yong men, the very bond-ſlaues of Players. There is no ſeruitude more foule, then that which is voluntarie. For which cauſe, thou haſt no reaſon that theſe diſdainfull fellowes ſhould deterre thee from ſhewing thy ſelfe affable to thy ſeruants, and not proudly ſuperiour. Let them rather honour thee, then feare thee. Will any man ſay that I call ſeruants to libertie, and caſt downe maſters from their dignitie, in that I ſay they ſhould rather honor their maſter then feare him? Is it ſo, ſaith he, ſhall they wholly honor thee as clients and ſuiours? He that ſaith thus, forgetteth that that is very ſmall to maſters, which is enough for God, who is worſhipped and loued. Loue cannot be mingled with feare. I therefore thinke, that thou doeſt moſt vprightly; if thou wilt not be feared by thy ſeruants, that thou vſeſt the chaſtiſement of words. Such as are dumbe are admoniſhed by ſtripes: euery thing that offendeth vs, hurteth vs not. But daintineſſe compelleth vs to outrage, ſo that whatſoeuer is not anſwerable to our will, prouoketh vs to wrath. Wee put vpon vs the mindes of Kings, for they alſo forgetfull of their own ſtrength, and other mens imbecilitie are ſo incenſed, ſo wrathfull, as if they had receiued an iniurie, from the perill of which thing, the greatneſſe of their fortune ſecureth them moſt; neither are they ignorant hereof, but they take occaſion of hurting by ſeeking it; they receiued an iniurie, that they might doe wrong. I will not detaine thee longer, for thou haſt no need of exhortation. Good manners haue this amongſt other things, they pleaſe themſelues and remaine. Malice is light, and is often changed, not to the better, but to another thing.

Epist. XLVIII.

That the ſame things are expedient for friends, and that the one is profitable to the other. Then againſt captious cauils and difficult ſolues. What doe you? What play you? The queſtion is of life. Aſſiſt and forme it. Of fortune. Againſt her giue defence.

SO that Epiſtle of thine, which thou ſendeſt to me in my iourney, ſo long as the very iourney it ſelfe was, I will make anſwer. I muſt recreat my ſelfe, and looke about me what I counſaile. For thou alſo who counſelleſt me, diddeſt bethinke thee long, whether thou ſhouldeſt counſaile; how much more ought I to doe the like, whereas a longer reſpite is requiſit to diſſolue and anſwer thee, to propound the queſtion: verily one courſe is expedient for thee, another for me: once more ſpeake I like *Epicurus*. But to me the ſame is expedient that to thee, elſe am I not thy friend, except whatſoeuer is done that concerneth thee, be mine. Friendſhip maketh a mutuall interchange of all things betweene vs, neyther hath any one of vs in particular a felicitie or aduerſitie, but they are communicable to both. Neyther can any man liue happily who onely reſpecteth himſelfe, that conuerteth all things to his own profits: thou muſt liue vnto another, if thou wilt liue vnto thy ſelfe. This ſocietie both diligently and holily is to be obſerued, which mixeth all of vs together, and iudgeth that there is ſome one common right of humane race. It auayleth very much alſo to perfite that interior ſocietie of friendſhip, of which I ſpake. For he ſhall haue all things in common with his friend, that hath many things common with man. This would I haue taught me, O *Lucilius*, the beſt of men, by thoſe ſubtill Sophiſters, what I ought to performe vnto my friend, what vnto a man: then after how many manners a friend may be called, and how many this word man ſignifieth. Behold wiſedome, and folly are ſeparated diuerſly, to which doe I incline? to which part willeſt thou me to goe? To this Stoicke a man is a friend, to that Epicure a friend is not for a man: he getteth a friend for himſelfe, this other himſelfe for a friend. Thou wreſteſt my wordes, and diſtinguiſheſt ſyllables. Verily except I compoſe idle Interrogations, and by a falſe concluſion deriued from truth, I vnite a lie, I cannot diſtinguiſh thoſe things that are to be deſired from ſuch as are to be eſchued. I am aſhamed. In ſo ſerious a thing as this is, though olde, yet we trifle. Mouſe is a ſyllable; but Mouſe gnaweth the Cheeſe, *Ergo*, a ſyllable gnaweth the Cheeſe. Thinke now that I cannot reſolue this doubt, what damage ſhould this ignorance of mine doe me? What diſcommoditie? Doubtleſſe it is to be feared, leſt at ſometimes I ſhould catch the ſyllables in my Mouſ-trap, or that happily if I ſhould becom negligent, my Book ſhould eate the Cheeſe: vnleſſe happily that collection is more acute; Mouſe is a ſyllable, but the ſyllable gnaweth not the Cheeſe; the Mouſe therefore gnaweth not the Cheeſe. O childiſh triflings. For this cauſe haue wee humbled our browes? For this cauſe haue we lengthened our beards? Is it this wee teach both ſad and pale? Wilt thou know what Philoſophie promiſeth to humane kinde? It is counſaile. One man death calleth, another pouertie burneth, another man cyther his owne or other mens riches torment; this man is affraide and terrified at euill fortune, that man would withdraw himſelfe, and eſcape his felicitie, this man diſliketh men, that man the goddes: Why propoſeſt thou vnto me theſe toyes? There is no place of jeſting; the miſerable crane thy aſſiſtance. Thou haſt promiſed that thou wilt help ſuch as are ſhip-wrackt, captiue, poore, ſuch as ſubiect their heads to axe and block: whether art thou diuerted? what doeſt thou? The very man with whom thou jeſteſt is affraide. Yeeld ſuccours, whatſoeuer thou art more indued with eloquence, to the paines of ſuch as periſh. All of them, on euery ſide lift vp their handes vnto thee, and implore ſom help in their periſhed and decaying life, in thee is the hope, in thee the meanes. They beſeech thee to draw them out of ſo great turmoyle, that thou wouldeſt ſhew them that are ſcattered and wandring the cleere light of truth. Shew what nature hath made neceſſarie, what ſuperfluous, what eaſie lawes ſhe hath eſtabliſhed: how pleaſant and expedite the life of thoſe men is that follow them, how bitter and implicite theirs is, that haue beleeued opinion more then truth. What extinguiſheth theſe mens deſires? What temperateth them? Would to God they did but onely not profit. They hurt. This will I make

make manifest vnto thee when thou wilt, that a generous spirit is broken and weakned, being puzled with these subtilties. I am ashamed to tel, what weapons it lendeth to those, that are to warre against fortune, and how they suborne them. This is the way to the chiefest good, by this Philosophicall exceptions are blacke, filthy, and infamous, yea euen to those that are young Students: for what else doe you, when as wittingly you entangle him whom you aske, then that he might seeme to be non-suited: but euen as the Pretor wholly restoreth the one, so doth Philosophie these. Why faile you in your great promises? and hauing promised mountaines, that you will bring to passe that the shining and brightnesse of gold shall no more dazle mine eyes, then that of the sword: that with great constancie I should contemne and spurn at, both that which all men wish, and that which all men feare, descend you to the elements of the Grammarian? What say you, is this the way to eternitie? For this is it that Philosophie promiseth me, to make me like to God. To this I am inuited, to this end I came, performe thy promise. As much as thou mayest therefore my *Lucilius*, reduce thy selfe from these exceptions and prescriptions of the Philosophers. Open and simple things become honestie and goodnesse. Although a better part of life were yet to be spent, yet must it now be sparingly dispensed, that it may suffice for necessaries; now what madnesse is it to learne such vnnecessarie things in so great scantling of time?

Epist. XLIX.

That by the sight of a house called Pompey *the memorie of his* Lucilius *was renewed in him. Of the shortnesse and swiftnesse of time, that nothing is long or olde in it. By the way against the Logicians, and that all that sort are onely to be looked on.*

Eetruly my *Lucilius*, is idle and negligent, who admonished from any Region is reduced to the memorie of his friend; yet sometimes familiar places summon and call forth the reposed desire in our minde, neyther suffer they the memorie to be extinguished, but prouoke the same when it is pacified, euen as the griefe of those that mourne, although for a time it be mitigated, eyther the familier admonition of a seruant, or a garment, or the house reneweth the same. Behold how *Campania*, and in especial *Naples*, in the beholding of thy *Pompeis* it is incredible how liuing a memorie of thee it bred in me. Thou art wholly before mine eyes, euen then when I am most separated from thee. I see thee supping vp thy tears, and insufficiently resisting thy affections, breaking forth in their restraint. And now seem I to haue lost thee; for what is not present, if thou remembrest? Not long since I conuersed being a child, with *Sotion* the Philosopher; anon after I began to pleade causes; not long after I desisted from being willing to wrangle in them: now giue I ouer to haue power to follow them. Infinite is the swiftnesse of time, which appeareth most to those that looke backe: for to those that intend the present, it deceiueth them, so light is the passage of her headlong flight. Doest thou demaund the cause hereof? Whatsoeuer time is past is in the same place, it is beheld at once, and at once is extinguished, and all things from thence fall into the depth, & otherwise there cannot be long spaces in that thing which is wholly short. It is but a point that we liue, and as yet lesse then a point; yet nature hath diuided this least vnder a certaine kinde of longer

longer space. Of this point he made one part infancie, another childe-hood, another youth, another a certaine inclination from youth to age, another age it selfe. In how small a straight hath he placed so many degrees? Euen presently doe I prosecute thee, and yet this present is a good portion of our age; whose shortnesse let vs thinke on, will at last shew it selfe. The time was not wont to seeme so swift vnto me: now doth the course thereof appeare incredible, eyther because I perceiue the end at hand, eyther because I haue begunne to conceiue and summe vp my losse. And the more am I vexed, because I see some lauish the greater part of this time in vanities, which scarcely can suffice for necessaries, although it were kept very diligently. *Cicero* denieth that if his age were doubled, he should haue time enough to reade the Liriques; and in like sort the Logicians. They are bitterly foolish. These play the professed wantons: they thinke that they doe somewhat. Neyther denie I but these may be looked into, but that they are onely to be looked into, and slightly ouer-past, to this only intent, lest we should be deceiued, & that we should iudge that there is som great and secret good in them. Why doest thou torment and macerate thy selfe about that question, which is more policie to contemne then satisfie? It is the worke of a secure man, and such a one as erreth from his profite to make search after trifles. When the enemie is hard at our heels, and the souldier is commanded to march, necessity shaketh off all that which idle peace had recollected. I haue no leisure to affect these equiuocating words, and make tryall of my craft in them.

Behold what armies march, what walls,
What warre with closed gates.

This noyse of warre sounding on euery side, is to be heard by me with a mightie courage. I should worthily be accounted mad in all mens eyes, if when as both olde men and women gathered and brought stones to fortifie the Rampire, when as the young men being armed within the gates, expected or required a summons to sally, when the enemies armes were at the ports, and the very ground did shake with mines, if I should sit idle and employ my time in such like questions. That which thou hast not lost thou hast; thou hast not lost thy hornes, *Ergo*, thou hast hornes, and such like, fashioned according to the tenor of this acute madnesse. And no lesse foolish should I seeme vnto thee, if I should imploy my studies in these, whereas euen now I am beleagred: yet then a forrain perill should threaten me being besieged, the wall should seuer me from mine enemie. Now death and danger is with me. Now haue I time for these toyes. There is a waightie businesse in hand. What shall I doe? Death followeth me, life flieth. Teach me somewhat against these, bring to passe that I may not flie death and that life may not flie me. Teach me equanimitie against disasters, and distresse against inexitable harmes, giue libertie to the straightnesse of my time. Teach me that the good of life consisteth not in the space thereof, but in the vse; and that it may be, yea, that it often falleth out, that he who hath liued longest hath liued a little or nothing. Tell me when I lie downe to rest; it may be thou shalt not wake. Tell me when I am awake, it may be thou shalt not sleepe any more. Tell me when I goe forth of doores, it may be thou canst not return. Tell me when I returne, it may be thou canst not goe out againe? Thou art deceiued, if thou thinkest that in saying only, that there is but the least difference and separation twixt life and death: in euery place there is as little distance. Euery where death shews not himselfe so nigh, yet euery where is he as nigh. Shake

off these cloudes, and thou shalt more easily discouer those things, to which I am prepared. Nature bred vs docible, and gaue vs imperfect reason, yet such as may be perfected. Dispute with me of Iustice & pietie, of frugalitie, of both sorts of modestie, and of that that can abstaine from anothers bodie, and this that hath care of his owne: if thou wilt not leade me the indirect way, I shall more easily attaine to that I affect. For as that tragicke Poet saith, *The speech of truth is simple*: and therfore we must not implicate the same: for nothing is lesse conuenient then is this subtil craft, to those minds that labour after great mattters.

Epist. L.

That we are blinde in vices, or that we seeke a cloake for them. Yet that they are to be acknowledged, and that the remedies are to be sought for; whence otherwise is the health of the minde derived, which may likewise happen, euen to the most inueterate vices, because he is easie to be bent, and Nature flieth vnto goodnesse.

I Receiued the Epistle which thou senteste me after many months, I thought it therefore an idle thing to enquire of him that brought the same, what thou diddest. For it is a signe of a good memorie, if he remembreth, and yet hope I that for the present thou liuest so, that where soeuer thou art, I know what thou diddest. For what other thing shouldest thou doe, then that daily thou shouldest better thy selfe, that thou shouldest lay aside some one of thine errors, that thou mayest vnderstand that they are thine owne follies, that thou thinkest to be forraine. Some things ascribe we to places and times, but they, whither soeuer wee transport our selues, will follow vs. Thou knowest, *Harpaste*, my wiues foole, thou knowest that she remained in my house as an hereditarie burthen. For I am much distasted and disgusted with those prodigies, if at any time I will take pleasure in a foole. I neede not seeke farre off, I finde sufficient matter of laughter in my selfe. This foole suddenly lost her eye-sight. I tell thee an incredible matter, but yet true: she knoweth not that she is blinde; oftentimes she prayeth her gouernour to giue her leaue to walke abroad, shee saith the house is darke. This that seemeth ridiculous vnto vs in her, take thou notice, that it happeneth vnto vs all: no man vnderstandeth that he is couetous, no man that he is auaritious; yet doe the blinde seeke a guide, but wee erre without a guide, and say: I am not ambitious, but no man can otherwise liue in Rome. I am not sumptuous, but the Citie it selfe requireth great expence. It is not my fault that I am wrathfull, that as yet I haue not setled my selfe in a certaine course of life; it is youth that causeth this: Why deceiue we our selues? our euill is not extrinsecall, it is within vs, and is setled in our intrailes. And therefore doe we hardly recouer health, because we know not that we are sicke; if wee haue but begunne our cure, when shall we shake off so many plagues and sicknesses? But now scarce seeke we for the Physitian, who should spend lesse time and labour, if he were counselled vpon the beginning of the disease. Tender and rude minds would follow him, directing them aright. No man is hardly reduced vnto Nature, but he that hath reuolted from her. Wee are ashamed to learne a good mind, yet vndoubtedly it is a shameful thing to seeke a master in this matter. That is to be dispaired, that so much good may casually befall vs: we must take paines, and (to speake vprightly) the labour is not great: if, as I said, we begin to conforme and recorrect our mindes, before they be confirmed in wickednesse.

nesse. Yet despaire I not of those that are indurate. There is nothing that industrious labour and intent, and diligent care cannot compasse and impugne. Thou mayest straighten the stiffest oakes, although crooked; heate straightneth crooked beames, and such as are otherwise fashioned by Nature, are applied to that which our vse exacteth. How farre more easily doth the minde receiue a forme, being flexible and pliant to any humour. For what other thing is the mind, then after a certaine manner a spirit. But you see that a spirit is by so much more facile then any other matter, by how much he is more thinne and delicate. That, my *Lucilius*, hath no reason to hinder thee from hoping well of vs, because malice already hath hold of vs, that of long time it hath harboured with vs. To no man comes a good minde before an euill. We are all preoccupated in learning vertues, and forgetting vices: but therefore the more ardently must we endeuour our amendment, because the possession of a good once imparted to vs, is perpetuall; vertue is not forgotten. For the contrarie euils haue a forraine dependance, and therefore may be expelled and excluded, they are surely setled that succeed in their place. Vertue is according to Nature, vices are our enemies and infectors. But euen as receiued vertues cannot easily be dispossessed, and their conseruation is easie: so is the beginning to obtaine and aime at them very difficult, because this especially is the signe of a weake and sicke mind, to feare things vnattempted. Therefore is the minde to be enforced, that it may begin: moreouer the medicine is not bitter, for it quickely delighteth, while it healeth. Of other remedies, there is a certaine pleasure after health: Philosophie is both wholesome and pleasing.

Epist. LI.

Somewhat of Etna, and more of Baie. And vpon this occasion hee inueyeth against such as are effeminated, and giuen ouer to their pleasure. That this is to be driuen from vs, and that we are to warfare: against whom? against Pleasure, Paine, and others. That he who doth so, doth good in serious and holy places, auoideth lasciuious things, or such as are too delightfull.

EVen as euery one can, my *Lucilius*, thou hast there *Etna* that noble Mountaine of Sicily, the which *Messala* called the only Mountaine, or *Valgius* (for in both of them haue I read thereof) why I finde not, when as many places vomit out fire, not only such as are high, which oftentimes happeneth, because that fire mounteth vpwards, but also such as are low. We, how soeuer we may, are content with *Baye*, which the very next day after I had visited, I forsooke; a place for this cause to be auoided, although that hath certaine naturall endowments, because superfluitie hath made choice thereof her selfe, to celebrate the same. What then? Is there any place to be hated? No, but euen as some garment is more decent and comely for a wise and good man, then another; neither hateth hee any colour, but thinketh one more fit for him that professeth frugalitie: so is there a region, which a wise man, or one that tendeth to wisdome, declineth, as if estranged from good manners. Thinking therefore of his retirement, hee will neuer make choice of *Canopus*, although *Canopus* hinder no man from being frugall. Neither *Baias* likewise; they are begun to be the hostrie of vices. There Luxurie permitteth her selfe very much, there as if a certaine libertie were due

vnto the place that hath looseneſſe. It behoueth vs to chuſe a place, not onely healthfull for our bodies, but for our manners. Euen as I would not dwell amongſt hangmen and torturers, ſo would I not liue amongſt victualing-houſes. What needeth it to ſee drunkards reeling vp and downe the ſhore, and the banquets of ſuch as ſaile, and the Lakes reeccoing the Conſent of ſongs, and other things, which laſciuiouſneſſe (as if freed from all reſtraint) not onely ſinneth in, but publiſheth? That ought we to doe, that we flie farre from the prouocations of vices. The mind is to be confirmed, and abſtracted farre from the allurement of pleaſures. One onely Winter weakened *Hannibal*, and the delicacies of *Campania* weakned that man, whom neither Snowes nor Alpes could otherwiſe vanquiſh: he conquered in armes, he was conquered by vices. Wee muſt likewiſe play the ſouldiers, and in ſuch a kind of ſeruice as neuer affordeth vs reſt, or euer giueth vs leaſure. Vices in eſpeciall are to be conquered, which (as you ſee) haue drawne the ſterneſt and cruelleſt wits vnto them. If a man propoſe vnto himſelfe, what a taske he hath vndergone, he ſhall know that nothing is to be done delicately or effeminately. What haue I to doe with thoſe hot pooles, with thoſe ſtoues in which a drie vapour is included to waſte our bodies? Let all ſwet breake forth by labour: if wee ſhould doe as *Hannibal* did, that interrupting the courſe of affaires, and neglecting warre, wee ſhould employ our ſelues in nouriſhing our bodies, there is no man but might iuſtly reprehend our vnſeaſonable ſloth, not onely dangerous for the conquerour, but for the conquered alſo? Leſſe is permitted vs, then thoſe that followed the Carthaginian warres, more danger impendeth ouer our heads, if we giue way, worſe alſo if wee perſeuere. Fortune wageth warre with mee, I will not obey her, I receiue not her yoake, nay more, (which with greater courage I ought to accompliſh) I ſhake it off. The minde is not to be mollified. If I giue place to pleaſure, I muſt be ſubiect to griefe, ſlaue to labour, ſeruant to pouertie; both ambition and wrath will haue the ſame priuiledge ouer me: amongſt ſo many vices I ſhall be diſtracted, or rather diſmembred. Libertie is propoſed: for this reward doe we labour. Thou askeſt me what libertie is? To ſerue nothing, no neceſſitie, no fortunes; to keepe Fortune at ſtaffes-end. That day I vnderſtand my ſelfe, that I can more then ſhe may, ſhe can nothing. Shall I ſuffer her when as death is at hand? To him that intendeth theſe thoughts, retirement both ſerious and ſanctified, ought to be ſought for and choſen. Too much pleaſantnes effeminateth the minde, and vndoubtedly the contrary may doe ſomewhat to corrupt the vigor. Thoſe cattell eaſily trauell in any way, whoſe hoofes are hardned on the craggie wayes: ſuch as breed in the rotten and ſoggie paſtures, are quickly wearied. The ſouldier exerciſed on the mountaines, returneth more hardie, the citizen and home-bred is recreant. Thoſe hands refuſe no labour that are transferred from the plough to the pike. The anointed and nice ſouldier endureth not the firſt ſhock. The ſeuerer diſcipline of the place firmeth the courage, and maketh it more apt to attempts. *Scipio* was more honeſtly a baniſhed man at *Liternum* then at *Bayas*. His ruine is not to be planted in ſo effeminate a place. And they alſo to whom at firſt, and in eſpeciall the fortune of the Roman people tranſlated the publike Riches, *Caius Marius*, *Cneius Pompey*, and *Cæſar* builded certaine Manor-houſes in the region of *Bayas*, but they planted them on the tops of the higheſt mountaines. This ſeemed more warlike, from an eminent place to behold the low countrie farre and neere. Behold what ſituation they choſe, in what places, and what they builded; & thou ſhalt know that they were in camping places, and not in houſes of pleaſure.

Thinkeſt

Thinkeſt thou *Cato* would euer dwell in *Vtica*, to the end he might number the adulterers that ſailed by him, and to behold ſo many kinds of boats painted with diuers colours, and the roſes floating ouer the whole lake, that he might heare the night-brawles of ſuch as ſing? Had he not rather beene within his Trench, which in one nights ſpace he had digged, & cauſed to be incloſed, why ſhould it not better pleaſe him? Whoſoeuer is a man had rather be awakened from ſleep by the Trumpet, then a melodie or conſent of voyces. But long enough haue we contended about *Baias*, but neuer enough with vices, which I beſeech thee my *Lucilius*, perſecute beyond meaſure, and without end; for neyther haue they end or meaſure. Caſt from thee what ſoeuer tormenteth thy heart, which if they could not be drawn out otherwiſe, thy heart were to be pulled out with them. Eſpecially driue from thee pleaſures, and hold them in greateſt hatred, after the manner of thoſe theeues whom the Egyptians call *Philetæ*; to this end they kiſſe vs, that they may kill vs.

Epist. LII.

That we are vncertaine in the truth, and haue neede of helpe and direction. But that ſome are more eaſily guided and formed; then other ſome according to their nature. But to the intent that thou mayeſt be formed, make thy choyce out of the ancient, and the preſent. Yet flie pratlers, ambitious, and ſuch as affect applauſe.

WHat is this *Lucilius*, that, when we intend one way, draweth vs another, and forceth vs thither, from whence we deſire to flie? What is that which wraſtleth with our minde, and permitteth vs not to will any thing once? We wauer twixt diuers counſailes, we will nothing freely, nothing abſolutely, nothing alwayes. It is a folly (ſayeſt thou) he that is conſtant in nothing, is not long pleaſed with any thing. But how, or when ſhall we withdraw our ſelues from theſe? No man is able to accompliſh it of himſelfe; ſome man muſt lend a helping hand, ſome one muſt bring vs out. Some, ſaith *Epicurus*, contend vnto truth without any mans helpe, of theſe, that he made himſelfe his owne way. Theſe prayſeth hee moſt: that had power of themſelues, that aduanced themſelues: that ſome want forraigne helpe, and are not like to goe, except ſome one conduct them, yet are willing to follow. Of this ſort he accounteth *Metrodorus*. And this alſo is an excellent, but a wit of the ſecond rancke. We are not of the firſt number, it ſufficeth vs if we be receiued into this ſecone rancke: neyther contemne thou that man that may be ſaued by another mans meanes; for it is a very great matter to haue a will to be ſaued. Beſides theſe, as yet thou ſhalt finde another ſort of men, and they not to be contemned, namely, they that may bee enforced and compelled to the right, who haue not onely needs of a guide but a helper, or to ſpeake more properly, a compeller. This is the third kinde. If thou ſeeke an example hereof; *Epicurus* ſaith that *Hermachus* was ſuch a one, therefore gratulateth hee more the one, and admireth the other. For although both of them obtayned one and the ſame end, yet the praiſe is greater, to haue performed the ſame in a more difficult matter. Suppoſe that a man hath builded two houſes, both equall, a like high and magnificent, the one of them planted on a firme foundation, whereon the worke is ſuddenly raiſed, the other on an vncertaine and falſe ground, where we ought to digge deep, and imploy infinite pains

before

before wee light on firme land. In the one all appeareth in ſight, that hath beene builded: in the other the better and more difficult part is hidden. Some wits are facile and expedite, ſome are (as they ſay) to be faſhioned by the hand, and to be exerciſed and occupied in making their owne foundation: therefore account I him more happie, that hath had no buſineſſe with himſelfe, and him likewiſe to haue deſerued beſt of himſelfe, that hath ouercome the malignitie of his nature, and hath not ledde himſelfe, but forcibly drawn himſelfe to wiſedome. Thou muſt know that this hard and troubleſome trauell is forced on vs. We trauell a way full of dangers: let vs therefore combate & call for aſſiſtance. Whom ſayeſt thou ſhall I call vpon, that or this man? For thine owne part, I counſaile thee to returne vnto the firſt, that haue now no more to doe: for not onely they of this time, but thoſe that haue beene our predeceſſors may aſſiſt vs. And amongſt thoſe that liue, let vs chuſe, not them that diuide and precipitate many wordes with great volubilitie, and turne ouer common places, and that in priuate are moſt courted: but thoſe whoſe liues are our inſtructions, who when they haue told vs what is to be done, approue the ſame by their actions who teach that which is to be eſchued, and are neuer ſurpriſed or found guiltie in doing that, which they haue forbidden to be done. Chooſe him for thine aſſiſtant, whom thou admireſt more when thou ſeeſt him, then when thou hearеſt him: neyther therefore forbid I thee to heare them likewiſe, whoſe cuſtom it is to admit the people, and to diſpute, if ſo be they expoſe themſelues to community to this intent, that they may amend themſelues & make others the better, prouided they exerciſe not this for ambition ſake. For what is more baſe then Philoſophie, that ſearcheth the fauours and acclamations of the people? Doth the ſicke man praiſe the Phiſitian that launceth him? Be ſilent, fauour and offer your ſelues to the cure. Although you yeeld me acclamations of honor, I will not otherwiſe heare you, except you ſigh at the touch of your ſinnes. Will you haue it teſtified, that you are attentiue, and are moued with the greatneſſe of things? You haue free libertie; why ſhould I not permit you to iudge, and giue your voyce to that which you thinke beſt? Vnder *Pythagoras*, his ſcholars remained fiue yeares without ſpeaking: thinkeſt thou that it was lawfull for them incontinently to ſpeake and praiſe? But how great is his folly, whom the applauſes of the ignorant diſmiſſe with ioyfulneſſe out of the auditorie? Why art thou glad, becauſe thou art praiſed by thoſe men, whom thou thy ſelfe canſt not praiſe? *Fabianus* declaymed before the people, but he was heard with modeſtie. Sometime a great acclamation was raiſed of thoſe that praiſed him; but ſuch as the greatneſſe of the things prouoked, and not the ſound of a diſcourſe ſmoothed & fluent. There is ſom difference betwixt the applauſe of a Theatre, and of the Schooles. There is ſome libertie alſo in prayſing. There are alwayes ſome markes and ſignes of thoſe things that are diſcouered. And a man may likewiſe gather an argument of anothers manners, euen in the ſlighteſt things. The gate, the carriage of the hand, and ſometimes one onely anſwer, or the finger dallying with the head, or the bent of the eye diſcouereth the impudencie of a man. A man knoweth a wicked man by his laughter, and a mad man by his countenance and habite. For theſe things are outwardly ſhewed by certaine ſignes. Thou ſhalt know what euery one is, if thou conſider how he is praiſed. On euery ſide the auditor applaudeth the Philoſopher with his clapping, and all this troupe that admireth him, ſitteth aboue his head; now is not this man praiſed, if thou vnderſtandeſt it, but whooted at. Let theſe applauſes be reſerued to thoſe artes that haue a purpoſe to pleaſe the people, let Philoſophie be adored.

red. A man may giue ſometimes leaue to young men to vſe this heate of ſpirit, but they will doe this out of violence, when they cannot command themſelues ſilence. This manner of praiſe ſeruеth ſometimes for ſome exhortation to the auditors, and animateth the mindes of young men. But better were it they ſhould be moued with matter, then with painted wordes. Otherwiſe eloquence would but endanger them, if it ſhould rather procure a deſire of it ſelfe then of matter. I will ſpeake no more for the preſent: for it deſireth a proper and long diſcourſe and execution, to know how a matter is to be handled before the people, what is permitted him by them, what them by him. It is not to be doubted, but that Philoſophie hath loſt much after it is proſtituted, but ſhe may be ſhewed in her moſt retired abode, if one day ſhe finde not a Merchant bankier, but ſome honeſt Prelate.

Epist. LIII.

He deſcribeth his Nauigation and toſſing on the Seas, by occaſion that we are toſſed in our lines, but that very few know and confeſſe their owne faults. Philoſophie will teach and excite. Let vs giue our ſelues vnto it, ſhe will make vs equall with God.

WHat cannot I be perſwaded vnto, who haue beene perſwaded to ſaile? I ſet ſaile in a calme Sea, yet vndoubtedly the skie was ouer-charged with darke cloudes, which for the moſt part eyther are reſolued into water, or into winde. But I thought that ſo few miles betwixt thy *Parthenope* to *Puteoli* might eaſily and quickly be cut ouer, although the skie were doubtfull and dangerous. To the end therefore that I might more ſwiftly finiſh my iourny, I put out forthwith to ſea, and ſhaped my courſe for *Neſida*, without bearing by the creeks: when I had paſſed ſo farre already, that I cared not whether I went forward or returned; firſt, that equalitie of heauen that perſwaded me to ſaile, was ouer-blowne; as yet it was no tempeſt, yet begun the Sea to riſe, and the ſurges to ſwell and beate one another. Then began I to require the Maſter to ſet me on ſome ſhoare. But he told me, that the ſhoars of the ſea were dangerous, and vnfit to land at, and that he feared nothing more in a tempeſt then to beare vp for land; yet was I ſo tormented that I remembred not my ſelfe of any danger: for a certaine languiſhing deſire to vomit, that prouoked but preuailed me nothing in emptying my ſtomacke: it pained me infinitely, which ſtirred but voyded not choller. I therefore importuned the Maſter ſo, that will he nill he, I compelled him to beare for the ſhoare; whereto when we ſomewhat neered, I expect not to do any thing that *Virgil* commandeth, that the Prow of the Ship ſhould be turned towards the Sea, or that the Anchor ſhould be let ſlip into the Sea; but remembring my ſelfe of that I was accuſtomed to doe, I caſt my ſelfe into the water, couered in a Velуet mantle, as they are wont who waſh themſelues in colde water. What thinkeſt thou I ſuffered, whilſt I ſtriue to eſcape theſe perrils, whilſt I ſeek, whilſt I make a way thorow theſe dangers? I know well, not without cauſe, that Mariners feared the land. They are incredible things that I ſuffered, conſidering that I could not ſupport my ſelfe. Learne this of me, that the Sea was not ſo incenſed at the birth of *Vlyſſes*, that it ſhould cauſe ſhip-wracke in all places. He vomited eaſily. For mine owne part I had rather remaine twenty yeares vpon my way, then paſſe by Sea to any place. As ſoone as I had recouered my ſtomacke

macke (for thou knoweſt well that in leauing the Sea a man loſeth not his deſire to vomit) and for my recreation had annoynted my bodie, I began to bethinke my ſelfe, how great forgetfulneſſe of our ſinnes followed vs, not onely of vices, which becauſe they are more great, keepe themſelues hidden, but alſo of the vices of the bodie, which at all times draw vs into remembrance of them. A light alteration may well deceiue ſome one man; but when it is augmented and groweth to be a burning feuer, it cauſeth the moſt ſtrong and endurate perforce to confeſſe the ſame. Our feet greene vs, the ioynts feele ſome little ſhootings; we diſſemble as yet, and ſay that it is ſome ſtraine, or that we haue freed our ſelues too much in doing ſome exerciſe. We are much troubled what to call our infirmitie, which is not as yet knowne, but when it beginneth to ſwell vp our anckles, we are enforced to ſay it is the goute. It falleth out farre otherwiſe in regard of thoſe ſickneſſes which ſeize our ſoules. For the more that a nie one is ſick, the leſſe ſenſible is he of the ſame. Thou muſt not wonder deere *Lucilius* hereat: for he that ſlumbreth ſlightly, and dreameth in ſome ſort during his repoſe: ſometimes in his ſleeping thinketh that he ſleepeth; but a profound ſleepe extinguiſheth dreames alſo, and drowneth the mind more deeply, then that it permitteth the ſame to make vſe of any her intellectiue faculties. Why doth no man confeſſe his faults? Becauſe he is as yet plunged in the ſame. It is the part of one that is awake to ſhew his dreame, and it is a ſigne of amends for a man to confeſſe his faults. Let vs awake therefore, to the end wee may blame and correct our errours. But onely Philoſophie muſt quicken vs, ſhe only muſt ſhake off our heauie ſleepe. To her onely dedicate thy ſelfe, thou art worthy of her, & ſhe worthy of thee, embrace and laſten on another, denie thy ſelfe conſtantly and openly to all other things. Thou canſt not Philoſophie without taking ſome paynes: if thou wert ſicke thou wouldeſt giue ouer the care of thy whole family, and neglect thy forraine buſineſſe; there is no friend ſo deere vnto thee, whoſe cauſe thou wouldeſt deſire to pleade. All thy care and coſt ſhould be to recouer thy health ſpeedily. What then, wilt thou not now doe the like? Lay aſide all impediments, and thinke on nothing, but how to make thy ſoule more perfect, no man commeth vnto her that is occupied or diſtracted. Philoſophie vſeth ſoueraigne power as a King, ſhe giueth time, and taketh it not: ſhe is no ſecondarie care, but will be ſerued ſeriouſly; ſhe is a Miſtreſſe, ſhe is preſent and commandeth. *Alexander* to whom a Cittie promiſed to giue a part of their lands, and the halfe of all their goods: I am come, ſaith he, into *Aſia* with this reſolution, not to take that which you will giue me, but that you ſhould enioy nothing elſe, but what I leaue you. Philoſophie vſeth the like authoritie in all things. I will not, ſaith ſhee, accept that time that you haue to come, or haue reſerued contrariwiſe: you ſhall haue none, but which I wil giue you. Addreſſe thy whole minde vnto her, be alwayes neere vnto her, giue her all the honour thou canſt; there will be a great difference betwixt thee and others. Thou ſhalt farre exceed all mortall men, and the gods ſhall but very little ſurpaſſe thee. Wilt thou know what difference there is betwixt them and thee? They ſhall continue more long. But truely it is the honour of a good worke-man to finiſh his taske ſpeedily. A wiſe-man is as content with the ſpace of his life, as God is of all the time of his eternitie. Some thing there is wherein a wiſe-man exceedeth God; God is not wiſe but by the goodneſſe of his nature, and the wiſe-man is by his owne. It is a maruellous thing to haue the frailtie of a man and the ſecuritie of a God. Incredible is the force of Philoſophie, to repell all the forces of fortune. There are ſome ſorts of armes that can conquer

This, according to the paradoxe doctrine of Stoicks, but in a little too high; than hath to ſhift without wit.

quer her. She is couered with thicke and maſſiue armour, ſhee wearieth ſome things that combat her, and like light darts, receiueth them with her open breſt, ſome ſhe ſhaketh off, and darteth them backe on him that caſt the ſame.

Epist. LIIII.

That he was troubled with often ſighing, and thereupon thought on death. That it is not to be feared, becauſe that we ſhall be the ſame after death, that we were before. Let vs be prepared.

MY ſickneſſe, that had giuen me a long truce and intermiſſion, ſuddenly inuaded me. After what manner, ſaieſt thou? Truely thou haſt reaſon to aske mee, for there is not any one ſort, but that I haue beene ſenſible of it: yet am I, as it were, deſtituted to one ſickneſſe, which why I call by the Greeke name I know not, for it may aptly enough be called a ſickneſſe. It continueth a very little time in his violence; which is like vnto a guſt, and paſſeth away almoſt in an houre. For who is he that continueth long time a dying? All the dangers and ſickneſſes that may trauell a bodie, haue paſſed by mee, no one of them ſeemeth more troubleſome vnto me: and why? For in all other euils whatſoeuer, a man is but ſicke, but this is death it ſelfe. And therefore the Phyſitians call it the meditation of death. The ſhortneſſe of breath will at length effect that, which it hath often endeuoured to doe. Thinkeſt thou that I write this vnto thee with great ioy, becauſe I haue eſcaped? If to this end that I tooke delight to be in health, I doe as ridiculouſly as he, that thinketh himſelfe diſmiſſed of the ſuite, when he hath deferred his putting in baile to the action: yet in the very ſuffocation intermitted, I ceaſe not to comfort my ſelfe with ſome pleaſing & confident cogitations: What is this (ſay I?) Doth death come ſo often to aſſaile mee? Let him doe it hardly. For mine owne part, it is a long time I haue proued it. When was it (ſayeſt thou?) Before I was borne, it is a death not to be that it was before. I know alreadie what thing it is, that ſhall be after my death, which was before my birth: if a man feele any torment therein, it muſt needs follow, that we had ſome ſenſe thereof before we came into this world; but then felt I no vexation. I pray you, ſhould he not be a great fool, that ſhould think that a candle were more vnhappy after it were extinguiſhed, thē before that it was light? So faireth it with vs, we are lightned, & extinguiſhed; betwixt both theſe times we ſuffer ſome things. But before and after is a certaine and profound aſſurance of our euils. For in this, my *Lucilius*, we erre, except I be deceiued, in that we iudge death to follow; wheres it goeth before, and is like to follow. What ſoeuer was before vs, is death? For what difference is there whether thou beginneſt not, or whether thou endeſt; the effect of both theſe is not to bee. With theſe and ſuch like ſilent exhortations (for ſpeake I might not) I ceaſed not to talke vnto my ſelfe, at length by little and little, this ſighing which began alreadie to returne to be a breathing, took more long pauſes, and hauing more libertie, kept his accuſtomed tune and proportion. Neither as yet, although the fit be ceaſed, hath my breath his naturall courſe. I feele a certaine touch and hanging on thereof. Let him doe what he will, prouided that I ſigh not in my ſoule; aſſure thy ſelfe thus much of mee, that when I ſhall find my ſelfe at the laſt gaſpe, I will not be aſtoniſhed. I am alreadie reſolued, I care not when the day com-

commeth. Praiſe and imitate him that is not aggrieued to die, when as he hath the greateſt occaſion to reape the pleaſures of life. For what vertue is it to iſſue out, then, when thou art caſt out? yet is there a vertue herein. True it is, that I am driuen out, but ſo it is as if I iſſued voluntarily. And therefore a wiſe man is neuer driuen out; for to be driuen out, is to to be caſt out of a place in ſpight of a mans teeth: but a wiſe man doth neuer any thing perforce, he flieth neceſſity, becauſe he willeth that which ſhe may conſtraine.

Epist. LV.

Of the Manor-houſe of Vatia, *and of* Vatia *himſelfe. Then of good and euill Leaſure. Likewiſe that friends may and ought to be preſent in minde.*

When I returne hence from my cariage and exerciſe in my chaire, I am for the moſt part no leſſe wearie, then if I had walked ſo long time, as I was ſitting: for it is a labour to be long time carried, and I know not whether in that it be more great, becauſe it is againſt Nature, which gaue vs feete, that we might walke by our ſelues, eyes, that we might ſee by our ſelues. Daintineſſe hath cauſed this infirmitie in vs, and that which we would not, long time we haue deſiſted to be able to do: yet had I need to trauell my bodie, and to doe exerciſe, to the end, that if I had either choller ſtayed in my throat, I might diſcuſſe the ſame, or if my breath by any cauſe were growne ſhort, I might extenuate the ſame by this agitation, which I haue knowne to haue done me much good: and therefore cauſed I my ſelfe to bee carried more long time, for the pleaſure that I tooke vpon the ſhoare, which ſhooteth out a certaine abutment or bowing land, betwixt the towne of *Cumæ* and *Seruitius Vatia* his Lordſhip, encloſed as a ſtrait paſſage betweene the ſea, which is on the one ſide, and the lake which is on the other, becauſe at that time it was more hard and more thicke, by reaſon of the tempeſt which had raigned a little before. And as thou knoweſt when the billowes of the raging flouds couer the ſame very often, the ſands become more full and vnite, but a long calmie time cauſeth them to relent, and diuideth the ſand which was hardened by the water, after the humour hath beene wholly dried: yet according to my cuſtome I began to looke about me, if I could find any thing in that place that might breed me any profit, and I addreſſed my ſight vpon a country houſe which had in times paſt pertained to *Vatia*. There it was, where that rich man, who in times paſt had beene Pretor, and had neuer beene knowne by any other meanes, but for retiring himſelfe thither, ſpent his later yeares, and was for this cauſe reputed happie. For as often as *Aſinius Gallus* friendſhip, as often as *Seianus* hatred or fauour had drowned ſome men, (for it was as dangerous to haue offended him, as to haue loued him) all men cried out, O *Vatia*, thou art the only man that knoweſt how to liue; & yet he knew but how to hide himſelfe, but not to liue. Truely there is a great difference, whether thy life be idle or ſlothfull. I neuer paſſed by this houſe of *Vatia*, but that I ſaid *Vatia* is enterred heere. But Philoſophie, my *Lucilius*, is a thing ſo ſacred and venerable, that if there be any thing that reſembleth it, it pleaſeth in the deluſion. For the common ſort ſuppoſe, that a man that is retired from the Citie, to liue in repoſe, is full of aſſurance and contentment: and that he liueth but to himſelfe, all things, both the one and the other, cannot but befortune, and attend a wiſe man. True it is that the

the wiſe man careth not for any thing, and that he knoweth how to liue vnto himſelfe. For (that which is the principall good) he knoweth how to liue. For he that flieth both from men and affaires; he whom the miſerie of his ambitions hath baniſhed out of the Citie, that cannot ſee any more happie then himſelfe, that like a fearefull and ſlothfull creature, hath been hid for feares, he liueth not to himſelf, but that which is more loathſome & diſliking, he liueth to his belly, his ſleepe and his luſt. He liueth not to himſelfe, that liueth to no man; yet conſtancie and perſeuerance in our firſt delignes, is a thing ſo valued, that obſtinate idleneſſe retaineth and hath ſome authoritie alſo. Touching the building it ſelfe, I can ſpeake or write thee nothing certaine, for I onely know it outwardly, and by the ſhow it maketh to all paſſengers. There are are two caues of marueilous workmanſhip, alike with ſpacious entrance, and builded by hand, the one whereof neuer admitteth the Sunne, and the other is filled with his reflections vntill he ſet. There is a place planted with Plane-trees, in the middeſt whereof there runneth a brooke, that falleth afterwards into the ſea, and into the lake of *Acheruſium*, and it diuided is as an *Euripus*, ſufficient to nouriſh much fiſh, although a man take them daily: but it is ſpared when the ſea affordeth good iſhing time, and when as a tempeſt reſtraineth the fiſher-men: each one may catch and fiſh them eaſily. But the greateſt commoditie that is in this houſe, is that it hath behind the wals thereof, the *Bayas*, and that being exempt from all the incommodities thereof, it pertaketh all the pleaſures and delights of the ſame. I my ſelfe on my knowledge can giue it this commendation, that I beleeue it to be a place fit to be inhabited all the yeare long. For it is oppoſite againſt the Weſt-winde, and intercepteth it ſo conueniently, that it hindereth it from blowing vpon *Bayas*: not inconſiderately, as it ſeemeth, did *Vatia* make choice of this place, in which he might beſtow his idle time, and old age; yet very little or nothing doth place profit to the tranquillitie of the ſpirit, it is the minde which commendeth all things, I haue ſeene ſome liue penſiue and melancholie in their houſes of pleaſure: I haue ſeene otherſome liue in ſolitarie places, as if they had much buſineſſe. Wherefore thou art not to thinke, that therfore thou art little at thine eaſe, becauſe thou art not in *Campania*: but why art thou not? ſend thy thought hither: Thou mayeſt conferre with thine abſent friends, yea as often, and as long as thou wilt, then moſt of all enuie we this pleaſure (which is the greateſt) when wee are abſent. For preſence maketh vs wantons, and becauſe that we conferre together, that we walke together, and that at ſometimes we ſit together; ſo ſoone as we are departed one from another we remember them no more, whoſe preſence we haue loſt of late. And for this cauſe ought we not to bee grieued with the abſence of our friends, for there is not one, that is not farre abſent from them, euen in their very preſence: if thou wilt firſt of all recount the nights, wherein thou art ſeparated from them: the diuers occupations that both one and the other haue; the ſecret ſtudies, the goings and commings out of the Citie; and thou ſhalt ſee that the time, which long voyages make vs looſe, is not ouer-great. A friend is to be poſſeſſed in minde: ſhe ſeeth alwaies him whom ſhe will ſee. And therefore I pray thee ſtudie with me, ſup with me, and walke with me: we ſhould liue in a miſerable reſtraint, if any thing were hidden from our thoughts. I ſee thee, my *Lucilius* then with moſt content, when I heare thee. I am ſo truely with thee, that I am' in doubt whether I ſhould begin to write, not Epiſtles, but bookes vnto thee.

Epist.

Epist. LVI.

That a setled minde enioyeth it selfe, and intendeth his studies, yea euen amiddest the presse of men. This teacheth me by his example. That inward silence and peace is more to be wished for. Furthermore, that sloth is euill, and the mother of desires.

Let me die, if silence be as necessarie, as it seemeth to him that is retired to his studie. Behold what different cries sound about me on euery side, I am lodged euen ouer the bathes. Represent vnto thy selfe now all sorts of voyces, that may draw the eares into hatred of them: when the stronger sort doe their exercises, when they spread their hands loaden with leade, when either they trauell, or imitate him that laboureth, I heare their groanes. As soone as they haue giuen libertie to their retained breath, I heare their wheesings and waighty breathings. When a man falleth into the hands of an vnmannerly sot, that taketh vpon him to annoint men, and is content to serue them, as he would doe any one of the inferiour people, I heare the stroake of his hand that striketh them on the shoulders; which according as hee layeth it on, either flat or hollow, changeth his sound. But if perchance he that casteth the balles, annointed with pitch to nourish the fire vnder the baynes, commeth in, and that he beginneth to reckon them, all is lost. Count him likewise that cleanseth the ordures, and the theefe taken in the act, and he also that taketh pleasure to heare his voice ring in the bath. And likewise to this number those that with a full leape, and with a great shout, cast themselues into the bayne. Moreouer, put them in this rancke, who at the least, if they doe no other thing, haue their voices and words ful-mouthed; as him that draweth the haire from the arme-pit, that incessantly breatheth forth a finall and trembling voice, to the end hee may be the better noted amongst the rest, that neuer holdeth his peace, but at such time when he ridderh the arme-pits of haire, to some one whom he constraineth to crie for him. A man heareth afterward an infinite crie of Cake-sellers, of Saudsige-mongers, and crackling Merchants, and all the Cookes skullions, who sell their meate, euerie one of them with their proper tune, to the end they may be the better marked. O how iron a braines is thine (sayest thou) O how deafe art thou, if thy spirit be not troubled, amidst such dimme, and diuersitie of cries, since our *Chrysippus* fell downe almost dead, to heare the good-morrowes which men gaue him in saluting him. For mine owne part, I honestly sweare vnto thee, that I care as little for all these cries, as for the flouds or fall of a riuer; although that I haue heard say, that a people was constrained, for this only cause, to go and rebuild their citie in another country, because they could not endure the fall which the noise of *Nilus* made. In my opinion, words distract a man more then noyses. For words distract the minde, and noise doth no other thing but fill and beate the eare. Amongst those that make a noise, but distract not my spirit, I place those coach-men and smithes that hire my shop, the clock-maker my neighbour, and he that dwelleth neere to the Temple of peace, when hee trieth his Trumpets and Hant-boyes, and who not only singeth, but exclaimeth. The noice likewise more troubleth me that is intermitted, then that which is continued. But I am now in such sort hardened to all this, that I can now heare a Captaine of a Gally, when he teacheth his Gally-slaues with a sterne voice, how to manage their oares. For I compell my mind to be intentiue to it selfe, and not

not to be distracted by exterior things. Let whatsoeuer voice be minde exteriorly, prouided there be no debate in my soule; prouided that desire and feare in me are not at oddes, prouided that auarice and prodigality haue not any quarrell together, and that the one maketh not warre against the other. For what auaileth it vs to haue silence round about vs; if the passions of the minde storme and be distempered.

Night couered all compos'd to quiet rest.

This is false, there is no peaceable sleepe, but when as reason engendreth it. It is the night that representeth vnto vs all our troubles, in stead of drawing them from vs, and doth nothing but change our cares. For the dreames of those that sleepe are as troublesome vnto them, as is the day. That is true tranquillitie, on which a good and holy soule may repose. Marke me him that seeketh for his sleepe in a large and spacious house, and how to prouide that no noise offend his eares: all the troope of his seruants keepe silence and are still, and how they that would approach his bed, lift vp their feete, and set them softly on the ground. Truely he doth nought else but turne and tosse this way and that way, he taketh but a slight rest, intermixed with discontents of the minde, hee complaineth that he heareth that which he heareth not. What thinkest thou is the cause hereof? It is a tumult that is engendred in his soule, that it is, which hee should appease, it is the sedition of the minde that should bee extinguished, which thou must neuer suppose to haue quiet rest, although thy bones be laid to rest. Repose sometimes as without repose. It shall be therefore requisite for vs to awake our selues by the managing of some affaires, and to occupie our selues, in the search of good arts and sciences; when we perceiue that the sourge of idlenesse (which cannot endure it selfe) doth ouerwhelme vs. The greatest Generals of armies, at such time as they perceiue that their souldiers doe grow disobedient, they make them march, to keepe them in obedience, and cause them to vndertake some sudden onslaught. They that haue businesse, haue no leasure to waxe wanton. It is a thing most certaine, that there is nothing that more confoundeth those vices, which are engendred by idlenesse, then trauell and occupation doth. We seeme very often to haue retired our selues out of the Citie, by reason of our distaste for the euer managing of publike affaires, and for that we repent our selues, that we haue so long time remained in a place, where we receiue nothing but miseries and displeasures. And yet notwithstanding, in that verie cause, into which our feare and wearinesse hath cast vs, our ambition reuiueth and flourisheth. For it is not wholly lost, it is only wearied, it is onely repulsed, seeing the affaires grew not answerable to his expectation. As much say I of prodigalitie and lauish expence, which seemeth sometimes to be retired, and commeth afterwards to sollicite those anew, who haue resolued with themselues to liue soberly and wisely, and in the middest of their thrift she reassumeth those pleasures (which she had not wholly condemned, but onely left for a time) with a force as much more violent, as she is cowardly hidden. For those vices which appeare outwardly are much lesse dangerous, and infirmities themselues begin to take remedie, when they appeare in sight, and manifest their venome. Make account therefore, that auarice, ambition, and those other euill passions which trauaile our soules, are more pernicious, when we faine our selues to be healed, and to haue lost them. We seeme to be idle, and we are not. For if it were true that we are, if we had founded retreate to retire

our selues from vices, if wee haue contemned that which seemeth to bee faire in outward appearance, as I haue said a little before, there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither song of birds nor musicke of men that may crosse our holy thoughts, when they shall alreadie be firmed and assured. That wit is slight, and as yet scarce well retired into it selfe, that admireth at the bruite of euery small accident. He hath some care hidden in his soule, and some feare that maketh him pensiue; and as our *Virgil* saith,

And me whom erst no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troopes for courage once improu'd,
Now euery winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my sleepes, and breedes my sudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me surprise,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewise.

The first of these is wise, and is not daunted with the darts that are shot against him, neither with the threatning armes of a great squadron of the enemie, nor with the out-cries of a Citie disturbed with sedition. But the other is an ignorant sot, he is afraid to lose his goods, he is affrighted at the first noise he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the least motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongst all these rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou shalt see that he is alwaies in feare, both for those that he beareth with him, as for those that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well composed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy selfe, not at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it shall make a noise in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their slanders? I confesse it. Therefore is it that I would retire my selfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exercise my patience. What needeth it a man to suffer himselfe to be tormented a long time, if *Vlisses* haue found so easie a remedie for his companions, against the Sirens themselues?

Epist. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault and the horror there. Then that our first motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the tenuitie and celeritie of the minde.

When I would depart from *Baias* to returne to *Naples*, I easily beleeued that we should haue a tempest, because I would no more trauaile by sea: but there were so many flowes all the way long, that a man might iustly imagine that I had iourneyed by water. I was enforced that day to suffer all the fatallitie of the wrestlers. For after we had beene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with dust in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that prison, nothing more obscure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cause that we saw not through the darknesse, but darkenesse themselues; neuertheless, although the place had light in it, yet the dust which is likewise as troublesome and displeasant

displeasant in open aire, would obscure the same. What thinkest thou then that it should be in this Vault, where after it is raised like a tempest, enclosed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on those that haue raised it. We haue suffered two great and contrary commodities, in the same way, and the same day, we haue beene tormented with dirt and with dust. Yet this obscuritie gaue me some fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great shake and feareless change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing so vnaccustomed, and the loathsomenesse of that place had caused. I speake not now with thee of my selfe, who am farre short of a man entirely perfect, but yet of a tollerable taught man. I speake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for that other would change both colour and courage. For there are certaine passions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admonisheth him that he is mortall. And therfore he will, frown at the first cause of sorrow; he will tremble for feare at a sudden accident; his sight will bee troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountaine, he behold the huge and vaste depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall passion, which reason cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that some valiant men, and most readie to shead their owne blood, that cannot endure to see another mans. Some that cannot behold a fresh wound, and others some that swound, with onely touching an old and mattery sore; and others that are afraid to see a naked sword drawne in iest, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I could thee, not an astonishment, but a change. Againe, as soone as we came vnto the light, a sudden ioy surprised me, without thinking of that. Then began I to say in my selfe; how without cause wee feare somethings more, somethings lesse, although the end of all of them be alike. For what difference makest thou, whether the ruine of a tower, or of a mountaine, fall vpon a sentinel? Thou shalt find none: notwithstanding there are some that will feare more the fall of the tower, although both of them be powerfull enough to make them die: because feare apprehendeth more the effects, then the cause that engendreth them. Thou thinkest (it may be) that I will speake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the soule of a man, which is stifled and crushed vnder a great ruine, cannot issue, but that shee disperseth her selfe incontinently, because she might not escape freely. But I do not; and they that say so are very much deceiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, because it flieth and retireth it selfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a stroake, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but spreadeth it selfe round about the bodie, to which it maketh place: So the soule, which is the subtilleſt and pureſt thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her subtiltie, shee glideth thorow all that which presseth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blasted an house, departeth thorow a very little hole: So that soule which is farre more subtill then fire, passeth and penitrateth thorow all sorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing assured, that if it suruiue the bodie, that consequently it cannot perish by any meanes whatsoeuer, because it may not perish. For there is not any immortalitie, that is subiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing also which may hurt that which is eternall.

our ſelues from vices, if wee haue contemned that which ſeemeth to bee faire in outward appearance, as I haue ſaid a little before, there is nothing that can recall vs, there is neither ſong of birds nor muſicke of men that may croſſe our holy thoughts, when they ſhall alreadie be firmed and aſſured. That wit is ſlight, and as yet ſcarce well retired into it ſelfe, that admireth at the bruite of euery ſmall accident. He hath ſome care hidden in his ſoule, and ſome feare that maketh him penſiue; and as our *Virgil* ſaith,

And me whom erſt no darted weapons mou'd,
Nor Grecian troopes for courage once improu'd,
Now euery winde that breathes or beats mine eare,
Awakes my ſleepes, and breedes my ſudden feare,
Starting I wake, and feare doth me ſurpriſe,
For him I beare, and for my charge likewiſe.

The firſt of theſe is wiſe, and is not daunted with the darts that are ſhot againſt him, neither with the threatning armes of a great ſquadron of the enemie, nor with the out-cries of a Citie diſturbed with ſedition. But the other is an ignorant ſot, he is afraid to loſe his goods, he is affrighted at the firſt noiſe he heareth, he thinketh that a little voice is a great rumour, and the leaſt motion abateth his courage. The burthen of his riches maketh him thus fearefull: make choice of whom thou wilt, amongſt all theſe rich men, that gather much, and beare great wealth with them, thou ſhalt ſee that he is alwaies in feare, both for thoſe that he beareth with him, as for thoſe that follow him. Know therefore that then thou art well compoſed, when no feare can moue thee, when no voice can make thee depart out of thy ſelfe, not at that time when it flattereth thee, nor then when it threatneth thee, neither then when with a vaine rumour it ſhall make a noiſe in thine eare. What then? Is it not more commodious not to heare their ſlanders? I confeſſe it. Therefore is it that I would retire my ſelfe from this place, but my intent was to make triall of, and to exerciſe my patience. What needeth it a man to ſuffer himſelfe to be tormented a long time, if *Viſſes* haue found ſo eaſie a remedie for his companions, againſt the Sirens themſelues?

Epist. LVII.

Of the Neapolitan Vault and the horror there. Then that our firſt motions are not in our power. Somewhat of the tenuitie and celeritie of the minde.

When I would depart from *Baias* to returne to *Naples*, I eaſily beleeued that we ſhould haue a tempeſt, becauſe I would no more trauaile by ſea: but there were ſo many ſlowes all the way long, that a man might iuſtly imagine that I had iourneyed by water. I was enforced that day to ſuffer all the fatallitie of the wreſtlers. For after we had beene well wet, we were tormented all the day long with duſt in the Vault of *Naples*. There is nothing more long then that priſon, nothing more obſcure then the entrance of that caue, which was the cauſe that we ſaw not through the darkneſſe, but darkeneſſe themſelues; neuertheleſſe, although the place had light in it, yet the duſt which is likewiſe as troubleſome and diſpleaſant

diſpleaſant in open aire, would obſcure the ſame. What thinkeſt thou then that it ſhould be in this Vault, where after it is raiſed like a tempeſt, encloſed in one place where no aire breatheth, it falleth downe on thoſe that haue raiſed it. We haue ſuffered two great and contrary commodities, in the ſame way, and the ſame day, we haue beene tormented with dirt and with duſt. Yet this obſcuritie gaue me ſome fit matter to thinke vpon. I felt, as it were a great ſhake and feareleſſe change in my minde, which the noueltie of a thing ſo vnaccuſtomed, and the loathſomeneſſe of that place had cauſed. I ſpeake not now with thee of my ſelfe, who am farre ſhort of a man entirely perfect, but yet of a tollerable taught man. I ſpeake of him, ouer whom Fortune hath no power, for that other would change both colour and courage. For there are certaine paſſions which a man cannot auoid, by any vertue. Nature admoniſheth him that he is mortall. And therfore he will, frown at the firſt cauſe of ſorrow, he will tremble for feare at a ſudden accident; his ſight will bee troubled, if being carried to the height of a huge mountaine, he behold the huge and vaſte depth. This is not feare, it is a naturall paſſion, which reaſon cannot conquer. Therefore is it, that ſome valiant men, and moſt readie to ſhead their owne blood, that cannot endure to ſee another mans. Some that cannot behold a freſh wound, and otherſome that ſwound, with onely touching an old and mattery ſore; and others that are afraid to ſee a naked ſword drawne in ieſt, and yet feare not to be killed. I felt then, as I could thee, not an aſtoniſhment, but a change. Againe, as ſoone as we came vnto the light, a ſudden ioy ſurpriſed me, without thinking of that. Then began I to ſay in my ſelfe; how without cauſe wee feare ſomethings more, ſomethings leſſe, although the end of all of them be alike. For what difference makeſt thou, whether the ruine of a tower, or of a mountaine, fall vpon a ſentinel? Thou ſhalt find none: notwithſtanding there are ſome that will feare more the fall of the tower, although both of them be powerfull enough to make them die: becauſe feare apprehendeth more the effects, then the cauſe that engendreth them. Thou thinkeſt (it may be) that I will ſpeake of the Stoicks, who are of opinion, that the ſoule of a man, which is ſtifled and cruſhed vnder a great ruine, cannot iſſue, but that ſhee diſperſeth her ſelfe incontinently, becauſe ſhe might not eſcape freely. But I do not; and they that ſay ſo are very much deceiued, in my opinion. Euen as a flame cannot be choaked, becauſe it flieth and retireth it ſelfe, with that which driueth it: as the aire cannot be hurt with a ſtroake, nor be diuided, or harmed by a whip, but ſpreadeth it ſelfe round about the bodie, to which it maketh place: So the ſoule, which is the ſubtilleſt and pureſt thing of the world, cannot be either retained or tormented within the bodie, but by the meanes of her ſubtiltie, ſhee glideth thorow all that which preſſeth her. And euen as the lightning, after it hath beaten and hugely blaſted an houſe, departeth thorow a very little hole: So that ſoule which is farre more ſubtill then fire, paſſeth and penitrateth thorow all ſorts of bodies. Therefore may we enquire thereof, whether it may be immortall. But hold this for a thing aſſured, that if it ſuruiue the bodie, that conſequently it cannot periſh by any meanes what ſoeuer, becauſe it may not periſh. For there is not any immortalitie, that is ſubiect to exception or condition: and there is nothing alſo which may hurt that which is eternall.

Epist. LVIII.

That certaine late wordes are now out of vſe. He paſſeth to the Phiſiques, and ſheweth how manifolde Ens *or Being is out of* Plato. *He fitteth it to the Ethnick, and that nothing here is the ſame, or perpetuall. Then what vſe can ſubtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euery thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neyther is to be wiſhed or refuſed.*

NEuer had I better knowledge of the pouertie, or, to ſpeake truely, the indigence which we haue of wordes, then I haue at this day. A thouſand things happened when as caſually we ſpake of *Plato*, which wanted or had not their names, and ſome which had, and ſome that through our delicacie had loſt that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that diſguſt in ſo great pouertie? That Ox-flie which the Grecians call *Oeſtrum* that ſtingeth and chaſeth beaſts, and ſcattereth them in the Forreſts, our Latines called *Aſilus*. Thou mayeſt well beleeue *Virgil:*

And thoſe Ox-flies that in great troupes do flie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or to Siler wood;
The which in Roome Aſilus ſignifie,
And by the Greekes for Oeſtrum underſtood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell ſtray
Amidſt the Forreſts ſcattered with diſmay.

I thinke that he vnderſtood that this word was wholly loſt. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were ſome ſimple words in vſe, as when they ſaid amongſt themſelues *Cernere ferro inter ſe*, that is to ſay, to determine their quarrels betwixt themſelues by armes. The ſame *Virgil* ſhall proue this,

And King Latinvs *too amazed ſtands*
To ſee two men both borne in forraine landes,
In ſeuerall Angles of this mighty frame,
Could thus aſſembled meete, and ioyne their hands,
To trie their right by ſword, and winne the fame.

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to ſay as Decide. The vſe of this ſimple word is loſt. Our anceſtors ſaid *Si iuſſo*, that is to ſay, *Si iuſſero*, which ſignifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleeue me. Heerein *Virgil* is a faithfull witneſſe;

Let all the other troupes
Which I command come after to the fight.

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may ſhew how much time I haue loſt after the Grammarians, but that thou mayeſt vnderſtand this, how many wordes a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are ruſtie and out-worne, ſince thoſe of *Virgil* himſelfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in ſome ſort loſt vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, ſayſt thou? Where-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My deſire is (without offening thine eare) to ſay *Eſſenſed*; if not, I will neuertheleſſe ſay it, although I ſhould diſpleaſe thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no ſhame to imitate, author and approuer of this word; whoſe exarnple and authoritie I thinke is ſufficient. If thou art deſirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vſed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profeſſion, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a ſtile full of ſharpeneſſe and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neateneſſe of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet ſometimes diſguſteth with too much affectation. What ſhould I doe my *Lucilius*? How ſhould I call this Greeke word οὐσία, that is to ſay, Eſſence, or Exiſtence, or Being, or Subſtance? A thing ſo neceſſarie, contayning in the vnderſtanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philoſophers both auncient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vſe this word. Yet wil I make vſe of the libertie thou haſt giuen me to vſe this word, moſt ſparingly; & will not vſe it but vpon neceſſitie, when no other word will ſo perfitly explicate the ſenſe: and it may be that I will not vſe it all, but content my ſelfe with the priuiledge onely. But whereto ſhall this facilitie of thine ſerue me, conſidering that I cannot in any ſort expreſſe this word in Latine, which is the cauſe that I haue ſo much exclaimed againſt our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou ſhalt finde there is a ſyllable which I cannot tranſlate. Askeſt thou me what it is, τὸ ὄν, which is as much to ſay as That which is. Thou mayeſt ſuppoſe me to be groſſe witted, and imagine it a very eaſie matter to be done, and that a man may tranſlate that after this maner, and ſay, *Quod eſt*, That which is. But there is a great difference betweene them. For I am conſtrayned to vſe a Verbe for a Noune; and if I muſt needs giue one, I will ſay *Quadeſt*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge tolde me this preſent day, that *Plato* gaue ſixe ſignifications to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, ſo ſoone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* alſo: for firſt of all we ought to ſeeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kindes doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuiſions proceede, and vnder whom all is compriſed. But this ſhall we finde out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we ſhall aſcend and attaine vnto the firſt. A man, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, is a kinde, a horſe is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteth together all theſe things, and comprehendeth them all in himſelfe; and what ſhall this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all thoſe I named of late; of a man, of a horſe, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a ſoule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing moſt certaine that ſeedes and trees haue ſoules; and therefore we ſay that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then ſhall holde the higheſt place, becauſe that all things which haue life and ſenſe are vnder this forme, yea, ſeedes alſo. Some things want a ſoule, as ſtones. Some things therefore ſhall be more high and greater then ſuch as are liuing creatures, that is to ſay abodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may ſay that all bodies are animated or inanimated: and notwithſtanding all this, there is ſomething more high then a bodie. For we ſay that there are ſomethings corporeate, and other incorporeate: what then ſhall that be from whence theſe are deduced? That it is too much, we haue heretofore aſſigned a name improper enough.

Epist. LVIII.

That certaine late wordes are now out of vſe. He paſſeth to the Phiſiques, and ſheweth how manifolde Ens *or Being is out of* Plato. *He fitteth it to the Ethnick, and that nothing here is the ſame, or perpetuall. Then what vſe can ſubtilties haue, and that this is to be taken in euery thing. He addeth of olde age and death, and that neyther is to be wiſhed or refuſed.*

NEuer had I better knowledge of the pouertie, or, to ſpeake truely, the indigence which we haue of wordes, then I haue at this day. A thouſand things happened when as caſually we ſpake of *Plato*, which wanted or had not their names, and ſome which had, and ſome that through our delicacie had loſt that name which they had by antiquitie. But who can allow of that diſguſt in ſo great pouertie? That Ox-flie which the Grecians call *Oeſtrum* that ſtingeth and chaſeth beaſts, and ſcattereth them in the Forreſts, our Latines called *Aſilus*. Thou mayeſt well beleeue *Virgil:*

And thoſe Ox-flies that in great troupes do flie
Neere Alburne Mountaine, or to Siler wood;
The which in Roome Aſilus ſignifie,
And by the Greekes for Oeſtrum underſtood,
Stinging and buzzing, which make cattell ſtray
Amidſt the Forreſts ſcattered with diſmay.

I thinke that he vnderſtood that this word was wholly loſt. And to the end that I delay thee no longer, there were ſome ſimple words in vſe, as when they ſaid amongſt themſelues *Cernere ferro inter ſe*, that is to ſay, to determine their quarrels betwixt themſelues by armes. The ſame *Virgil* ſhall proue this,

And King Latinvs *too amazed ſtands*
To ſee two men both borne in forraine landes,
In ſeuerall Angles of this mighty frame,
Could thus aſſembled meete, and ioyne their hands,
To trie their right by ſword, and winne the fame.

Which now we call *decernere*, which is as much to ſay as Decide. The vſe of this ſimple word is loſt. Our anceſtors ſaid *Si iuſſo*, that is to ſay, *Si iuſſero*, which ſignifieth, If I command. I will not that thou beleeue me. Heerein *Virgil* is a faithfull witneſſe;

Let all the other troupes
Which I command come after to the fight.

I labour not now by this diligence, that I may ſhew how much time I haue loſt after the Grammarians, but that thou mayeſt vnderſtand this, how many wordes a man readeth in *Ennius* and *Attius*, which at this day are ruſtie and out-worne, ſince thoſe of *Virgil* himſelfe, who is daily ouer-looked and handled by vs, are in ſome ſort loſt vnto vs. What meaneth this preparation, ſayſt thou? Where-

Whereto tendeth it? I will not conceale it from thee. My deſire is (without offending thine eare) to ſay *Eſſenſed*; if not, I will neuertheleſſe ſay it, although I ſhould diſpleaſe thee. I haue *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, the Father of all Romane eloquence, and whom it is no ſhame to imitate, author and approuer of this word; whoſe exampie and authoritie I thinke is ſufficient. If thou art deſirous to haue one of our late Writers, that hath vſed this word, I haue *Fabianus*, one of our owne profeſſion, a man of great learning and eloquence, of a ſtile full of ſharpeneſſe and elegancie, and of an extraordinarie puritie and neatneſſe of tongue, which although it be excellent in his kinde, yet ſometimes diſguſteth with too much affectation. What ſhould I doe my *Lucilius*? How ſhould I call this Greeke word οὐσία, that is to ſay, Eſſence, or Exiſtence, or Being, or Subſtance? A thing ſo neceſſarie, contayning in the vnderſtanding thereof, all the whole frame of that, which by all Philoſophers both auncient and moderne is called Nature, and which is the foundation of all things? I pray thee giue me leaue to vſe this word. Yet wil I make vſe of the libertie thou haſt giuen me to vſe this word, moſt ſparingly; & will not vſe it but vpon neceſſitie, when no other word will ſo perfitly explicate the ſenſe: and it may be that I will not vſe it all, but content my ſelfe with the priuiledge onely. But wherefore ſhall this facilitie of thine ſerue me, conſidering that I cannot in any ſort expreſſe this word in Latine, which is the cauſe that I haue ſo much exclaimed againſt our language? yet more wilt thou condemne the Romane penurie and pouertie, when thou ſhalt finde there is a ſyllable which I cannot tranſlate. Askeſt thou me what it is, τὸ ὄν, which is as much to ſay as That which is. Thou mayeſt ſuppoſe me to be groſſe witted, and imagine it a very eaſie matter to be done, and that a man may tranſlate that after this maner, and ſay, *Quod eſt*, That which is. But there is a great difference betweene them. For I am conſtrayned to vſe a Verbe for a Noune; and if I muſt needs giue one, I will ſay *Quadeſt*, That which is. A friend of mine, and a man of great knowledge tolde me this preſent day, that *Plato* gaue ſixe ſignifications to this word: I will expound all of them vnto thee, ſo ſoone as I haue explicated vnto thee, that there is a certain *Genus* and certaine *Species* alſo: for firſt of all we ought to ſeeke out this Gender, on which all the other *Species* and kindes doe depend, from whom all the difference and diuiſions proceede, and vnder whom all is compriſed. But this ſhall we finde out if we begin to reade all things backward: for by this meane we ſhall aſcend and attaine vnto the firſt. A man, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, is a kinde, a horſe is a kinde, a dogge is a kinde. A common bond is therefore to be found out, which knitteth together all theſe things, and comprehendeth them all in himſelfe; and what ſhall this be? A liuing creature. A liuing creature then hath begun to be the Gender to all thoſe I named of late; of a man, of a horſe, & of a dog. But there are certain things which haue a ſoule, which are not liuing creatures: for it is a thing moſt certaine that ſeedes and trees haue ſoules; and therefore we ſay that they liue and die. Liuing creatures then ſhall holde the higheſt place, becauſe that all things which haue life and ſenſe are vnder this forme, yea, ſeedes alſo. Some things want a ſoule, as ſtones. Some things therefore ſhall be more high and greater then ſuch as are liuing creatures, that is to ſay a bodie. This will I diuide after this manner, that I may ſay that all bodies are animated or inanimated: and notwithſtanding all this, there is ſomething more high then a bodie. For we ſay that there are ſomethings corporeate, and other incorporeate: what then ſhall that be from whence theſe are deduced? That it is too much, we haue heretofore aſſigned a name improper enough.

That which is: for ſo will it be diuided into *Species*, if we ſay, That which is, hath eyther a bodie or is incorporate. So here then is the firſt Gender & the higheſt, and if I ſhould ſay ſo, the generall; the reſt, to ſpeake truth are Genders, but they are *Speciats*; as a man is a *Genus*. For he contayneth vnder him the kindes of Nations, Greekes, Romanes, and Parthians; and of colours, as white, blacke, and redde. There are alſo ſome particulars, as *Plato*, *Cicero*, *Lucrece*. For this cauſe when he containeth diuers things vnder him, he taketh the name of a Gender, and when he is contained vnder any other he is called a *Species*. But that Gender which is generall hath nothing aboue it ſelfe: it is the beginning of all things. All what ſoeuer is, is vnder the ſame. The Stoicks would place another Gender aboue this as more principall, whereof I will ſpeake anon, ſo ſoone as firſt of all I haue made manifeſt this, that the Gender whereof I haue ſpoken, ought in right to be placed in the firſt ranke, ſince in it ſelfe it comprehendeth all things. I diuide That which is, into theſe kindes; that is to ſay, into corporeall and incorporeall: for there is no third. But how ſhall I make diuiſion of the bodie? I muſt ſay, that eyther they are animated, or inanimate. Againe, how diuide I things animated? I will ſay that ſome haue vnderſtanding, other ſome haue but a ſoule: or rather thus; ſome haue motion, walke or paſſe, ſome others are tyed to the earth, and are nouriſhed and increaſe by their roots. Againe, into what kindes ſhould I diſtinguiſh liuing creatures? Eyther they are mortall, or immortall. Some Stoicks ſuppoſe the *primum Genus* to be *Quid*; but why they ſo think I will hereafter ſet downe: In nature, ſay they, there are ſome things which are and are not, and that nature comprehendeth thoſe things which are not, and preſent themſelues to our vnderſtanding, as are Centaures, Giants, and all other ſuch things; which being formed by a falſe imagination, begins to haue ſome Image, although they haue no ſubſtance. Now returne I to that which I promiſed thee, that is to ſay, how *Plato* hath diuided all things that are in ſix ſorts. That firſt, *Which is*, a man cannot comprehend eyther by ſight or touch, or by any other ſence. That which is generall is but in imagination. As a man in generall is not ſeene by the eye, but a particular man is, as *Cicero* and *Cato*. A liuing creature is not ſeene, but is onely comprehended in the vnderſtanding; yet are the kindes thereof ſeene, as a horſe and a dogge. Of things which are, *Plato* putteth for the ſecond Gender, that which is called eminent, and ſurpaſſeth all other. He ſaith that this is in way of excellencie. As a Poet is a common name, for all they that make Verſes are ſo called. But now amongſt the Greekes this word ſignifieth but one, and when thou ſhalt heare them ſay Poet, thou muſt vnderſtand that it is *Homer*. What is it then that thou wouldeſt ſay? It is God who is the greateſt and the moſt powerfull of all other things. The third kinde is of thoſe things which are proper, and theſe are innumerable, but they are alſo placed out of our ſight. Askeſt thou me what they are? They are *Platoes*, proper implements, and moueables, he calleth them *Ideas*, of which all things which we behold are made, and to which all things are formed. Theſe are immortall, immutable, and inuiolable. Heare I pray you what *Idea* is, and what *Plato* thinketh of it. It is a patterne, and eternall moulde of all things, which are made by nature: yet will I adde an interpretation to this definition, to the end the matter may more plainly appeare vnto thee, I haue a will to make thy picture. Thou art the patterne of my picture, of which my mind gathereth ſome habit, which he will delineate in his worke. So that face which teacheth and inſtructeth me, and from which I deriue my imitation, is *Idea*. Nature then, the mother of all things, hath an infinitie of theſe patternes, as of men, of fiſhes, of trees, on which is drawne and ey-preſt

expreſt all that which ſhe ought to doe. The fourth place is giuen to an Image. But it behoooueth thee to be very carefull in vnderſtanding what this Image is, and that thou lay the blame on *Plato* and not on me, as touching the difficultie of things. Yet is there nothing that is ſubtill, which is not accompanied with difficultie. Not long ſince I vſed the compariſon of the Image which a Painter made. He when in colours he would paint *Virgil* to the life, beheld him. *Virgils* face was the *Idea*, and the patterne of his intended worke; but that which the Painter hath drawne from that viſage, and that which he hath painted on his table is εἰδῶλον, that is to ſay, an Image. Askeſt thou me what difference there is? The one is the patterne, the other the figure, drawne from the patterne, and put vpon the worke: the one is that which the Painter imitateth, and the other is that which he maketh. A ſtatue that repreſenteth a man, hath ſome face that is εἰδῶλον, which is as much to ſay, as an Image. The patterne it ſelfe alſo hath ſome face, on which the worke-man in beholding it, hath formed his Image, and that is the *Idea*. Askeſt thou as yet another diſtinction? εἰδῶλον, that is to ſay, an Image is the worke which is made, and the *Idea* is out of the worke, and is not only out of the worke, but it is before that the worke was. The fift Gender is of thoſe that are commonly, and they begin to appertaine vnto vs. There it is where all things are both men, and beaſts, and all other things. The ſixth Gender is of thoſe things that ſeeme to be, as voyde and time, which *Plato* numbreth not amongſt theſe that which we ſee and touch, becauſe they feete, and paſſe, and haue no being, but in a continuall diminution and adiection. There is no one of vs that in his olde age is that which he was when he was yong. No one man is the ſame in the morning which he was in the euening, before our bodies are rauiſhed and rouled after the manner of Riuers. All that which thou ſeeſt runneth with the courſe of time, nothing is permanent whatſoeuer we ſee. I my ſelfe, whilſt I ſay that theſe things are changed, am changed my ſelfe. This it is that *Heraclitus* ſaith, we neuer deſcend two times into the ſame riuer: the ſame name of the Riuer remayneth, but the water is ſtolne by. This is more manifeſt in a riuer then in a man; yet doth a no leſſe current carrie vs away. And therefore maruell I ſo much at our follie, that we can ſo heartily loue the bodie, which is a thing ſo ſubiect vnto flight, and that we haue feare to die ſome day, ſince euery moment is a death of the firſt eſtate, wherein we were. Wilt thou feare that, that ſhall be once done, which is daily don? I haue ſpoken of a man, which is a matter fraile, perriſhable, and ſubiect to all accidents of fortune. But the world alſo, although it be eternall and inuincible, yet is it ſubiect to changes, and remaineth not in the ſame eſtate. For although as yet it hath all that which it euer had, yet hath it the ſame otherwiſe then it had it, and changeth his order. What ſayeſt thou, ſhall this ſubtilty profite me? If thou aske, I will anſwer thee nothing. But euen as the Grauer, after he hath held his eyes ſo long time fixed on his worke, that they are wearied, fauoreth and recreateth them, or, as we are wont to ſay, repoſeth them: ſo likewiſe ought we ſometimes to recreate our ſpirit, and refect the ſame with ſome delights prouided that theſe recreations be workes. Amiddeſt which, if thou take good heede, thou ſhalt finde ſomething that may be wholſome. This my *Lucilius*, am I wont to do. In all things wherin I imploy my ſelfe, although they be far eſtranged frō Philoſophie, I endeuour to draw ſome profit wherof I may make vſe. But what profit can I take from this Diſcourſe that I haue now intertained, ſo eſtranged from reformation of manners? How can theſe *Ideas* of *Plato* make me better? What ſhall I draw from theſe that may reſtraine my deſires? At leaſtwiſe I ſhall learne that *Plato* denieth, that nothing of

of that which ſerueth our ſenſualitie, that heateth and prouoketh vs, is of the number of thoſe things that are really. Theſe things then are imaginarie, and beare ſome appearance for a time: there is nothing in them that is firme and aſſured; and notwithſtanding we deſire them as if they ſhould be alwayes durrable, and continually permanent with vs. We are wearied and feeble, and linger for a time in the way. Let vs fixe our mindes on thoſe things that are eternall; let vs admire the formes of all things that flie on high, and how God conuerſing amongſt them, and prouiding for all conſerueth that againſt death which he could not make immortall becauſe the matter hindered him, and how by reaſon he might ſurmount the vices of the bodie. For all things remaine, not becauſe they are eternall, but becauſe they are defended by the care of him that gouerneth them. Immortall things neede no conſeruer or tutor, the work-man that made them, maintayneth them, ſurmounting by his vertue the frailtie of the matter. Let vs contemn al theſe things which are not ſo pretious, that it is to be doubted whether they be at all. Let vs thinke alſo by the ſame means, that if the diuine prouidence feeth and keepeth this world (which is no leſſe mortall then we are) from all perils and dangers, that we likewiſe may by our prouidence lengthen out a litle time, and prolong life in this little bodie of ours, if we can bridle and moderate our pleaſures, by meanes whereof the greater part of men are loſt. *Plato* himſelfe by a diſcreet gouernement, of himſelfe hath attayned to olde age. He had a ſtrong and able bodie, and men gaue him that name by reaſon of the broadnes of his breaſt; but his voyages by Sea, and thoſe dangers he had paſſed, had very much diminiſhed his forces: yet his ſobrietie and the moderation of thoſe things which call on, and prouoke voracitie, and the diligent gouernment of himſelfe; the manie others cauſes hindered him, continued to his olde age. For thou knoweſt this as I thinke, that this befell *Plato* by reaſon of the beneſite of his diligence, that he departed on his birth-day, and finiſhed the race of foure-ſcore and one yeares without any deduction. And therfore it was that certaine *Magi*, who by fortune were in the Cittie of *Athens* at that time, ſacrificed vnto him after his death, ſuppoſing that his nature was more excellent then that of other mens, becauſe that he had iuſtly attained the moſt perfect number of life, which nine times nine accompliſh. I doubt not but that he was readie to remit ſome few daies of this ſumme, and ſacrifice. Frugalitie may lengthen olde age, which in my opinion, as it is not to be deſired, ſo is it not to be refuſed. It is a matter of great contentment for a man to be with himſelfe as long as he may, and eſpecially when he hath made himſelfe worthie to enioy the ſame. Neerely approcheth he the nature of a coward, that ſlothfully expecteth the laſt houre of his life: as he is beyond all meaſure addicted to wine, who after he hath drunke all the wine out of the tunne, would ſwallow downe the lees likewiſe. Yet will we notwithſtanding diſpute further whether the laſt part of our age be the lees of our life, or whether it be the moſt pureſt and liquideſt part of our age, prouident that the ſoule be not any wayes enfeebled, and that the ſenſes be as yet entire for the ſeruice of the ſame, and that the bodie be not deſtitute of his forces, and halfe dead before his time. For it auayleth much whether a man prolong his life, or linger his death. But if the bodie be in ſuch ſort vnprofitable, that it cannot any longer performe his functions; why ſhould not a man draw his ſoule out of priſon, that doth but languiſh? Peraduenture it were the beſt to doe it the ſooneſt that a man might, leſt when it ſhould be done thou canſt not doe it. And whereas there is a greater danger of liuing badly, then of dying quickly: he is a foole the which the price of the loſſe of

of a little time will not redeeme the hazard of a great inconuenience. Few men hath long age brought to death without iniurie. And diuers men haue ouerpaſſed their life time illely, without doing any thing. But why ſhouldeſt thou eſteeme him more cruell to loſe ſome part of life, which muſt likewiſe take an end? Be not diſpleaſed to vnderſtand that which I ſay, as if this ſentence ſhould be pronounced aghinſt thee; but iudge thou of that which I ſay. I wil not abandon mine olde age, if ſhe reſerue me wholly vnto my ſelfe. I ſay wholly in reſpect of that part which is the beſt. But if ſhe haue begun to trouble mine vnderſtanding, or to ruinate ſome part, or that ſhe hath not left me my life, but my ſoule: I will depart out of this ruinous and rotten houſe: I will not flie a ſickneſſe by the remedie of death, prouided that it may be healed, and that it breed no damage to my ſoule: I will not kill my ſelfe, to make an end of my paine; for it is as much as to be vanquiſhed, to die after this manner: yet if I knew that I ſhould endure the ſame, all the reſt of my life, I would depart from it, not by reaſon of the griefe, but for that it would hinder me from doing all things for which a man deſireth to liue. A man is a recreant, and of little courage, that dyeth to eſcape from paine. He is a foole likewiſe that liueth to feele nothing but paine. But I am ouer-long, there is matter beſides which cannot be expreſſed in a day. But how might he make an end of his life, that cannot make an end of his letter? Farewell then: for thou wilt reade theſe later words more willingly, then the other diſcourſes which intreate of nothing but death.

Epist. LIX.

The difference betwixt voluptuouſneſſe and ioy, and that this is an honeſt word. Then praiſeth he Lvcilivs *his ſtile, and that a Philoſopher likewiſe is not to neglect words: and that parables and ſimilitudes are to be loued, yes that we are ſeriouſly, and not ſlightly to ſtudie Philoſophie, neyther muſt we pleaſe our ſelues quickly, ſince flatterie confoundeth vs.*

I Haue read thy Letter with great pleaſure, permit me, I pray thee, to vſe theſe common words; ney ther reuoke them to the Stoicks ſignification. We beleeue that pleaſure is a vice. Put caſe it be; yet are we wont to vſe this word to expreſſe an affection of ioy in our ſoules. I know well, I tell thee, that pleaſure (if we will that our wordes be aymed to our own purpoſe) is an infamous thing, and that ioy cannot happen but to a wiſe-man. For ioy is a certaine lifting vp of the minde, that truſteth to his proper goods and forces. Yet commonly we ſpeake thus, and ſay that we haue conceiued a great ioy of ſuch a mans Conſulate, or of ſome marriages, or of our wiues bringing to bed, which are not ſo certaine ioyes, but that oft-times they are the beginnings of future ſadneſſe. But true ioy hath this beneſite to accompanie it, that it neuer hath end, ney ther is turned to his contrarie. Therefore when our *Virgil* ſaith; *And the euill ioyes of the minde*, he ſpeaketh elegantly, but yet not properly. For there is not any euill that bringeth ioy. He hath giuen this name vnto pleaſures, and hath very well expreſſed that which he would ſay; for he meant and expreſſed thoſe men that reioyce in their euill and miſfortune: yet haue not I without cauſe ſaid that I took great pleaſure in thy Epiſtle. For although an ignorant man reioyce vpon a good occaſion, yet ſo it is, that I call that affection which he cannot moderate, and that preſently will caſt it

it selfe vpon other diuers subiects. I call it, I say pleasure, conceiued by opinion of a fained good, conducted without measure and discretion. But to returne to my purpose, heare what delighted me in thy Epistle: Thou hast wordes at will, thy discourse transporteth thee not, & draweth thee not further then thou hast destinated. There are some that are drawne by the beautie of some word that best likes them, to write more then they had purposed, but the same befalleth not thee. All is well ordered and well applyed. Thou speakest as much as thou wilt, & signifiest more then thou speakest. This is a signe of som greater matter. Moreouer, it appeareth that it hath no superfluitie in it, & nothing proude: yet finde I somtimes Metaphors, which as they are not ouer-hardie, so are they not vnprouided of beautie, and that haue alreadie made proofe of their good grace. I finde certaine comparisons, whereof if there be any one that will interdict vs the vse, and permitteth them onely to Poets, he seemeth to me that hee hath not read any of the auncient authors: amongst whom as yet a plausible speech was not affected or expected. They that speake simply, and to make vs onely vnderstand that they would speake, were full of Metaphors & similitudes, which in my opinion were necessarie, not for the same cause the Poets had to vse them, but to assist the feeblenes of our spirit, and to represent most liuely to the Disciple, and to the auditor that which they said. As behold when I reade amongst other, *Sextius* a vehement and subtill man, Philosophying in Greeke wordes and Romane manners, I tooke great pleasure to see the similitude and comparison which he vsed, that an armie which feareth to be assailed by an enemie, martcheth in a square battell, to be more readie for the fight: The wiseman, saith he, should doe the like; he ought to stretch out his vertues on all sides, to the end that if there be any danger that threatneth him, his supply may be in a readinesse, and that without any disorder they may obey their gouernour; which we see to fall out in armies, which great Captains know how to arrange, where all the troopes are so orderly disposed, that both the one and the other vnderstand at the same time the commandement of their Generall, and the watchword is as soone heard amongst the battell of footmen, as the troopes of horsemen. But *Sextius* saith, that this is more necessarie for vs, then for men of warre. For they haue oftentimes had feare of the enemie without cause, and the high-way they feared to be most dangerous to them, was most assured. Folly hath nothing which is exempt from feare. She feareth as much from aboue, as from beneath; she is afraid both of the one quarter and of the other. There are dangers that come before her, and that follow after her. She is afraid of all things; she is neuer assured, but feareth her owne succours and assistants. But a wise-man is armed, and aduised against all fortunes and violences, although pouertie, miserie, ignominie and paine assault and charge him, he will neuer retire, he wil march, without any feare against his mischiefs, and in the midst of them. diuers things hold vs bond, and restraine vs, diuers other take from vs our forces, wee haue so long time lien soyled in these vices, that wee can hardly bee cleansed from them. For wee are not onely soiled, but also wholly poysoned. And to the end, that from one comparison we passe not to another. I will aske thee (which I haue oftentimes considered in my selfe) why it is that folly doth so opimatiuely tie vs vnto her? First, because we repulse her not valiantly, and that we will not doe our vttermost endeuour to seeke helpe. Next, because we giue not sufficient credit to those things which are found out by wise men; neither receiue them with an open breast, and passe ouer, and that ouer-lightly, a thing of great importance. But how can any man sufficiently learne what sufficeth

ceth against vices, who learneth but then, when he hath leasure to giue ouer the libertie of his vices. There is none of vs that diueth to the bottome, we haue onely gathered the top. It is ouer-much to haue beene employed, and to haue giuen a very little time to Philosophie. But that which most hindereth vs, is that we ouer-much please our selues, with our selues: If we finde any man that will call vs good men, wise and holy men, we beleeue them. We are not satisfied with a moderat praise, what soeuer immoderat flatterie hath heaped on vs, we receiue as due vnto vs, we consent vnto those that say we are very wise and very good, although we know well that they are accustomed to lie. And so farre flatter we our selues, that we will be praised for things wholly contrarie to that wedoe. Such a one there is that heareth, that euen they whom hee sendeth to execution, call him sweete and mercifull, liberall in his thefts and robberies, sober and temperate in his drunkennesse and lecherie. Whence it commeth to passe, that wee will not make any change in our selues, because wee iudge our selues to be honest men. *Alexander*, at such time as he ouer-ranne all India, and pillaged the same by warre, as far as those nations that were scantly knowne to their neighbors, riding about the wals of a Citie, which he beheld besieged, to know on what side it was most easie to bee assaulted, and finding himselfe wounded by the shot of an arrow, he remained a long time on horsebacke, and continued his enterprise. But after the blood was stanched, and that the paine of the wound which was alreadie dried, began to encrease, and that his legge which hung on his horse pommell, began to be astonied, he was constrained to retire himselfe, and to say, *All the world sweareth that I am* IVPITERS *sonne, but this wound of mine crieth out that I am a man.* The like let vs do, when as by force of flattery, euery one of vs are made fooles. Let vs say, You report that I am wise, but I see how many vnprofitable things I desire, and how many hurtfull I wish for. Neither vnderstand I this which sacietie teacheth brute-beasts, what measure should be allotted for meat, what for drinke, as yet I know now how much I should take. Now will I teach thee how thou mayest vnderstand, that as yet thou art not wise. Hee may be termed, and is wise, who is repleniished with ioy, glad and moderate, and that feeleth no passion, liueth equall with the gods. Now counsell thou thy selfe, if thou art neuer sad, if no hope sollicite thy minde, in expectation of that which is to come, if day and night, thy spirit enioy an equall and assured repose, if it be contented in it selfe, thou hast attained to the fulnesse of that felicitie a man may desire. But if as yet thou hunteſt after all sorts of pleasures, both heere and there, make account that thou art as farre estranged from wisdome, as thou shalt be from ioy and content. Thou hast a will to attaine thereunto, but thou deceiuest thy selfe, if thou thinkest that thou mayest atchieue the same by the meanes of riches. Searchest thou thy ioy amiddest honors, that is to say, amongst cares? These things which thou thus desirest, and thinkest to be any tables to breed thee pleasure and content, are but occasions of sorrowes. All these, I say, thinke to finde ioy and pleasure, but they know not the meanes to gaine a great and perdurable contentment. One taketh that in his banquets and his foolish expences: another in his ambition and great troope of vassals, that follow and flocke about him on euery side, and others by the fauours of his friends, another by vaine ostentation of the studie of liberall Arts and Sciences, and letters which heale nothing. All these are besotted with a flattering pleasure, which continueth not long, as drunkennesse, which yeeldeth some foolish ioy for an honor, and seeth it selfe afterwards followed with a tedious repentance. Or as the honor of an applause, and fauourable

ble acclamation of the people, which hath beene gotten and ended with much paine. Thou muſt then thinke this, that the effect of wiſdome is the equalitie of ioy. The minde of a wiſe man is ſuch, as is the ſtate of the world aboue the Moone, there is the aire alwaies peaceable and faire. See here wherefore thou oughteſt deſire to be wiſe, for the wiſe man is neuer without ioy. This contentment groweth not, but from the conſcience of vertues. No man can reioyce, but he that is conſtant, iuſt, and temperate. What then (ſayeſt thou) do fooles and wicked men neuer reioyce? No, no more then Lions doe, that haue found their prey. When they are wearied and glutted with wine, and all other pleaſures, when as the night which they wholly ouer-paſſe in drinking, is as yet but very ſhort vnto them, when in a little bodie a man hath included greater pleaſures then it may containe, & that he beginneth to giue ouer, & caſt them out, then wretches as they are, begin they to exclame and cry out this verſe of *Virgil*.

For how we lewdly ſpent this later night
In fained pleaſures thou well vnderſtandeſt.

They which are addicted to fooliſh expence and ſuperfluitie, paſſe all the night long in fooliſh pleaſures, as if it ſhould be their laſt. But that pleaſure and ioy that followeth the gods, and thoſe that liue as they doe, is neuer intermixed or brought to end: it ſhould ceaſe, if it proceeded and were borrowed from another. But becauſe it commeth not by the meanes of another, it dependeth not alſo on the power and authoritie of another. Fortune cannot take that away which ſhe hath not giuen.

Epist. LX.

That the vowes of the common ſort are to be deſpiſed, and Nature is to be heard.

I Complaine, I wrangle, and am wrathfull. As yet denieſt thou that which thy Nurſe, thy Tutor, or mother haue wiſhed thee. Thou knoweſt not as yet how many euils they haue wiſhed thee. O how harmefull are the wiſhes of our friends vnto vs! Yea euen then moſt hurtfull, when they fall out moſt happily. I do not now marueil if all the miſchiefes of the world befall vs, from our firſt infancie. We are growne amiddeſt the execrations of our parents. Let the gods at any time heare our vowes, without asking them any thing. How long ſhall it be, that we will alwayes craue ſome good at the hands of the gods, as if we had not wherewith to nouriſh our ſelues? how long ſhall we fill the fields with corne, that might ſuffice to ſatisfie great Cities: how long time ſhall it be that a whole Prouince or Nation ſhall be employed in reaping our corne? How long time ſhall it be, that a great number of ſhips ſhall be employed, to carrie from diuers ſeas the corne that ſhould ſerue but one mans table? The Bull is fatned in the paſture of a few acres. One only Forreſt ſufficeth many Elephants. A man feedeth both of the land and ſea. What then? Hath Nature giuen vs ſo vnſatiable a belly, in regard of that little bodie ſhe hath giuen vs, that it ſhould ſurpaſſe the voracitie and hunger of the hugeſt and moſt rauenous beaſts in this world? Noe truely. For how little is it that wee owe vnto Nature? A man may content himſelfe with a little. It is not the hunger of our bellies that coſteth vs ſo deere, it is our glorie

glorie and ambition. And for this cauſe (as *Saluſt* ſaith) they which follow the pleaſures of their belly, ought to be reckoned and ranked amiddeſt the number of beaſts, and not of men; and ſome of them beſide, not amongſt the number of beaſts, but of the dead. He liueth that vſeth him ſelfe, but they that lie hid in ſluggiſhneſſe, ſo liue in their houſes as in a ſepulchre. Although in their porches thou regiſter their names in marble: yet they are buried before they are dead.

Epist. LXI.

Let vs ſtudie to be amended and changed. Let vs thinke on death, as if alwaies imminent, and addreſſed to lay hold on vs.

LEt vs deſiſt to will that which we would, for mine owne part, as old as I am, I endeuour my ſelfe not to will that which I would, when I was a child. In this one thing employ I all my dayes and nights, this is my onely labour, this my care, to be able to bring mine old euils to an end. I endeauour that one day may bee to me as much as my whole life. And to ſpeake truth, I take it not as yet as if it were the laſt, but I regard it, as if it might bee laſt of all my dayes that I am to liue. I write vnto thee this letter with ſuch an apprehenſion, as if death ſhould call mee, whileſt I am writing of it. I am addreſſed and ready to depart; and therefore by ſecuritie enioy I life, becauſe I am not much troubled how long it ſhall laſt. Before-age I tooke care that I might liue in mine old yeares, that I might die well; and to die well, is to die willingly. Labour with thy ſelfe that thou doe nothing vnwillingly, whatſoeuer is neceſſarie will come to paſſe, neceſſitie is but to him that refuſeth, and not to him that willeth. There is no neceſſitie for him that hath a will. I auerre it, that he who willingly ſubmitteth himſelfe to another mans command, hath fled the moſt vnſeaſonable and cruelleſt part of ſeruitude, that is to ſay, to doe that which he would not doe. Not he that vpon any command doth any thing, is a miſerable man, but he that doth it againſt his will. In ſuch ſort therefore let vs compoſe our mindes, that we will that which neceſſitie requireth to be done: and aboue all things let vs thinke vpon our end, without any ſhew of heauineſſe. We muſt ſooner prepare our ſelues to death, then to life. Life hath but ouer-much to entertaine the ſame, but we are they that long after theſe inſtruments, that entertaine the ſame. Wee thinke, and ſo ſhall wee alwayes ſuppoſe, that wee want ſomewhat; neither yeares nor daies ſhall bring to paſſe that wee haue liued ſufficiently, but the minde. I haue liued, my deareſt *Lucilius*, as much as ſufficeth, I expect death, as one glutted with life.

Epist. LXII.

That neither men or affaires are hinderances to a good minde. The praise of Demetrius.

They that would make men believe, that the multitude of affaires is a hinderance vnto them, in the pursuite and search of liberall studies, doe nought else but lie. They pretend and faine occupations, they augment them, and busie themselues. I am discharged of affaires, my *Lucilius*, I am discharged, and whersoeuer I am, I am wholly to my selfe. For I subiect not, but accommodate my selfe to affaires. I runne not after the occasions which might make me lose time, and in what place soeuer I bide, there is it that I entertaine my thoughts, and ruminate some profitable matter in my minde. If I giue my selfe vnto my friends, for all that, forsake I not my selfe. I stay not also long time with them, whose company I haue entertained for a time, and for some cause that inductie commanded me. But I am with vertuous men. I send my thoughts and minde vnto them, in what places, and what times soeuer they haue beene. I leade alwayes with me, my *Demetrius*, the best of men, and leauing a part these purpurated fellowes. I talke with this man halfe naked, and admire him. But how should I chuse but admire him? He wanteth nothing. A man may contemne all things, and no man can haue all things. The shortest way to riches is by contempt of riches. But our *Demetrius* liueth in such sort, that hee seemeth not to haue contemned all things, but onely to haue permitted that others should enioy them.

Epist. LXIII.

A consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of a friend, both wise and excellent.

Thou art very impatient, because thy friend *Flaccus* is deceased, yet will I not that thou subiect thy selfe to disordinate sorrow. I dare not exact this at thy hands, that thou shouldest not grieue, yet know I this, that it is the better. But to whom is it, that so firme a constancie of minde may happen, but to him alone, who hath troden fortune vnder his feete. Yet him also would this thing trouble and pricke, yet would it but onely pricke. For our selues we may be pardoned, if we will, in teares, prouided that they be not ouer-lauish, and that we our selues haue represt them. In the losse of a friend, neither let our eyes be drie, nor ouerflowing; we must shead teares, but not weepe out-right. Supposest thou that I subiect thee to a rigorous law? When as the greatest Poet amongst the Greekes gaue leaue and limit to teares for one day only, when he said that *Niobe* also bethought her of her meate. Wilt thou know from whence these plaints and immeasurable teares proceed? By teares wee seeke the testimonie that wee bewaile them, and wee follow not griefe, but wee shew it. No man is sad to himselfe. O vnhappy folly, there is also some ambition of griefe. What then, sayest thou, shall I forget my friend? Vndoubtedly thou promisest him a verie short remembrance, if it must continue no longer then thy griefe. The least occasion

occasion of fortune, will suddenly change the wrinckles of thy brow into smiles. I grant thee not a more long time, the length whereof notwithstanding might calme and allay the greatest sorrowes of this world, and make an end of the most bitter griefes. As soone as thou shalt cease to flatter and nourish thy griefe, this opinion of sadnesse will forsake thee; now keepest thou, and entertainest thy sorrow, but how charily soeuer thou keepe it, it will escape from thee, and the sooner, the more sharper it is. Aboue all things, let vs labour that the remembrance of our friends which we loose, be agreeable and pleasing vnto vs. No man taketh pleasure to remember such a subiect, whereon hee cannot thinke without torment, notwithstanding if it cannot otherwise be, that the name of our friends, whom we haue lost, may be reduced to our memorie, without some touch and attaint of sorrow, that very touch it selfe hath some pleasure in it. For as our *Attalus* was wont to say; The memorie of our deceased friends is pleasing vnto vs, no otherwise then the sowrenesse of old wine, or as apples eager-sweet are tastefull vnto vs. But after a little time is ouer-past, all that which tormented vs is extinguished, and then a pure and true pleasure is conceiued in our mindes, if wee will giue credit vnto him, to thinke that our friends are in health, is to eate hony and cakes. But the memorie of those that are deceased can yeeld no ioy, but that which is intermixed with some little bitternesse. But who is he that would deny that these sharpe things, and such as haue in them some acrimonie, are not hurtfull and displeasing to the stomacke? Yet am not I for all this, of that opinion. The remembrance of my friends that are deceased, is agreeable and pleasing vnto me. For I had them, as if I were to lose them, and I haue lost them, as if I had them. Doe therefore, my *Lucilius*, that which thy discretion requireth. Forbeare to giue an euill interpretation of the benefits of Fortune, she took away, but she had giuen. Let vs then enioy our friends with a greedie desire, because we know not whether they shall continue with vs a long time or noe. Let vs thinke that we haue oftentimes left them, when as we had made some long voyages, and how oftentimes abiding with them in the same place, we haue not seene them; and we shall find that we haue lost more time when they were aliue. But may a man endure those that make no reckoning and account of their friends when they haue them, but bewaile them afterwards most miserably, and neuer loue any, but euen then when they haue lost him? And therefore do they then more abundantly weepe, because they are afraid, lest it should grow in doubt whether they loued them or no. Thus seeke they to take testimonies of their amitie. If wee haue other friends, we doe them iniurie, and conceiue an euill opinion of them, to thinke that they cannot comfort vs as much, as one onely whom we haue lost. And if we haue not any, we our selues doe our selues greater wrong, then we haue receiued at Fortunes hands. She hath onely taken one from vs, and we haue not made any. Againe, he scarcely loued any one, which could not loue more then one. If a man that were robbed, and had lost the onely one coate that he had, had rather bewaile his misfortune, then bethinke him by what meanes hee might escape the cold, and finde something to couer his shoulders, would'st thou not esteeme him for a great foole? Thou hast buried him thou louedst, seeke now another whom thou mayest loue. It is better to get a new friend, then to bewaile an olde. I know well that the thing which I pretended now to speake is verie vulgar, and knowne vnto euery man: yet will I not pretermit it, though all the world hath vsed it. Hee that by reason and counsaile, could not finde an end of his sorrow, met with it in time, but it is most contemptible,

temptible for a wise-man to finde no remedie for his sorrow, but by wearying himselfe with the same. I had rather thou shouldest relinquish thy sorrow, then that thou shouldest be left by it. Desist from doing that as soone as thou canst; which although thou wouldst thou canst not long do. Our auncestors limitted the tearme of a yeare for women to mourne in, not that they should mourne so long; but that they might not mourn longer. To men they prefixed no distinct time, because no time is honest, yet which of these women wilt thou name me, which could scarcely be drawn from the pile where their husband was burned, or dragged from his dead carcasse, whose moans continued for a whole month? Nothing groweth more soone into hatred then griefe; which being new, findeth a comforter, and draweth some vnto him to solace him, but being inueterate is derided; and not without cause, for eyther it is fained, or it is foolish; yet doe I write this vnto thee, euen I, who haue immeasurably bewayled *Annæus Serenus* my deere friend, that (which I write with hearts-griefe) I might be numbred amongst the examples of those, whom sorrow hath ouercome. But at this present time I condemne mine owne action, and thorowly perceiue that the greatest cause of my so mourning, was, because I neuer thought that I might haue died before him. I thought onely that he was younger, and farre more young then I, as if the destinies called vs by order of our birth. Let vs therfore continually meditate, as well on our owne mortalitie, as theirs whom we loue. Then should I haue said: my *Serenus* is yonger, what is this to the purpose? he must die after me, but he might also before me: and hauing not thought hereupon, fortune surprising me on the sudden, strooke me thus. Now know I that all things are mortall, and that they are mortall, vnder an vncertaine lawe. That may be done to day, what euer may be done. Let vs thinke therefore deere *Lucilius*, that we shall quickly come thither where he is lodged, whom we so lament for. And happily (if the opinion of wise-men fauor of truth, and any place receiue vs, he whom we suppose to haue perished is but sent before vs.

Epist. LXIIII.

The praise of Qvintvs Sextivs, *and then of wisedome it selfe. That the true authors thereof are venerable, and that notwithstanding we may adde thereunto.*

THou wert yesterday with vs. It may be demanded whether yesterday onely, and therefore I added, with vs; for thou art alwayes with me. Certaine friends came suddenly to me, vpon whose arriuall the Chimney smoaked more then it was accustomed; not that this smoake was of that kind, as that which was wont to fume from the Kitchins of those that intertaine feasts, or to terrifie those that watch by night; but a little smoake that signified that some guests were come to me. We had diuers and different discourses, as it happeneth to those that sit at banquet, reducing nothing to a resolution; but passing from one thing to another. Afterwards the booke of *Quintus Sextius* the father (a man of much knowledge if thou wilt beleeue, and a Stoicke, although some would denie it) was read vnto vs. O good God, how is this man repleniſhed with constancy and courage: Thou shalt not find the like amongst all the Philosophers. Some mens writings haue only a goodly title, the rest of them are without life, they make institutios, they dispute, and cauill, they adde no courage, because they haue none. When thou

thou hast read *Sextius*, thou wilt say he liueth, he is full of vigour, he is free, he is more then a man. He leaueth me alwayes repleniſhed with great assurance. Howsoeuer my minde be disposed; if I read him (I will confesse vnto thee) I am addressed to prouoke all casualties, and freely to exclaime: Why ceasest thou Fortune? Come and encounter me, thou shalt and doest see me in a readinesse. I cloath my selfe in his courage which seruеth for a subiect, against which he may approue, and where he may expresse his vertue.

He wisheth freely that he might behold
A foaming Boare amidst his idle folde,
Or some sterne Lion from the hils descend,
With golden crest his cattell to offend.

I loue to haue somewhat that I may ouercome. I will suffer to exercise my patiende: for *Sextius* likewise hath this admirable qualitie in him, that he will shewthee the excellency of a happy life, and will not put thee out of hope to obtaine the same. Thou shalt know that she is lodged in a place very high, notwithstanding a man that hath will, may mount thereunto. Amongst all other things, only vertue may giue thee the same, that thou maist admire the rat, without losing thy hope to attaine the same. Truely the onely contemplation of wisedome, very oftentimes robbeth me of very much time. I beholde the same with no lesse astonishment, then I doe the heauens and the world, on which I oftentimes call mine eyes, as if I had neuer seene the same: therefore is it that I reuerence and honor the intentions of wisedome, and the inuenters also: It delighteth me to goe and take possession thereof, as of an heritage common vnto many. These things are gotten, these things are laboured for me. But let vs play the part of a good father of a family: let vs increase that inheritage which was left vs, and let this possession descend to my posteritie, in more ample manner then I receiued it from mine auncestors. Much there is that as yet remaineth to be done, and much more shall remaine: for after the reuolution of a thousand ages, the occasion shall neuer be left to them that are borne hereafter, to adde somewhat. And although antiquitie hath inuented all things, yet the vse, the science, and disposition thereof, which hath beene inuented, shall alwayes remaine new. Put case we had some medicines left vnto vs for the healing of eies, I need not seeke for other; yet are these to be fitted both to the diseases, and to the times: by one of them the heate of the eyes is extinguished, by another the thicknesse of the eye-lids is attenuated; by one a sudden flux of humour and rhume is diuerted, by another the sight is quickned. It behoueth thee to grinde these remedies, and allay them well, to make choice of the time, and that thou obserue a measure in euerie one of them. The remedies of the minde were inuented by our auncients, but it behoueth vs to seeke, how and when they should be applied. They that liued before vs haue done much, but they haue not finished the same. Yet must we honour them, and reuerence them as Gods. But why should I not haue the Images of these vertuous and great men in my house, to kindle & quicken vp my spirit? And why should I not celebrate their birth-dayes? Why should I not name them alwayes for honours sake? That veneration that I owe to my Masters, the same owe I to these Masters of mankind, from whom the beginnings of so manie benefites are flowen. If I see eyther a Consull or a Pretor, I will doe all that which is vsually done in yeelding them honor & reuerence, I will light off my horse, I wil put off my hat, and giue him

him the way: why then can I remember both the *Catoes*, wife *Lælius*, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, without some great acknowledgement of honour? Truely I reuerence them, and hearing the greatneſſe of theſe names, I alwayes ariſe to yeelde them honour.

Epist. LXV.

He intreateth of the ſearch of naturall things. Of cauſe and matter: and teacheth how much they are profitable, if they be moderately handled, and to a good end, that is of life: by theſe liſteth he vp his minde to God and honeſty.

I Diuided yeſterday into two parts; the one was for my ſelfe, the other for my ſickues, which vſurped all the fore-noone to it ſelfe, and left the after-noone for me: for which cauſe I firſt of all aſſayed the forces of my ſpirit in reading ſome booke. But I ſaw that hee tooke pleaſure herein; I grew bolde to command him farre more, yea, I permitted him. I wrote therefore ſomething with a greater care then I was accuſtomed, whilſt I contend with a difficult matter, and will not be ouercome, vntill ſuch time as ſome of my friends came in vnto me, who withdrew me perforce, and reprehended me for a man intemperate in the time of my ſickneſſe. In ſtead of writing, ſome diſcourſe was ſet abroach, whereof I will relate vnto thee that part which is in queſtion, wherin thou art made Vmpeire. Thou haſt more buſineſſe in hand then thou thoughteſt of. Certaine it is, that there are three cauſes, & the Stoicks, as thou knoweſt, ſay, that there are two things in nature, whereof all other things are made, The Cauſe and the Matter: the matter remaineth idle; yet prepared to all things, which will not ſtirre, except it be moued. But the Cauſe, that is to ſay the reaſon, formeth the matter, and turneth it which way ſoeuer he liſt, and produceth out of it diuers works. There muſt be then ſome thing, whereof a thing may be made, and after that a meanes by which it is made. This is the Cauſe, that the Matter. All artes are the imitation of Nature; and therefore all that which I haue ſaid of the world, may be transferred to theſe, which are to be made by man. A ſtatue had a matter that ſhould receiue the workmanſhip, and an artizan that ſhould giue form vnto the matter. Therefore in the ſtatue the matter was braſſe, and the cauſe the workman: all other things are of the ſame and alike condition. They take their Eſſence from that whereof they are made, and of him which maketh them. The Stoicks ſay that there is but onely one cauſe, namely that which maketh. But *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the cauſe may be ſaid after three manners. The firſt cauſe, ſaith he, is the matter it ſelfe, without which nothing may be made: the ſecond is the workeman: the third is the forme, that is annexed to any worke whatſoeuer, as vpon a ſtatue: for *Ariſtotle* calleth it ἰδέαν, that is to ſay, an Image. There is yet another (ſaith he) which is annexed for the fourth, which is the deſigne and intention of the whole worke. I will tell thee more plainly what it is: The Braſſe is the firſt cauſe of the ſtatue; for it had neuer beene made, if that whereof it was founded and drawne had not beene. The ſecond cauſe is the workeman: for this Braſſe could not haue faſhioned it ſelfe into the forme of a ſtatue, if ſome skilfull artiſt had not beene imployed therein. The third cauſe is the forme; for neither ſhould this ſtatue be called *Doriphoras* or *Diadumenus*, except this forme had beene expreſſed in the ſame. The other fourth cauſe is, the purpoſe and intention wherefore it was made; for, without it, it had not beene made. And what is this intention? It is the ſame that inuited the work-maſter, that it is which he followed: it is then either siluer, if the worke is to ſell, or glory, if he made it for reputation; or his deuotion and pietie, if he would giue it for a preſent to a Temple. This fourth cauſe, then, is that for which it is made. Thinkeſt thou that amongſt the cauſes of a worke which hath beene made, that we ought not to count that without which it could not be made? To theſe doth *Plato* annex a fift, which he calleth *Idæa*, (for this is the example or pattern, on which the workman caſting his eyes, doth that which he had deſtinated and determined to doe; and it skilleth not whether he haue his patterne abroad whereunto he referreth his eye, or within, in his fancie which he hath conceiued and placed in himſelfe. God hath the patternes and examples of all things in himſelfe. He hath conceiued in his vnderſtanding the members and faſhions of all that which ſhould be made by him: he is full of all theſe formes and figures, which *Plato* calleth *Ideæ*, which are immortall, immutable, and indefatigable. So that although men die, yet humanity is vpon which man is made, remaineth: and although men become ſicke, and doe die, yet that ſuffereth nothing. There are then fiue cauſes, according to *Plato*; That whereof; that by which, that whereby, that wherevnto, and that wherefore, in the laſt place, in the worke which is made of theſe things, as in a ſtatue (becauſe of it we haue begun to ſpeake) that whereof is the braſſe, that by which is the workman, that whereby is the forme that is giuen vnto it, that whereto is the patterne which the workeman imitateth, that wherefore is the deſigne and intention of him that made it, and that which is compoſed of all theſe, is the ſtatue. All theſe things the world hath alſo, as *Plato* ſayth. The workeman is God, that which is made is the matter, and the forme is the faſhion, and the order which we ſee in this world, the pattern and example is that whereon God hath formed the greatnes of this faire worke; the intention is the deſigne for which he made it. Askeſt thou me what Gods intention was? His goodneſſe. Truely *Plato* ſaith ſo. What cauſe had God to make the world? He is good; he hath made good things. He that is good enuieth not any thing which is good: and therefore he hath made the beſt that he could. Giue now thy iudgement hereupon, and pronounce who he is, that in thy opinion hath moſt neerely aimed at the truth, not who hath ſaid the truth, for that is far beyond our apprehenſion, as the truth it ſelfe. But this great multitude of cauſes, ſet downe by *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*, either comprehend ouer much, or too little. For if they thinke that the cauſe to make a thing, be al that without which nothing may be made, they haue ſet down too few cauſes; they ſhould nominate time, for nothing can be done without time; they ſhould ſet downe place, for if there be not a place where a thing ſhould be done, it cannot be made. They ſhould put downe motion, without which nothing is made, nothing periſheth: moreouer, there is not any art or change without motion. But here ſeeke we the firſt and generall cauſe. This ſhould be wholly ſimple, becauſe the matter is ſimple. We aske what this cauſe is? It is the reaſon that maketh, that is to ſay, God. And by this reaſon that I tolde you, there are not diuers and particular cauſes; but they depend wholly vpon one, that is on that which maketh. Thou ſayeſt that forme likewiſe is one of the cauſes, and that it is it which the workeman putteth vpon his worke: it is a part but not a cauſe. The patterne alſo or example is not a cauſe, it is a neceſſarie inſtrument of the cauſe, ſo is the patterne neceſſarie to the workeman, as the poliſhing iron, or the fyle, for without them art can profit nothing: yet are they not

not parties, or causers of the art. The intention of the work-man (saith he) for which he vndertaketh to make anie thing is a cause; yet though it were a cause it should not be efficient but accessarie. Now these causes are innumerable, but we dispute of a generall cause; vndoubtedly they haue not spoken with their accustomed subtilty, when they haue said that this whole world and this worke so well finished, was the cause: for there is a great difference betwixt the worke and the cause of the worke. Pronounce then thy sentence, or say (as it is more easie in matters that are doubtfull) that this question is not yet in state to be iudged, and so dismisse vs. Thou wilt say vnto me, what pleasure doest thou conceiue in losing thy time after these things, which cannot disburthen thee of any passion, nor matter any couetousnesse? For mine owne part, first of all I discourse of that which may settle my minde in repose, and I rather enquire after my selfe then the world or this Vniuerse. Doing this I loose not my time as thou thinkest. For all these discourses, if they be not cut off, if they be not drawn to vnprofitable subtilties, do animate and raise the minde, which feeling it selfe pressed with a heauie burthen, desireth nought else but to deliuer her selfe, and to returne to those places where she hath beene. For this bodie is but a burthen and prison of the soule. She is wearied with the burthen, she is in bondage, if Philosophie come not to succour her. But she hath commanded her to breathe in the contemplation of nature, and hath permitted her to forsake the earth, and annex her selfe to diuine things. This is the libertie she hath, this is her refectorie; meane while she issueth out of prison where she is detained, and goes to recreate her selfe in heauen. Euen as worke-men, who haue long time held their eyes fixed vpon any subtill worke, and wearied them thereupon, especially if they labour in some obscure place, and with little light, goe out into the open aire, and seeke out some publique place, where the people are accustomed to disport themselues, & recreate their sight in the cleere light of the day: so the mind, imprisoned in this darke and obscure receptacle, as often as it may, seekes libertie, & reposeth it selfe in the contemplation of the works of nature. A wise-man, & he that followeth wisdom, is in some sort tyed to his bodie, but is absent from the same in his best part, and addresseth his best thoughts to high and sublime matters, and as if he had taken the oath of a souldier, he maketh account, that the time that his life lasteth is his pay or wages: and in such sort is he reformed and resolued, that hee beareth neyther loue nor hatred to his life, and patiently suffereth all transitorie things, although hee know that a greater good remaineth hereafter. Wouldest thou interdict me the contemplation of all things in nature, and retiring me wholly, restraine me to one onely thing? Shall I not search what the beginnings of all things are? Who it is that formed them? Who it was that distinguished all that which was confuse, and mixed in a masse in a matter idle and immoueable? Shall I not seeke who it was that made this world? By what wisedome this incredible greatnesse of the Vniuerse hath receiued his lawes and his order? Who it is that hath gathered together so many things that were scattered? Who hath seperated those that were confused? Who hath diuided the beautie amongst those things which were hidden vnder an abiect deformity? Whence commeth this so great light? Is it fire, or any thing more resplendent then fire? Should I not enquire after these things? Shal I not know whence I descended? or whether I shall see them but once or diuers times? Shall I not know whither I must returne, and what place attendeth my soule, after it shal be deliuered from this humane seruitude? Wilt thou hinder me from mounting to heauen, that is to say, Wilt thou commaund me to liue abiectly? I am more great, and borne for greater things, then to be a slaue to my bodie, ouer which I neuer fixe mine eyes, but as on the chaines that hold me prisoner, and restraine me from my liberty. It is my bodie which I expose to Fortune, to withstand her assaults: I permit not any wound to passe thereon, that may afflict my soule. All that which may subiect it selfe, or suffer iniurie in me, is but this prison of mine, abiect and slauish; the soule that remaineth therein is free. Neuer can this flesh of mine make me pertake any feare, nor vse any cowardize, vnderualuing a good man, nor to lie to doe honor to this miserable bodie. When it pleaseth me, I will breake the company I haue with him. And now although we are vnited together, we wil not be companions vpon equall tearmes. The soule will say that all appertaineth to her. The contempt of her bodie is her true libertie. But to returne to my purpose. Truely the contemplation of that we spake of late, may serue very much to this libertie. That is to say, that all things are composed of matter and of God. God gouerneth all these things, which being spread round about him, follow their Gouernour and their Chiefe. And God, who is he that maketh, is more powerfull then the matter which suffereth the forme that God will giue vnto it. The same place that God obtaineth in the world, the same hath the soule in the bodie. That which the matter is to God, the same is the bodie to vs. The Inferiour therefore ought to enioy the Superiour. Let vs be firme and constant against Fortune, and let vs not feare or tremble at iniuries, wounds, imprisonment or pouertie. What is death? Either it is the end, or a passage: neither feare I to cease to be, for it is the same, as if I had neuer beene, nor to passe, because in no place shall I bee lodged more straitly.

Epist. LXVI.

That Claranvs *is old, but liuely, and that in bodie he was deformed, but in minde honest. He careth not for the house wherein he dwelleth. The diffence of goods among the Stoicks, and that all things are equall. What then? Are ioy and patience the same? They are so in regard of vertue, not of matter. And that externall things also giue not any augmentation of good. These things handleth he copiously, distinctly and excellently. O let vs read it, and apply the same.*

I Haue seene *Claranus* my companion in studie, whom of long time before I had not seene. Thou expectest not, in my opinion, that I should tell thee he is old, but at least as yet hath he his spirits liuely and vigorous, and such as striue with his little body. To speake the truth, Nature hath done amisse, to lodge so faire a minde in so soule an hostrie. Or else, it may be, she had an intent to teach vs, that the strongest and blessedest minde might hide it selfe vnder any skin, whatsoeuer. Yet hath he ouercome all impediments, and through the contempt of himselfe hath he attained so farre, as to contemne all other things. In my opinion, he deceiued himselfe, that said,

Vertue is farre more gracious, getting place
Vnder the couuert of a comely face.

For

For ſhe hath no need of any forren ornament, ſhe deriueth her dignitie from her ſelfe, and maketh the bodie which ſhe poſſeſſeth, holy and ſacred. Truely I began to behold my friend *Claranus* very neerely, and in my iudgement hee ſeemeth very faire, and as well learned in bodie, as confirmed in minde. A great man may iſſue from a ſheepe-coate, and a vertuous and faire ſoule may be cloſed in a deformed and baſe bodie. And Nature, in my opinion, expreſſely cauſeth ſome to be borne after this manner, to make vs ſee, that vertue may be lodged in all places, if poſſibly ſhee could haue brought foorth naked ſoules, ſhee would haue done it. But now doth ſhee farre more diſproportioned in nature, notwithſtanding ouercome theſe impediments. *Claranus*, as I ſuppoſe, was made to ſerue for a patterne, and to let vs ſee, that the ſoule cannot be defiled by the deformitie of the bodie, and that the bodie may receiue ornament by the beautie of the ſoule. But although we haue remained very few dayes together, yet not withſtanding diuers diſcourſes paſſed betweene vs, which I will orderly digeſt, and afterwards ſend vnto thee. The firſt day the queſtion was, how goods ſhould be equall, ſince there was a three-fold condition of them. Some of theſe goods, as our Philoſophers ſay, are placed in the firſt ranke, namely, ioy, peace, and felicitie of the Country. The other are in the ſecond, which neuer make themſelues knowne, but in a miſerable ſubiect, as patience in the middeſt of torments, and temperance in a great ſickneſſe. We deſire that the firſt ſhould befall vs euery day, and the ſecond when need requireth. There is alſo a third ſort, as to walke modeſtly and gracely, to carrie a modeſt countenance, and vſe the geſtures and behauiours of a wiſe man. How is it then, that theſe goods may be equall among themſelues, ſince we are to deſire the one, and depart from the other? If we will diſtinguiſh, let vs returne to the firſt, and conſider what it is. A ſoule that fixeth his eyes vpon the truth, that knoweth that which ſhe ought to eſchew or deſire, that priſeth all things, not by opinion, but by the lawes of Nature, that intermixeth it ſelfe amiddeſt this great vniuers, and fixeth her contemplation vpon the effects thereof, that is, inceſſantly occupied in thinking and doing, that is, as great as ſhe is vehement, that ſuffereth not her ſelfe to be ouercome, neither by aduerſe, or pleaſing things, that ſubmitteth not, neither to the one nor to the other fortune, that is, eminent aboue all things that may happen or befall her, that is, faire with a good grace, that hath her ſtrength accompanied with health and ſobrietie, that is, neuer affrighted nor aſtoniſhed, whom no violence can ſhake, whom Fortune cannot raiſe or depreſſe. Such is the vertue of the ſoule, ſuch is her face, if ſhe might expreſſe her ſelfe at once, and might wholly and at once diſcouer her ſelfe to our ſight: yet many differences hath ſhe in her ſelfe, which diſcouer themſelues in the diuerſitie of life, and his actions; and yet becommeth ſhe neither more great nor more ſmall then ſhe is. For the ſoueraigne good may not decreaſe, neither hath vertue power to goe back-ward, yet changeth ſhe in diuers qualities, and conformeth her ſelfe according to the habit of thoſe things ſhe will do. She changeth and transfigureth into her likeneſſe all that which ſhe toucheth; ſhe maketh the actions, amities, and ſometime whole houſes where ſhe entereth, and which ſhe hath vnder her gouernment, honorable: all that which ſhe manageth, ſhe maketh amiable, admirable, and reſplendent; & therfore her force and greatnes cannot be raiſed higher, becauſe that which is greateſt cannot receiue encreaſe. Thou ſhalt finde nothing more iuſt, then that which is iuſt, nothing more true, then that which is true; nothing more temperate, then that which is temperate. Conſtancie findeth nothing that may aduance it, no more then Confidence,

dence, veritie, or Faith. What thing is that, which may be added to a perfect thing? Nothing not if any thing might be annexed, it is not perfect: therefore not to Vertue alſo, for if any thing might be annexed, it were deficient. Honeſtie alſo cannot receiue any augmentation. For honeſtie is in the ſame ranke with other things, which I haue ſpoken of. But what ſhall we ſay of that which is decent, of that which is iuſt, and of that which is lawfull? Thinkeſt thou not that they are of the ſame forme, and comprehended vnder certaine limits. To haue power to encreaſe, is a ſigne of an imperfect thing. All ſorts of good are ſubiect to the ſame lawes, the priuate and publike profit are ioyned together, and truely inſeparable in ſuch ſort, that one may not ſeparate that which is praiſe-worthie, from that which is to be deſirde. Vertues therefore are equall and alike betweene themſelues, as alſo their effects are, and all men to whom they befall. But the vertues of vegitables and liuing creatures, becauſe they are mortall, fraile, fluxible, and vncertaine, ariſe and fall, and therefore are they not eſteemed in the ſame reckoning. But humane vertues haue but one onely meaſure. For there is but one right and ſimple reaſon. Nothing is more diuine then that which is diuined, nor more celeſtiall then that which is celeſtiall. As touching mortall things, we ſee that they are ſometimes high, ſometimes low, that ſometimes they are abaſed and encreaſed, exhauſted and repleniſhed. And therefore in ſo vncertaine a condition they are vnequall; but things that are diuine, are of the ſame nature. But reaſon is no other thing but a part of the diuine ſpirit, infuſed and plunged in our humane bodies: if therefore reaſon be diuine, and that there is not any good without reaſon, all goods of what kinde ſoeuer are diuine; but there is no difference betwixt diuine things, therefore not betweene goods. Ioy therefore, and a ſtout and obſtinat ſufferance in torments are equall, for in both there is the ſame greatnes of minde, but in the one more remiſſe and relenting, in the other more withſtanding and intent. What? thinkeſt thou not his vertue is great, that ſtoutly entereth his enemies citie, as his that patiently ſuſtaineth the ſiege? *Scipioes* courage is great, which holdeth *Numantia*, ſo cloſely beſieged and beleagred, that conſtrained that inuincible nation, to make away themſelues by their owne hands: and great is the minde of of thoſe beſieged, that know that nothing is ſhut vp from him to whom death is open, and that expireth in the embracing of his libertie. The like equall are the reſt alſo among themſelues, tranquillity, ſimplicitiey, liberality conſtancie, equanimity, ſufferance: for in all theſe, there is but one vertue that maketh the minde vpright and immutable. What then? is there no difference betwixt ioy and the inflexible patience of paines: none at all in regard of the vertues themſelues, much in reſpect of thoſe things, in which both the vertues are exemplified. For in the one there appeareth a recreation and repoſe of ſpirit, in the other a griefe contrarie to nature. Theſe ſubiects then are the meanes, which receiue betweene them a great difference. But the vertue is equall both in the one, and in the other. The matter changeth not the vertue. That which is diſtaſtefull and difficult cannot make it worſe, neither that which is ioyfull and agreeable better. It followeth then, that both the one and the other of theſe goods are equall. For this man cannot beare himſelfe more vertuouſly in his ioy, nor the other in his torments, and truely two things in which nothing may be bettered, are equall. For if thoſe things which are placed out of vertue, either can diminiſh or encreaſe the ſame, that ceaſeth to be one good which is honeſt. If thou grant this, all honeſtie periſheth. Why? I will tell thee: Becauſe there is nothing honeſt, that is, done either by an vnwilling man, or by him

that

that is enforced: all honestie is voluntarie; if thou mixe with it slothfulnesse, complaints, refusals, and feare, he hath lost all that is good in it selfe, to please himselfe. It cannot be honest, which is not free, for that which feareth is in bondage. But that which is honest is equally assured, and full of peace and repose. If he refuseth any thing, if he weepeth, if he iudgeth that it is euill, hee entereth into some perturbation, and feeleth a great discord in his soule. For on the one side, the appearance of good calleth him, & on the other the feare of euill retireth him. Thus he that will do any thing with honor, ought to iudge, that nothing of that which opposeth it selfe against his wil, is euil, although it be incommodious. All that which is honest, ought to be effected, without another mans command or constraint. It is pure and sincere, and no waies intermedled with any other euill. I know well what a man may answere me heere. Thou endeauoures to perswade vs this, that there is no difference whether any man be in ioy, or lie in torture, and wearie his executioner. I might answere that which *Epicurus* saith, That a wise man would crie out with a loude voice, although he were roasted in *Phalaris* bull: O how sweet is this torment, and how little appertaineth it to me? Why wondereſt thou, if I say, that the good of him that is seated in the middest of a banquet, and of that other, which remaineth and standeth firme and constant amiddest the torments, are equall, whereas (which is farre more incredible) *Epicurus* saith) that it is a sweet thing to be tortured. But I answere thereunto, that there is a great difference betwixt ioy and dolour. For if I should be put to my choice, I would demand the one, and flie the other: the one is amicable to Nature, the other is contrarie. As long as they are esteemed after this rate, they are very different betweene themselues: but when we come vnto vertue, both the one and the other are equall, as well that which maketh his way by ioy, as the other that maketh it by sorrow. Vexation, griefe, and whatsoeuer other incommoditie are of no moment, for they are surmounted by Vertue. Euen as the clearenes of the Sunne extinguisheth the lesser lights: euen so paines, afflictions and iniuries, are dissipated and abated by vertue; which, in what place soeuer shee shineth, extinguisheth all that which appeareth not to be enlightned by her. And those paines and incommodities that fall vpon vertue, haue no more power ouer her, then a little raine ouer the sea. But to the end thou mayest beleeue that this is true, a good man will runne without any cunctation to euery faire thing, although the hangman be there, the torture be prepared, the fire be enkindled, hee perseuereth, he will not bethinke him of that he must suffer, but on that which he ought to doe. He will cast himselfe vpon an honest thing, as betwixt the armes of a good man, he will make account that it is profitable, assured, and full of good happe. An honest thing therefore shall haue the same place and credit with him, although it be heauie and troublesome, as a good man should haue, although he were poore, banished and sicke. Well then, set me on one side a good man full of riches, and on the other side, one that hath nothing at all, and yet notwithstanding, hath all things in himselfe; the one shall bee as good a man as the other, although their fortunes be different. The same reckoning ought a man to make in all things, as he doth of men: Vertue is as laudable in a healthfull and free bodie, as in a sicke and imprisoned. Thy vertue then shall be no lesse praiseworthie, if Fortune hath conserued thy bodie in health, & without harme, then if it were maimed in some member. Otherwise it were to praise the Master by his mens liueries. For al these things on which Fortune exerciseth her power are base and seruile, as are riches, the bodie & honors, they are weak, fraile, mortall, and

and possessed with vncertaintie. Contrariwise, the workes of vertue are free and inuincible, the which are not to be wished for more, when they are fauoured by any flattering fortune, nor lesse also when they are followed with some disaster. That which we call friendlship towards men, is a desire and couetousnesse towards good things. I suppose thou wouldst not rather prise a good rich man for his wealth; then thou wouldest do a poore man, nor a strong and mightie man, then a feeble and weake man. By the same reason, thou wouldest not rather wish a faire and peaceable thing, then that thing which is painfull and laborious. And if it be so of the two that should be equally good, thou haddest rather like of him that should be neate and perfumed; then him that should be slouenly and vncombed: In fine, thou wouldest come thus farre, that thou wouldest more loue a man that were complete in all his members, that had neuer beene hurt, then a weake and spur-blinde fellow. Briefly, by little and little thy disdaine would increase so farre, that of the two that should be equally sage and iust, thou haddest rather haue him that were faire locked and frilled, then him that is disguised and balde. When the vertue both of the one and the other is equall, the inequalitie of other things appeareth not. Because all these other things are not partes, they are but accessaries. For who is hee that would make so iniust an esteem amongst his children, that he would make better reckning of him that were whole, then of him that were sick: of him that were great and high of stature, more then of him that were low and little? Wilde beasts distinguish not their yong ones, they couch themselues on the ground to nourish them altogether: birds doe equally distribute their meat to their young. *Vlysses* maketh as great hast to see his rockes of *Ithaca*, as *Agamemnon* his noble walles of *Mycenæ*. For no man loueth his countrey because it is great, but because it is his owne. But whereto tend these things? To the end that thou mayest know, that vertue carrieth an equall eye and regard on all her workes, as on her proper children, that she loueth all of them alike, and those farre more that feele anie paine, because the loue of fathers extendeth more towards those, on whom they haue most compassion. In like manner vertue beareth not lesse affection to those her workes, which she seeth suffer more affliction and torment, but following the custome of good parents, she embraceth and cherisheth them the more. But why is it that one good cannot be greater then another? Because there is nothing more apt then that which is apt, nor nothing more full then that which is full. Thou canst not say that this is more like vnto a thing then that, consequently there is nothing more honest then that which is honest. So then, if the nature of vertue be all alike, all the three sorts of goods are equall. And therfore I say that it is all one to be moderate in ioy, and moderate in pain. Ioy surmounteth not the constancie of the soule, that deuoureth his complaints vnder the crueltie of a hang-man. The one of these goods are to be desired, the other to be admired; yet both of them are equall: for all that which is ill is couered vnder the cloake of a more greate good. He that should be of an opinion that these two things were not equall, he should shew that he would neuer cast his eyes vpon vertue, and that hee onely regarded exterior things. True goods haue the same waight and greatnesse, both the one and the other. But the false are vaine and deceiueable. Therefore it is that those goods that seeme so faire and so great to the exterior eye, deceiue vs when they are brought to their touch and waight. This is true, my *Lucilius*, all that which reason and vertue praiseth and priseth, it is firme, it is eternall, it maketh the soule assured, and lifteth it vp to heauen, to remaine there euerlastingly. But the goods which

we commend without reaſon,and that haue their onely being in vulgar iudgement,doe but fill them with winde, that remaine in them. Contrariwiſe, that which a man feareth as euill,doth but affright our minds, and terrifie the ſame no otherwiſe then apprehenſion of ſome danger troubleth beaſts. All theſe things then doe recomfort the ſoule,or torment it without reaſon: for neyther is the one worthie of any ioy,nor the other of any feare. There is nought but onely reaſon,which is immutable and conſtant in her iudgement; for ſhee obeyeth not,but commandeth the ſenſes. Reaſon is equall with reaſon, as right to that which is right. Vertue then is the like; for ſhe is nought elſe but right reaſon. All vertues are rightfull reaſons, if they be rightfull they are equall. Such as the reaſon is, ſuch are the actions. Therefore all are equall: for ſince they are like vnto reaſon,they are alſo like betweene themſelues. And thoſe actions terme I equall betweene themſelues,which are vpright and honeſt. But yet they ſhall be much different,by reaſon of the varying of the matter, which is now more ample,now more ſparing,now more worthie, now more ignoble, now pertayning to many, now vnto few. And notwithſtanding in all thoſe things,that which is the beſt is equall. Euen as amongſt good men,all are equall as they are good men,yet haue they ſome differences in age,the one is elder,the other younger; they haue difference in bodie,the one is faire, the other deformed; they differ in fortune,this is rich, that is poore: he is gratious, powerfull, knowne to Cities and Nations, this vnknowne to many and obſcure. But in that they are good,they are equall. The ſenſe iudgeth not of good and euill: it knoweth what is profitable,and is ignorant of that which is vnprofitable: hee cannot giue his aduice,but of that which is repreſented before his eyes: he cannot foreſee thoſe things that are to come to paſſe,neither haue remembrance of that which is forepaſſed; leſſe knoweth he that which may enſue: notwithſtanding,thereupon dependeth the order and ſucceſſe of things,and all the conſtancie of life,which ſhould be right and perfect. Reaſon then is it that iudgeth of good and euill,that maketh no account of forraine matters, which come externally,and that thinketh that thoſe things which are neither good nor euill, to be ſome ſmall and light increaſing; all good to him is in the mind. Moreouer, there are certaine things which ſhe placeth in the firſt ranke, to which ſhe purpoſely commeth,as to a victorie,to wiſe children and well borne,and the health of his countrey. There are other goods of the ſecond degree, which are not knowne but in aduerſities,as to ſuffer a ſickneſſe or baniſhment patiently. And certaine other indifferent,which neuertheleſſe are more friendly then contrary to nature: as to walke modeſtly,and to keepe a graue countenance when a man ſitteth. For it is a thing as naturall to ſit as to ſtand,or to walke. But the two firſt are much different the one from the other; for the firſt are according to nature, that is to ſay,to reioyce at the pietie of his children,and the felicitie of his countrey. The ſecond are againſt nature; to ſuſtaine torments with a great conſtancie and endure thirſt,when as the infirmitie burneth the entrailes. What ſhall it then be? Is there any thing contrarie to nature that may be called good? No truely. But this good is often found in a thing which is enemie to nature: for to be hurt, to be dried and conſumed in the fire, to be afflicted with a ſickneſſe is againſt nature,but to conſerue a mans ſoule in ſuch harmonie,that ſhe is not wearied to ſuffer torments,this is friendly to nature. What is reaſon then? It is an imitation of nature. What is mans chiefeſt good? It is to doe all things according to natures will. It is vndoubted (ſaith he) that a peace which hath neuer beene interrupted,is better then that which hath beene gotten with effuſion

ſion of bloud. There is no doubt (ſaith he) but that health which neuer hath beene ſhaken,is better and more happie,then that we haue recouered perforce, and by a long patience of a ſickneſſe that threatned vs with death: In like manner it is not to be doubted,but that ioy is a greater good,then a ſoule ſubiect to ſuffer torments,wounds,and fire,yet are theſe things nothing. For thoſe things that happen caſually receiue a great difference, becauſe they are eſteemed by the profite of thoſe that receiue them. The intention and end of good men is to conſent vnto nature. She is equall in all. When as the whole Senate followeth the opinion of one man: a man cannot ſay, This man is better aduiſed then the other; for all of them haue followed that opinion. I ſay the ſame by vertues; all of them conſent vnto nature: I ſay the ſame by good men; all of them conſent vnto nature. One is dead young,another olde: ſome one moreouer is dead in infancie,that hath enioyed no other good then to haue the onely light of life: all theſe were equally ſubiect to die, although death hath ſuffered ſome of them to liue more long,and that to others ſhe hath cut off the threed of life, euen in the flower of their age, and hath interrupted the beginnings and birth of ſome other. One dieth in the middeſt of his ſupper,to another his ſleepe and death hath beene but one,and ſome alſo haue been ſtrangled amiddeſt the embraces of their minions. Adde alſo to theſe,thoſe that are dead by the ſword, or haue beene ſlaughtered by the ſting of Serpents,or that haue beene cruſhed to death vnder ſome ruine, or that are dead through a long conuulſion of their ſinewes,that by little and little hath tortured them. A man may ſay that the end of ſome is better,and of others is worſe. But the death of them all is equall. The meanes whereby they come thereunto are diuers; but the point where they ended is but one. There is not any death more great,the one then the other: for ſhe hath one and the ſame meaſure in all perſons,that is to put an end to life. I ſay the like of goods; one of theſe goods nouriſheth it ſelfe, betwixt pleaſures and delights,and the other ſealeth nothing but aduerſities and diſaſters. Some one hath gouerned at his pleaſure the ſweetnes of a good fortune, and another hath euer borne the force of a tyrannie: yet both the one and the other goods are wholly equall, although the one hath not matched but by plaine and eaſie pathes,and the other by places both tedious and dangerous. In briefe, the end of all is wholly alike. They are goods,they are praiſe-worthy, they follow vertue and reaſon: vertue maketh all things equall amongſt themſelues,which ſhe acknowledgeth. It behoueth thee not, amongſt thoſe opinions which I hold,to wonder hereat. In *Epicurus* opinion there are two ſorts of goods,whereof this happie and ſoueraigne good is compoſed,which are, that the bodie be without paine, and the ſoule without paſſion and perturbation. Theſe goods increaſe not when they are compleate: for which way may that increaſe which is full? The bodie is without griefe; what may be added to this indolencie? The ſoule is peaceable,and in aſſured repoſe; what may be added to this tranquillitie? Euen as the cleere ſkie and the heauen appearing in his brightneſſe,cannot receiue any more accompliſhed beautie: ſo the eſtate of a man that hath care of his bodie and of his ſoule, and will compound his good by the meanes,both of the one and the other,is wholly perfect; it hath attained the fulneſſe of his deſire,if he feeleth no tempeſt in his ſoule, nor trouble in his bodie. If anie other forraine contentments befall vs, they augment not any wayes this ſoueraigne good,but in a ſort ſeaſon the ſame, and make it pleaſing. For this intirely perfect good of humane nature, contenteth it ſelfe with the placabilitie of bodie & ſoule: I will alleadge you from *Epicurus* himſelfe, a diuiſion

sion of goods wholly like vnto ours. For there are some with him that he had rather should happen vnto him, that is to say the repose of the bodie, free from all paine, and the contentment of the soule that may reioyce in the contemplation of her goods. There are others which he praiseth and approueth, although he could not wish, they should befall him, as that patience which I spake of late in a great sickenesse, and extreame dolours, which *Epicurus* supposed his last and fortunatest day of his life. For he said that he suffered torments in his bladder and in his vlcerated bellie, which could not receiue a more greate increase of dolour. And yet he esteemed that day the most happie. But nothing can make a man happie, but him that enioyeth the soueraigne good. There is then amidst *Epicurus* goods, such as thou wouldest not feele: but since fortune willeth that it must be so, we must embrace, prise, and praise the same as the greatest goods. A man cannot say but that the good which hath giuen a period to a happie life; and for which *Epicurus* in his last wordes, hath giuen thankes, is not euen and equall with the greatest goods. Permit me yet further, my *Lucilius*, to speake more boldly to thee: if any goods may be greater then others, I had rather follow those that were displeasant, then those that are gratious and delicate. For it is more honour to ouercome such things as are difficult, then to moderate those that are ioyfull. I know well by the same reason that it may be effected, that some one may entertaine his felicitie modestly, and his calamitie constantly. As valiant ought he to be esteemed that hath all night stood Sentinell in the Trenches, although the enemie hath not sallied to force the Campe, as hee that after his legges haue beene cut off, hath entertained the combate on his knees, and hath neuer forsaken his weapons. We say to those that ordinarily returne from the field, conquered with bloud, God increase your vertue. Therefore it is that I would alwayes praise those goods farre more continually, which are become constant by a continuall exercise, and that haue combated against fortune. Should I make doubt rather to praise that roasted and maimed hand of *Mutius*, then the most healthsomest hand of the most valiant man that is: he stood vpright, contemning his enemies and the flames, he beheld his hand that consumed and dropped thorow his enemies Torch, vntill at last *Porsena* enuied the glorie of him, at whose griefe in the beginning he took pleasure, and caused to his great disgust, the fire to be taken from him. Why should I not account this good amiddest the first and principall? Why should I not esteeme it farre more then those, which some enioy in so much securitie, without feare of fortune, since it is a thing more rare to haue ouercome an enemie with a dried and wasted hand, then with a whole and well armed? But why, wilt thou say, wouldest thou desire this good? Wherefore not? for there is not any one can do the like, but he that can wish the same. Should I wish rather to yeeld my feete to be softly rubbed by one of mine olde varlets, or to some woman, or to some one that from a man should become a woman, to stretch the ioynts of my little toes? Why should I not thinke *Mutius* more happie for managing the fire, in such sort as if he had stretched out his hand to any man, to rubbe him softly? He salued all the offence he had done, hee made an end of the warre disarmed and lame, and with that maimed hand he ouercame two Kings.

Epist.

Epist. LXVII.

After his small Preface, a question whether euery good is to be wished for. He saith that it is, yea euen that whose matter is in euills. As to be constantly burned, sicke, and whipped. Neither is the burning it selfe, a sickenesse, nor the whipping, but that, saith he, is to be wished for, to suffer the same stoutly and constantly. Againe, that Vertues are vnited together, and as one, so all. These also are worthy and befitting a stout and reall Stoick.

SO the end that I make the beginning of my letter, with those things that are common: the spring began to open it selfe, but as if it approched alreadie towards Summer, and at such time as it should be hot, it waxed warme. Neither as yet is it to be trusted, for oftentimes it returneth to Winter. Wilt thou know how vnassured it is? As yet I dare not aduenture to bath my selfe in cold water, as yet doe I temper the cold thereof. This is, sayest thou, not to suffer either heat or cold. So it is, my *Lucilius*, mine age is contented enough with his coldnes, that scarcely may be thawed in the middest of Summer. And therefore for the most part of the time, I lie couched on my mattresse. I thanke mine age that hath tied me to my couch. And why should I not giue it thankes for this? All that which I should not will, I cannot act. My greatest discourse is with my bookes: if at any time thy Epistles come betweene, me thinkes I am with thee, and so am I affected in minde, as if I did not write backe vnto thee, but answered thee face to face. And therefore will I entreate of that which thou demandest of me, as if I spake with thee. We will both of vs examine what this question is. Thou wilt haue me tell thee whether euery good be to be desired. If it bee good, sayest thou to endure torments courageously, and to suffer the fire with a great constancie, and to endure a sickenesse peaceably: it followeth that all that is to be desired, and yet see I nothing in it, that is worthy to be wished. Truely, as yet know I not any man, that hath payed any vow he hath made for being beaten with whips, or made lame by the gout, or made longer by the racke. Thou must, my *Lucilius*, make a distinction of these things, and then shalt thou finde that there is some point which may be wished for. I could well wish that torments should be alwaies estranged from me: but when of force I must needs feele the same, then would I wish that I might endure them vertuously, courageously, and honorably. Why should I not rather wish, that the warre should neuer happen? But if it be proclaimed and begun, then would I wish, that with a generous courage I might suffer wounds, famine, and all that which the necessitie of warre bringeth with it. I am not so fooliſh, as that I would desire to bee sicke, but if it must so fall out, I would desire also that I might not do any thing intemperately, or effeminately. So the euils and incommodities are not to be desired, but the vertue whereby incommodities are suffered. Some of our Stoicks thinke, that the constancie and patience in torments and euils, neither ought to be desired nor detested. For when a man wisheth, he ought to desire a thing wholly peaceable, pure, and exempt from sorrowes. But I am not of their opinion. Wherefore? Because it cannot be that a thing should be good, and should not be desired. Furthermore, if vertue is to be desired, and if there be not any good without vertue, it followeth that all good is to be desired. Againe, if a constant patience in torments should not be desired: I aske thee a-

gaine, is not Fortitude to be wished for? But she contemneth and prouoketh all perils. The faireſt and moſt admirable part that is in it, is not to flie from any flames, and to preſent himſelfe to wounds, and ſometimes not to auoide them, but to open his breaſt to receiue them. If then fortitude is to be deſired, and patience in ſuffering torments is to be wiſhed for, (for this is a part of fortitude) but ſeparate theſe things, as I ſaid, there ſhall be nothing that ſhall deceiue thee. For to ſuffer torments, is not to bee wiſhed for, but to ſuffer them courageouſly. That courage wiſh I for, which is a vertue. Yet who euer wiſhed this to himſelfe? Some vowes are open and profeſſed, when they are particularly made: ſome are obſcured, when as many things are comprehended in one vow. As when I deſire an honeſt life, but an honeſt life conſiſteth of diuers actions. In this is *Regulus* tombe, *Catoes* wound rent open by his owne hands, *Rutilius* baniſhment, the inuenomed cup that tranſlated *Socrates* out of priſon into heauen. So when I wiſhed my ſelfe an honeſt life, I wiſhed theſe things alſo, without which ſometimes it cannot be honeſt.

O thrice and foure-times happy men were they,
That vnder Troy-towne walles diſmembred lay,
Before their parents eyes.——

What difference makeſt thou, either that thou wiſheſt it vnto any one, or that thou confeſſeſt that it is to be deſired? *Decius* made a vow to die for the Common-weale, and ſeeking nought but death, galloped his horſe into the ſwarmes of his enemies. Another after him, that emulated his fathers vertue, after hee had pronounced the ſolemne words, which were alreadie familiar vnto him, thruſt himſelfe mainely into the throng of his enemies, hauing no other care, but to beſeech the gods to effect the intention of his vow, ſuppoſing that a good death was a thing to be deſired. Doubteſt thou then, that it is not a great good to die, to the end, to leaue a happie memorie of a man, and of ſome his vertuous enterpriſe? When any one endureth torments, conſtantly he employeth all vertues, although it may be he had but patience onely, which might appeare and ſhew it ſelfe. But there is Fortitude, whoſe patience, ſufferance and tollerance are the branches. There is Prudence, without which no counſell is conceiued, which perſwadeth to endure that valiantly, which thou canſt not flie. There is Conſtancie, which cannot be deiected from her place, and giueth not ouer her reſolution by no feare of torture. There is that inſeparable ſocietie of all the vertues. All that which is done honorably, one only vertue doth it, but it is by aduice of counſell. But that which is allowed by all vertues, although it ſeeme to be done by one, is to be deſired. Why? Suppoſeſt thou that thoſe things are only to be wiſhed for, which come by pleaſure and idleneſſe? And that which we receiue from painted, tapiſſed, and adorned gates? There are ſome ſad pleaſures, and ſome vowes that are celebrated, not with reioyce, but with adoration and veneration of the the whole aſſembly. Thinkeſt thou not that in this kinde *Regulus* wiſhed not to returne into the hands of the Carthaginians? Put vpon thee the minde of a generous and vertuous man, and ſeparate thy ſelf a little from the opinions of the common ſort. Aſſume as faire and magnificent a forme of vertue as thou oughteſt: which is to bee honored by vs, not with gauds and garlands, but with ſweate and blood. Behold *Marcus Cato*, thruſting his moſt pure hands into that his ſacred breſt, to enlarge his wound, which as yet was not ſufficiently deepe, whether at length wouldeſt thou ſay vnto him,

him, I would that which thou wouldeſt, and I am much grieued at that which thou doeſt. Happy be it vnto thee which thou doeſt. In this place our friend *Demetrius* commeth to my minde, who termed a ſecure life, and ſuch a one as was not ſubiect to Fortunes incurſions, the dead ſea. For to haue nothing to awaken thee, nothing to moue thee, nothing by whoſe aduertiſement and aſſault, thou mayeſt make triall of the firmitie of thy minde, but to liue alwaies in a repoſe which hath neuer been troubled, this is not a tranquillitie, but a calme, and relent of the ſea. *Attalus* the Stoick was wont to ſay, I had rather that Fortune ſhould nouriſh me in the campe, then in her delights. I ſuffer torments, but it is with conſtancie: this is well. I am maſſacred, but endure it conſtantly; this doth well. Heare moreouer what *Epicurus* ſaith: And ſweete it is: I will neuer giue a delicate name to a thing ſo honeſt and ſeuere; I am burned, yet remaine I inuincible: why ſhould it not be deſired, not that the fire burne me, but that it ouercome me not? There is nothing more worthie then Vertue. All that whatſoeuer; which is done by her direction and command, is good and deſirable.

Epist. LXVIII.

He perſwadeth repoſe, but ſo as it be ioyned with Philoſophie. That we are not to boaſt thereof. And in it we are to entreate of our ſelues, with our ſelues, that is, to enquire of our vices, and to amend them. To conclude, that this repoſe is aboue all other affaires, becauſe it ſerueth the great Common-weale.

IWill be of thy minde; go to then, and retire and hide thy ſelfe in repoſe, or rather hide thou thy repoſe. If thou canſt not learne this by the Stoicks precepts, at leaſt thou ſhalt learne it by their example. But by their preceps alſo thou ſhalt learne it, which I will approue vnto thee when thou wilt. We ſend not ouer to euery Common-weale, neither alwayes, neither without any end. Moreouer, when we haue giuen a wiſe-man a Common-weale worthy of himſelfe, that is to ſay, the world; he is not out of his Common-weale, although he be retired. But it may bee rather that forſaking a little corner, hee goeth into places more great and ſpacious, and lodging himſelfe in heauen, he then vnderſtandeth, that when he was mounted in his chaire, and in his throne, he was rather deſcended into a more baſe place. I will ſhut this ſecret in thy boſome. That a wiſe-man neuer profiteth ſo much, then when both humane and diuine things become the obiects of his eyes. I returne now vnto that which I began to perſwade thee vnto, that is, that no man may know that thou wilt liue in repoſe. It behoueth thee not to couer this reſolution vnder the cloake of retirement, whereby thou mayeſt intend Philoſophie. It were better thou ſhouldeſt obſcure thine intent vnder ſome other title. Thou muſt call it ſickneſſe, feeblenes, idleneſſe. It is a fooliſh ambition to glorie in doing nothing. There are certaine beaſts, which becauſe they will not be tracted, confound their ſteps euen about that place where they lurke in. The like muſt thou doe; otherwiſe thou ſhalt not want them that will follow the queſt of thee. There are many that paſſe before the gates of thoſe that are opened, without entring into them, and peepe into the cranies of thoſe thoſe that are cloſed. The coffer that is cloſed, whetteth on the theeſe to breake it open, no man maketh reckoning of that which is vnlocked,

vnlocked, and these lock-pickers assault not the doore that is open. These are the manners of the common people, and thus doth the most ignorant. They desire to enter forcibly into others mens secrets. It is therefore most expedient for a man not to boast of his retirement, and it is a kinde of boasting; to lie hidden too much, and to sequester a mans selfe from the sight of the people. This man is locked vp in *Tarentum*, that man is retired in *Naples*, and that other man (for many yeares hath not ouerstrid his threshold. Vndoubtedly hee summoneth the world to come and see him, that will suffer a report to passe of him through the cities, that he is retired. After thou hast retired thy selfe, thou must doe nothing that men may talke of thee; speake thou only with thy selfe. But what shalt thou talke with thy selfe? That which some men do willingly entertaine of others. Haue alwayes an ill opinion of thy selfe. Accustome thy selfe to speake the truth, and to heare it also. Aboue all things, speake thou often of those imperfections which thou feeleſt in thy selfe. There is no man but knoweth his owne infirmities. Therefore it is that some man disburdeneth his stomacke by vomit, another stuffes it with continuall eating, another emptieth and weakeneth his bodie by the meanes of fast. Those that are often tortured with the paines of the gout, abstaine either from bathing themselues, or drinking of wine. And without obseruance of any other manner of diet, they ordinarily ouercome the sickenesse wherewith they are tormented. So likewise there are certaine parts in our soule, which are the causes of our infirmities, which how we ought to recouer, we diligently must bethinke our selues. What doe I in that repose I take? I cure mine vlcer. If I should shew thee my foote swolne, my hand wholly mortified, or the dried sinewes of my contracted leg, thou wouldeſt giue me leaue to lie in one place, and to take pitie and regard my griefe. But that euill which I cannot see is farre greater. It is an inflamation and apostume which I haue in my breſt. I will not that thou praise me, neither will I that thou say, O great man! Hee hath despised all things, and after hee hath condemned all the furies of humane life, hee is fled. Alas I haue condemned nothing but mine owne proper actions. Thou must not desire to come vnto me, to the end to profit thy selfe. Thou art deceiued, if hence thou expecteſt any succours. Heere dwels not the Physitian, but the patient. I had rather when thou art gone, thou shouldeſt say. I thought this man to be a happy and learned man, I gaue eare vnto him, I am deceiued; I heard nothing, I saw nothing that I might desire, or that might allure me to returne againe vnto him. If this be thy opinion, if this be thy speech, I know thou hast profited somewhat; I had rather thou shouldeſt pardon my repose, then enuie it. What then *Seneca*, commendeſt thou repose of spirit vnto me? Thou groweſt an Epicure in thy opinon at length. I recommend vnto thee repose, to the end, that by the means thereof, thou mighteſt doe things more great and more excellent, then those which thou hast left behinde thee. To knocke at great mens gates, to keepe reckoning of old men that haue no children: to haue great reputation in Court, is but a momentany power, and full of enuie; and if thou wilt speake truth, an abiect. This man farre surpasseth me in reputation amongſt the Lawyers. He in his allowances and paies for seruice, and his dignities gotten thereby, he in the multitude of his clients, I cannot be so well followed as the one, nor recouer so great reputation as the other. But I ought not to make so great account to be ouercome by men, prouide alwaies that I may ouercome Fortune. Would to God that had beene thy minde heretofore, to haue followed this purpose. Would to God wee held not this discourse of happie life, vpon that instant, Wherein

wherein death presenteth her selfe to our sight, yet let vs not delay for all this. For now beleeue we many things by experience, which we should haue beleeued by the discourse of reason, to be both superfluous and harmefull. Let vs do like those that set forward on their iourney late, and that by diligence would recouer the time which they haue loſt, let vs pricke forward on the spurre. This age is as yet very proper to this studie: it is alreadie clensed from his skum: it hath alreadie left those vices which she could not conquer in the heate of her youth. There wanteth little, but that she hath wholly extinguished them. And when, sayeſt thou, shall this profit thee which thou learneſt euen in the period of thy yeares, or to what intent? To this, that I may die the better: yet oughteſt thou not to thinke that there is any age more proper vnto wisedome, then that which by long experience, and by a continuall and frequent sufferance of casualties hath mortified and ouercom her selfe; and which after it hath triumphed ouer her affections, hath attained to the knowledge of that which profiteth and concerneth her selfe. This is the true time of that good which remaineth but a little while. what man soeuer, and how olde soeuer hee be that hath attained wisedome, it is by his yeares that he hath compassed it.

Epist. LXXIX.

That places are not to be changed, but that we ought to be more reposed in bodie, to the end the minde may be more pacified. That we are to fixe the same on a wholsome studie, and to auoyde those things which distract vs.

I Will not that thou change countries, or transport thy selfe from one place to another, first, because so often change is a token of an instable and vnsetled minde. Thou canst neuer make profite of thy retirement, vnlesse thou giue ouer trauell, and wandring from countrey to countrey. If thou wilt settle thy minde, limit thy bodie in some place; then will thy continued remedies profite thee much. Thou must not breake the repose or forgetfulnes of thy former life: suffer thine eyes to forget; suffer thine eares to accustome themselues to wholsome counsailes. As oft-times as thou shalt walke in the streets, thou shalt finde in passing by, something that may renue thy affections. Euen as he that would despoile himselfe of loue, ought to flie the remembrance of that beautie, which he hath loued: so he also that will discharge himselfe of the affection of all things, of that desire wherewith he burned in times paſt, he must retire both his eyes and eares from that he hath forsaken. Affection reuolteth suddenly: on which side soeuer she turne her selfe, she shall finde a readie recompence of her employment. There is no euill without reward. Auarice promiseth vs money, lust manie and diuers pleasures, ambition the purple and applause, and thereby power and authoritie, and what soeuer authoritie may doe. Vices sollicite thee with rewards, but here must thou liue without taking any thing. Scarce can it be effected in a whole age, that those vices which haue had their increase by so long libertie, should be subdued & brought in subiection, much lesse may it be done, if we diuide the time which is so short, into little parcels. Hardly can continuall watch and labour bring one onely thing to perfection. Truely, if thou wilt listen to me, meditate hereupon, exercise thy selfe to receiue death, and to seeke her out when any occasion shall counsaile thee thereunto. It skils not whether

she

ſhe come to vs, or we to her, perſwade thy ſelfe that the fooliſh mens prouerbe and vſuall ſpeech is falſe; *It is a faire thing to die a good death.* Thou mayſt beſide this thinke thus with thy ſelfe: No man dieth but on his prefixed time: thou looſeſt none of thy time; for that which thou leaueſt behinde thee is another mans.

Epist. LXX.

That by the ſight of the Pompeies, *and the admoniſhment of time paſt, he thought vpon the ſwiftneſſe and ſlight thereof. That death is at hand, which is the hauen of troubles. That ſhe is neyther to be feared nor deſired, or intertained but ſometimes, and when? When reaſon not violent paſſion perſwadeth. Many and moſt excellent things to this purpoſe.*

After a long ſpace of time I haue ſeene thy *Pompeies*, and in ſeeing them me thought that I had recouered againe my former youth: all what ſoeuer I had done there whilſt I was a young man, me thought I could as yet doe it, and that but a little while ſince I did it. Wee faile by our life, my *Lucilius*, and as in the Sea, as our *Virgil* ſaith;

The ſhores and Cities flie.

So likewiſe in this ſo ſwift courſe of time, we loſe the ſight, firſt of our childehood, and after of our youth, and then whatſoeuer intercurreth betwixt youth and old age, which is confined both to the one and to the other, anon after alſo the better yeares of our olde age. In the laſt place the common end of all humane race beginneth to diſcouer it ſelfe. Are we ſo fooliſh to thinke that it is a rocke? It is the Port which we ought one day to deſire, and neuer to refuſe, into which, if any man hath beene caſt and carried in his young yeares, he ought not to complain, no more then he would, that with a ſhort cut hath ended his Nauigation. For as thou knoweſt there are ſome whom ſlacker winds mocke and detaine, and wearie with gentle tediouſneſſe of a peaceable calme, ſome are ſwiftly borne away by a ſudden guſt. Thinke that the ſame befalleth vs. Life hath brought and rauiſhed ſome very ſwiftly thither, whether although they would haue delayed, they muſt needs come. Otherſome hath ſhe pined and burned, which as thou knoweſt are not alwaies to be retained; for it is not good to liue, but to liue well. And therefore a wiſe-man liueth as much as he ought, not as much as he can. He will alwayes ſee in what place he ought to liue, with what perſons, in what manner, and what he ought to doe. If diuers troubles and ſorrowes ſuddenly ſurpriſe him, to the intent to intercept his peace, he openeth the priſon himſelfe; neither doth he this onely in a deſperate extreamity, but as ſoone as he hath the leaſt ſuſpicion of fortune, he taketh a diligent heede whether that day ſhould be his laſt or no. He makes no great reckoning, whether by his own hand or another mans hatred he receiue his death, or whether it be ſooner or later. He feareth not as it he were endangered to loſe much; no man can haue great loſſe of water by a dropping Ewer. It skils not whether a man die ſooner or later: to die eyther well or ill, that importeth much; and to die well is to flie the perrill of an euill life. Therefore thinke I that *Rhodians* ſpeech moſt effeminate, who by a Tyrant being caſt into a caue, and nouriſhed there

thereof after the manner of a wilde beaſt, being perſwaded by ſome to abſtaine from his meate, anſwered, *A man ought to hope for all things whilſt he liueth.* But ſuppoſe this were true, yet ought we not buy life an euery rate. There are certaine things, which although they are good, although they are certaine, yet would I not attaine them by a confeſſion of feebleneſſe and faintneſſe of heart. Shal I beleeue that fortune hath power in all things ouer him that liueth, rather then ſuppoſe, that fortune can do nothing ouer him that knoweth how to die? Yet ſometimes, although aſſured death be dependent, and that a man know that a puniſhment is deſtinated for him, yet muſt he not ſet hand and further his puniſhment. It is a follie to die through the feare of death: Comes he that ſhould kill thee? Expect him. Why putteſt thou thy ſelfe forward? Why vndertakeſt thou the charge of another mans crueltie? Doſt thou enuie thy hangman, the officer to execute thee, or wilt thou ſpare his labour? *Socrates* could haue ended his daies by his abſence, & might haue rather died for hunger then of venome; yet remained he full thirtie dayes in priſon, attending his death, not with this minde, that all things might be pacified, or that ſo long a time might intertaine ſo many hopes, but that hee might yeelde himſelfe vnto the lawes, and ſuffer his friends to enioy *Socrates*, euen vntill his laſt. But what more great follie could haue beene ſeene, then to deſpiſe death and to feare priſon? *Scribonia* a woman of great authoritie, was aunt on the fathers ſide to *Druſus Libo*, a young man, who had as weake braine as his deſcent was noble, and that hoped for farre more greate fortunes, then any other might hope for in that time, or himſelfe in any other time after; when as he was borne away from the Senate in his Litter, not with frequent obſeruances (for all his neereſt friends had forſaken him ſhamefully, not as a guiltie, but a conuicted perſon and executed) he began to aske counſaile whether he ſhould haſten his death by his own hands, or expect the ſame. To whom *Scribonia:* What pleaſure haſt thou, ſaid ſhe, to finiſh that which another ought to execute? But ſhe could no wayes perſwade him. He murthered himſelfe with his owne handes, and not without cauſe: for being aſſured that within three or foure dayes after, if he had beene found aliue, he ſhould die that death whatſoeuer was beſt liking to his enemie; he finiſhed that which another man ſhould haue executed. Thou canſt not then make a generall iudgement, when as the violence of a forraine tyrant denounceth thee death; whether thou oughteſt to further or expect the ſame. For there are diuers reaſons, which draw vs both to the one and the other opinion. If the one death ſhould be accompanied with torments, and the other ſhould be ſimple and facile: why ſhould I not allow of that? Euen as I would chuſe a ſhip to ſaile in, and a houſe to dwell in; in like manner would I chuſe the better death to depart out of this life. Furthermore, euen as the longeſt life is not the beſt, ſo the longeſt death is the worſt. There is nothing wherein wee ſhould giue more contentment to our ſoules, then in the maner of death which they beſt like of. Let the ſoule depart by that iſſue, her ſelfe inforceth, whether it be ſhe deſire the dagger or the halter, or a poiſoned cup that may ſuddenly ſeize all the veines, let her proceed and breake the bonds of her ſeruitude. Euerie one ought to endeuour to approue his life vnto others, and his death vnto himſelfe. That which pleaſeth vs moſt is the beſt. This is but a follie to think thus. Some will ſay that I did it not courageouſly enough, ſome that too much raſhly, ſome that there was a kinde of death more generous. Thinkeſt thou that it lieth in thy power to make choice of a counſaile, which ſhall not be ſubiect to common report and cenſure? Thinke onely to diſpatch thy ſelfe ſpeedily out of the power

wer and handes of fortune; otherwise there will not want some who will conceiue an euill opinion of thine action: thou shalt finde some, yea euen those who haue made profession of Philosophie, that will denie that any man ought to violate or shorten his life, and that maintaine it for a foule offence, for a man to murther himselfe, and that it were better to exspect the end which Nature hath determined. But he that speaketh thus, seeth not that he cutteth off the way of libertie. The eternall law hath done nothing better, then to giue vs one onely entrance into life, and diuers issues. Shall I expulse the crueltie of a sickenesse, or the tyrannie of a man, when as I may escape euen through the middest of torments, and driue all aduersities farre from me? This is one thing, wherein we cannot complaine of life, she retaineth no man. It is a great good for humane affaires, that there is not one that is miserable, but by his owne default. Takest thou pleasure in life? Liue. Art thou displeased therwith? Thou mayest returne to the place from whence thou camest. To heale thy head-ach thou hast oft-times let bloud, to extenuate thy bodie thou hast opened thy veine: Thou needest not to open thy breast with a deepe and vast wound; a lancet will giue way to that great libertie, and in a pricke consisteth securitie. What is it then that maketh vs fearefull and slacke to dislodge? There is not one of vs that thinketh that he must depart one day out of this house: so doth the custome and indulgence of the place detaine the auncient inhabitants, although to their owne vndoing. Wilt thou alwayes keepe this libertie against this bodie? Inhabite it as if thou shouldst leaue it, and make account that one day thou must lose his company. Thou shalt afterwards be more constant and resolute, when anie necessitie shall constraine thee to depart. But how can they thinke vpon their ends, who couet all things without end? There is nothing in this world, the remembrance and meditation whereof is more necessarie. For happily it is in vaine, where a man thinketh on other things. Haue wee prepared our mindes against pouertie? The riches remaine with vs. Are we alreadie armed against contempt of paine? The felicitie of a whole and healthfull bodie hath had no need, that we should make proofe of our vertues. Haue we gotten this authoritie ouer our selues, that we can suffer death and the losse of our friends constantly? Yet fortune hath conserued and made all them suruiue vnto vs, whom we most loue. But the day that shall haue neede of the vse and practique of this onely thing, ought vndoubtedly to come. Thou must not thinke that great personages onely, haue had that courage and force to breake the bonds of their humane seruitude. Thou must not thinke that *Cato* onely could rent out his soule with his hand, which he could not pricke out with his poynard. Since some men of as bad condition as may be, with great heate of courage haue attained that place of assurance, and being vnable suddenly to finde wherewith to make themselues away to their liking, or chuse any instrument which was proper for them thereunto, haue laide hand on the first thing they could encounter, and haue made vse of that for weapons, which of their nature were no wayes hurtfull. Not long since an Alman, one of those that should combate with the beasts, in the sports & shows in the morning, retired himself, saying that he would withdraw himselfe to discharge his naturall necessities; for they were not suffred to go into any other secret place without guard, there stopped he the sticke or staffe (to which a spong was fastned, to cleanse and cleere the priuie parts) wholly into his throat, & forcibly closing vp the passage of his breath, stifled himselfe: this was to braue death and contemne it. It was vndoubtedly, although scarce cleanly and honourably. What follie is there greater

ter, then to die effeminately, when we must die assuredly. O strong, O worthy man, deseruing the election of that death that best liked him! How courageously had he vsed his sword, had he found it? with what resolution of minde had he cast himselfe into the depth of the Sea, or the cauitie of a clouen Rocke? Being dispoyled of all commodities, he found the meanes how he might be beholding vnto himselfe onely, both for the meanes and weapons for his death. To the end that thou mayest know that there is nothing that hindereth vs from dying but want of will. Let each man iudge as he list of this violent mans actions, prouided that it be resolued vpon as a thing assured, that we ought to preferre a base and villeynous death, before the most cleanliest seruitude in the world. But because I haue begun to vse abiect examples, I will contiue them: for euerie one will inforce himselfe to doe his best, if he shall perceiue that death is contemptible to persons that are most abiect and base. We think that these *Catoes* and *Scipioes*, and those other whose memories we entertaine with admiration, are inimitable. But I will proue you presently that this vertue is accompanied with as many examples, amiddest the men most miserable, destinated to the sports and spectacles of beasts, as amiddest the Chiefe-tains of ciuill warres. When as not long since, with sure guard, the souldiers carried forth a wretch, sentout for the morning spectacles, stouping downe his head as if he were pressed with sleepe, he suffered it to hang so lowe, that he put it betweene the Cart-wheels, and held it so long in that place, that the wheele in turning it selfe brake his necke. He auoyded the punishment in the same Chariot, on which he was carried forth to be punished. There is nothing that may hinder a man that hath a will to die, and to be deliuered. Nature keepeth vs in an open place. He to whom his last necessitie is so fauourable, as to aduise on the issue and end which he shall esteeme most conuenient: he that hath diuers meanes in his power to set himselfe at libertie may chuse; he shall do well to thinke how he may most easily be deliuered. But he that hath so hard hap, as not to finde any occasion, let him take hold on the first that shall present it selfe, as if it were the best, although it be strange and vnheard of: he that wanteth no courage, wanteth no inuention how to die. Thou seest how those slaues which are most miserable, when as their miserie toucheth them to the quicke, awaken themselues, and how they deceiue their keepers, though neuer so diligent: he is a man of the greatest courage that hath not onely commanded, but also found out the means of his death. I haue promised thee diuers examples of men of this condition I haue spoken of. In the second combate which was made vpon the water, one of the Barbarians thrust all that Iauelin into his throate, which was giuen him to combate his enemies. Why haue I not long since, said he, sled all these torments and all these shames? Why should I attend death, hauing the armes in my hands? This spectacle was so much the more magnificent, as much as it is more honest for men to learne to die well, as to kill. What then? That which the most abiect and contemptible spirits may haue; why should not they partake, whom long studie and reason (the Ladie Mistresse of all things) hath instructed? It is the same reason that warneth vs, that there are diuers manners of death, but that there is but one and the same end, and that it auaileth nothing to know whence that beginneth, that must one day come. The same reason warneth thee, if it lie in thy power to die without griefe: but if it cannot be, doe the best that thou canst, and lay hold on all that which presenteth it selfe to lay violence on thy life. It is an iniurious thing to liue by rapine, but it is a most worthy thing to die violently.

Epist. LXXI.

That the chiefest good should be continually in our eyes, and that to it all our counsels and actions should be referred. What therefore is that? Onely honest. They adulterate the same that mixe internall things, because it is onely freed in the minde. Againe, that goods are equall, and that contempt differeth not from honour, if both proceed from honestie. He giueth Cato *for example, and dilateth the same very worthily. Likewise that an honest death differeth not from such a life. Against the Academikes, which make degrees of happinesse. That neither it, nor honestie are intended. And therefore the most blessed may be in torment. Is it so? Will he not wax pale, tremble, or grieue? Yes, (for these are naturall) but all these shall be ouercome by the strength of his minde, yet not presently all. There are differences betweene wise men and studious. Reade diligently, marke and admire.*

THou askest my counsell in all thy affaires, from time to time, not remembring thy selfe that we are separated by a large sea. But since the greater part of counsaile dependeth on the opportunitie of time, it must fall out of necessitie, that sometimes in certaine things my counsaile is then brought vnto thee, when as at that time the contrarie were more allowable. For counsailes are fitted to affaires, and our affaires passe away swiftly, or to speake truth, roule away impetuously. Counsell therefore ought to be giuen daily, yet is it sometime ouer old by a day; it must be bred swiftly, as they say, and vnder hand. But how it is found I will shew thee. As oft as thou wilt know what either is to be fled, or what ought to be affected, haue regard vnto the chiefest good and scope of thy whole life. For thereto must all that consent whatsoeuer we doe. He shall not dispose euery thing, except he purpose to himselfe alreadie a certaine straine of his whole life. No man, although his colours be ground to his hand, can represent the similitude of any thing, except alreadie he be resolued, what he intendeth to paint. Therefore erre wee, because wee all of vs deliberate on the parts of our life, and no man debateth of the whole. Hee must know whereat he aimeth, that will shoote his arrow; and then must he aime and guide his arrow by his hand. Our Counsailes therefore erre, because they haue not whereunto they should be directed. He that knoweth not what harbor he shall make for, hath no winde fitting for him. It must need fall out that casualtie must effect much in our life, because all of vs liue casually. And to some it happeneth, that they wot not that they know certaine things, euen as oftentimes we seeke for those, with whom we are conuersant and present. So for the most part we know not the end of the soueraigne good, though it be before our eyes, neither by many words nor long circumstance, shalt thou gather what the chiefest good is. You must show it, as the prouerb saith, by the finger, without extending it to so many things. For to what purpose is it to diuide the same into parts, when as thou mayest say, *That is the chiefest good which is honest*; and that which thou shouldest most wonder at, *There is but onely one good, which is honest*; the rest are false & adulterated goods. If thou perswade thy selfe this, & perfectly loue vertue (for to loue it, is but a small matter) whatsoeuer she shal touch, that to thee (howsoeuer it seeme to others) shall be both happie and successefull, both to be tormented, if thou lie more secure then he that tortureth thee; and to be sicke, if so be thou curse not Fortune, and giue not way to thy sickenesse.

nesse. To conclude all those things, which to other men seeme euill, both shall be sweete vnto thee, and returne thee profit, if so be thou canst ouercome them. Resolue on this, that nothing is good, but that which is honest, and that all incommodities may iustly be called goods, which are once made honest by vertue. To many we seeme to promise greater things then humane nature is capable of, and not without reason. For they respect the bodie, let them returne to the minde, and then shall they measure man with God. Take courage, my *Lucilius*, the best of men, and dismisse this studie of letters, which the Philosophers affect, who reduce the most magnificent thing of the world to syllables, that teach but base and trifling matters, and diminish and waste the vnderstanding. Thou shalt become like vnto those that haue inuented these things; not they that teach them, and endeuour thus much, that Philosophie might rather seeme difficult then great. Follow them, if I haue any authoritie ouer thee. *Socrates*, who reduced all Philosophie vnto manners, and said that the chiefest wisdome was to distinguish good from euill: *To the end that thou mayest be happie* (saith he) *permit thy selfe sometimes to be esteemed a foole*. Let whatsoeuer will outrage thee in words, and offend thee in deeds, yet shalt thou suffer nothing, if so be vertue be with thee. If thou wilt, saith he, be blessed: if thou wilt be an entire honest man, suffer thy selfe to be contemned. This will no man performe, but he that hath equalled and proportioned all goods, because that neither is good without honestie, and honestie is equall in all. What then? Is there no difference betwixt *Catoes* Pretorship, and his repulse? It skilleth not whether *Cato* be ouercome in the Pharsalian field, or whether he ouercome. This good of his, wherein he cannot be ouercome, though his confederates were conquered: was it equall with that good, wherewith he returned a conquerour vnto his countrie, and composed the peace? Why should it not be equall? For by the selfe-same vertue euill fortune is ouercome, and the good is confirmed; yet vertue cannot be made greater or lesser. She is alwaies in the same measure. Yea but *Cneius Pompey* shall lose his armie: but this faire lustre and pretext of the Common-weale; the principall citizens, and the chiefest bands of *Pompeyes* confederates, which being composed of the Senate that bare armes, shall be defaced in one only battell; and the wreckes and ruines of so great an Empire, shall be noised and scattered through the whole world: one part thereof shall fall in Egypt, another in Africa, and some in Spaine. And that which is worse, this miserable Common-weale cannot haue this good to be ruinated all at once. Let all happen what soeuer may. Although *Iuba* can be no further succoured in his owne Kingdome by the knowledge of the passages, and the constant vertues of his people. Although the fidelitie of the inhabitants of Vtica being broken with so many mishaps, be deficient; and the fortune of *Scipioes* name abandoneth him in Africa it selfe. It hath long since beene prouided, that *Cato* shall neither feele losse nor detriment; yet was hee conquered. Account thou this amongst *Catoes* repulses; he will suffer with as equall constancie, as well that which hath beene contrarie to his vertue, as to his estate of Pretor. The day that he refused the same, he sported; and that night he would kill himselfe, he read. He cared as little to lose his life, as his Pretorship, he had perswaded himselfe, and resolued to endure all that might happen. But why should not he with a stout and confident mind, endure the changes of the Common-weale? For what may a man see that is exempt from change? The earth, the heauens, and the structure of all this great world, although it bee gouerned by God, is subiect thereunto. It shall not alwayes retaine that faire order it now obserueth. Some

day shall come, that shall cast it out of this accustomed course. All things alter by certaine stations, they must be borne, encrease, and be extinguished, whatsoeuer thou seest wheele and winde about vs, and al that whereon we are sustained and stayed, as a thing most firme and solide, shall come to nothing, and bee defectiue. There is nothing but hath his age and declination. Nature causeth all those things to descend into one place, by spaces of vnequall time. All that which is, shall be no more, yet shall it not perish but be dissoluced. To vs dissolution is to die: for we respect nothing but that which is before our eyes. The dull minde, and such as hath addicted it selfe to the body, foreseeth no further, for otherwise shee would more constantly and couragiously suffer, both her owne and her friends dissolutions and deathes, if she hoped that all those things should goe by turnes from death to life, and that those things which are compounded, shall be dissolued, and such as are dissolued shall be reassembled, and that God, which gouerneth the whole world, employeth his eternall Arte on this worke. Therefore, when as *Cato* hath represented before his minde, all the eternitie of time, he will say: All mankind what soeuer is or shall be, is condemned to die. All the Cities, in what place soeuer they be, that haue had dominion ouer their neighbours, and haue beene greatned and honoured by forren Empires, the time shall come when it shall be enquired where they were builded, and by sundrie sorts of dissolution shall they be extinguished. Warre shall destroy some: Idlenesse, and a long peace conuerted into slothfulnesse, and foolish expences, a fatall adiunct of great riches shall consume the others. A sudden inundation of the sea, shall hide all these fertile fields, or an earthquake shall swallow them vp in his bottomlesse bosome. What cause haue I therefore to grudge at, or grieue for, if in a small moment I outstrip publike fate. A constant soule must obey God, and what soeuer the law of the great Vniuers commandeth, let him suffer without cunctation or delay. For either she shall be translated into a better life, to remaine with more brightnes and tranquillitie amongst diuine things, or certainly she shall remix her selfe with her nature, and returne into her whole, neuermore to suffer any incommoditie or paine. The soueraigne good then of *Marcus Cato*, shall not consist any more in an honest life, but in an honest death; for vertue is not intended. *Socrates* said, that veritie and vertue were the same. For as she encreaseth not, no more doth vertue also, shee hath her perfection, she is full. Thou must not wonder then to heare that goods are equal, as well they which we are to take by a certaine resolution, as those which a sudden current of Fortune bringeth to vs. For if thou admittest any inequalitie, that thou wilt reckon it amongst the lesser goods, to be constant in torments, thou shalt reckon it also amongst the euils. Thou shalt terme *Socrates* vnhappie in his prison, and *Cato* infortunate, renting open his wounds more couragiously then he inflicted them. Thou shalt iudge *Regulus* the vnhappiest man in the world, for paying the penaltie of his obserued faith vnto his mortall enemies. and yet there is not one, how delicate soeuer, and effeminate he bee, that hath dared to say thus, for they deny him to be blessed, and yet they deny him to be miserable. The ancient Academickes confesse, that amiddest these torments and paines he was happie, but not perfectly and fully, which can in no manner be allowed of. For if he be happie, he hath attained the soueraigne good, and the soueraigne good cannot haue any degree aboue the same, if so be it be accompanied with any vertue, prouided that aduersities ouercome it not, prouided that it remaine entire and safe, although the bodie be crushed in sunder; but certaine it is that she remaineth entire. For I speake of a vertue most excellent

excellent and couragious, which is animated and incited against all that which offendeth it. That minde which oftentimes yong men of generous hope and dispositions put vpon them, whom the beautie of some honest thing hath prouoked, so that they contemne all casualties, vndoubtedly wisdome will infuse and teach, and perswade vs that the only good is that which is honest. And that this can neither be remitted or intended, no more then a rule by which a man measureth that which he would make straight, which if thou beare whatsoeuer thou changest from it, it is the iniurie of the right. The same therfore wil we say by Vertue, that she also is straight, and admitteth no crookednesse, it can be no more intended. She it is that iudgeth of all things, and nothing iudgeth of her, if shee cannot bee made straighter, no more are those things which are done by her straighter, the one then the other, for they must needs be answerable to the same; so are they equall. What then sayest thou? Are these things alike to sit at a table banquetting, and to be tortured? Doth this seeme strange vnto thee? Thou hast more occasion to wonder at this. It is an euill thing to sit at a banquet; it is a good thing to be tortured: if that be done lewdly, this honestly. The matter is not the cause that this is either good or euill; it is the vertue. This where soeuer it appeareth, all things are of the same measure and price. He that iudgeth another mans vnderstanding by his owne, presently lifteth vp his nailes to scratch out mine eyes, when I say that his good that suffereth aduersities constantly, and his that maketh an honest iudgement of prosperitie are equall: when I say that the goods of him that triumpheth, and of him that with an inuincible courage is led before the triumphant Chariot are alike. For they thinke that nothing is done which they cannot do, and by their owne infirmitie, they censure vertue. Why wondereſt thou, why some reioyce when they see themselues burned, wounded, harmed, slaine, and fettered? Sometimes they suffer it for their pleasure. Sobrietie sufficeth for a penaltie, to a prodigall and dissolute man. Trauell is no lesse then torture to an idle man. The effeminate taketh pitie of him that is industrious, and studie is a hell to him that is slothfull. In like sort, those things (for which our forces seeme ouer feeble) are in our opinion hard and intollerable, whereas in our forgetfulnesse, we finde many that thinke it a torment to want wine, and trouble to rise earely. These by nature are not difficult, but we are recreants, we are effeminate. We ought to iudge of great things with a great courage; otherwise it will seeme to be their error, which is ours. So certaine things that are most straight, when as they are let downe into the water, seeme crooked and bowed to them, that behold them. It skilleth not what thou seest, but how. Our minde is dimmed in beholding those things, and examining them which are true. Giue me a yong man well borne and of good spirit: he will say that he supposeth him more fortunate, that hath borne all the burthens of aduerse fortune, with a constant minde, on his shoulders, then him that hath wholly trodden Fortune vnder foote. It is no wonder to be temperate in tranquillitie, admire him that is high minded, where all men are deiected, that standeth there where all men are suppressed. What euill is there in torments, or what in those things which we call aduerse? The euill is, as I thinke, when the soule is astonished, when it is weakened, when it is smothered vnder the burthen. But none of these may befall a wise man. He remaineth alwayes vpright, how ouer-charged soeuer hee bee, There is nothing that lesseneth his courage, nothing that is tedious vnto him, which he must suffer. For he neuer complaineth that such a fortune hath befallen him, which in any sort may befall any man whatsoeuer, shee knoweth her

owne forces, and her abilitie in suffering so great a burthen. I will not put a wise man out of the rancke of men, I will not exempt him from dolours, no more then I would doe a rocke which hath no sense. I remember my selfe that he is compounded of two parts: The one is irrationall, and that it is which may feele bitings, burnings, and paines. The other is reasonable, that is it which is neuer shaken in opinion, that is exempt from all feare, and that is inuincible. In this part it is that a mans chiefest good lodgeth; before the accomplishment whereof, the minde wandereth as vncertaine and doubtfull, but after she hath attained to her perfection, it is in assurance and in immutable firmitie. So he that hath but begun, and that neuertheless will ascend vnto the highest, and follow vertue, although he approcheth the good which is wholly perfect, yet vnable as yet to accomplish the same: he will sometimes stay himselfe in the way, and temperate, in some sort, the vehemencie and strength of his mind, for as yet hath he not ouerpassed those things which are incertaine, and remaineth as yet in danger of disaster. But he that is blessed, and in whom vertues are accomplished, then loueth himselfe most, when he hath made proofe of his constancie, and if there be any thing which other men feare, prouided that hee may receiue some honest reward of his deuoyre and seruice, hee endureth not onely, but he embraceth the same, and had rather heare it spoken, hee is more honest; then to heare it said, he is more happie. I haue now retired my selfe thither, whither thy expectation draweth me: lest thou shouldest suppose, that the vertue whereof I speake, should seeme to extend it selfe aboue all naturall things. A wise-man shall tremble, he shall feele paines, he shall be pale, for all these senses appertaine vnto the bodie. Where is then the originall of his calamities? Where then appeareth his euill most approued? Then it is when his passions astonish his soule. Then it is, when they make her confesse that shee is a slaue, and that they engender some repentance in her. The wise-man vndoubtedly surmounteth Fortune by his vertue. But there are diuers men who haue made profession of wisdome, and notwithstanding haue beene terrified by very light threatnings. In this place it is our error, who exact that from a proficient, which is spoken of a wise-man. I striue as much as in me lieth, to beleeue all this which I praise, yet perswade I not them as yet, and although I had perswaded my selfe I should not haue them so ready at hand, or so exercised, that they should be addressed against all casualtie. Euen as wooll taketh some staine of colours at the first, and drinketh not vp other some, without often maceration and boyling: so some wits, when as they haue conceited certaine disciplines, forthwith make vse of them. But this Science, except it be deepely imprinted in the soule, and hath taken deepe roote and long residence therein, hath not deepe died, but superficially coloured the soule, and performeth nothing of that she hath promised. This may be quickly learned, and in few words; namely, that there is but one onely good, which is vertue, and that vndoubtedly there is not any without vertue. And that vertue is lodged in our better part, which is that, which is reasonable. What shall this vertue be? A true and immoueable iudgement from whence shall proceed the heat of the soule, whereby the appearance of things which may moue this heate, shall become cleare and certaine. It behoueth that this iudgement esteeme all those things good and equall in themselues, which shall be atchieued by the counsaile of vertue. In regard of corporall goods, they are goods for the bodie, yet are they not entirely perfect goods. Well may they be esteemed at some rate, but it shall be without any supereminencie. There is a great difference betwixt them: the one shall be greater,

greater, the other lesser. In like sort ought men to confesse that there is a great difference betweene those that follow Philosophie. Some one hath so farre profited therein, that he dare lift vp his eies against fortune: yet not perseuerantly; for they are oftentimes obscured by the beames of her too cleere light. Some other hath profited so much, that he dare encounter her face to face, if he haue attained to perfection, and be full of assurance. But it must needes so fall out that things which are imperfect grow to ruine, and now frustrate themselues, and anon after come to decay or dissolution, and they shall come vnto decay if they perseuer not to grow forward, and inforce themselues, and if they remit a-nie thing of their studie, and faithfull intention, they shall grow backward. No man findeth aduancement and profit there where he left it: let vs therefore be diligent and perseuer; there remaineth yet more then we haue ouercome: but the greatest part of profit, is to desire to profite. Herein my conscience shall beare me witnesse: I will, and with my whole minde I will: I see well also that thou hast this inspiration, and that thou prosecutest with great feruencie those things that are more faire. Let vs then make hast, and so doing, our life shall be the cause of our great good, otherwise it is but a delay, and trticly a very loathsome one, if we conuerse in base matters: let vs endeuour, so that all the time may be ours, but it will not be, except we begin to be our owne. When shall it come to passe that we will contemne both fortunes? When shall it come to passe, that suppressing all our affections, and bringing them vnder our obedience we may say thus: I haue ouercome. Askest thou me whom I haue ouercome? Not the *Persians*, not the farre distant *Medes*, or that warlike nation of the *Dace*; but auarice, but ambition, but feare of death, which haue vanquished the Conquerours and Vanquishers of the whole world.

Epist. LXXII.

He delayeth to answer Lucilius *petition, and that vpon iust occasion. He sheweth that the studie of goodnesse is deferred by vs, but badly. That we ought to intend to this onely, pretermitting all other things. That nothing happeneth that may hinder him, especially that is wise, and proficient in some sort. The difference betwixt them both. That externall things neyther adde nor detract from a wise-man, that is alwayes contented with himselfe.*

I Know well what thou demaundest at my hands, if I had recollected and meditated thereupon, but it is long time since I made tryall of my memory. And therefore it is that it followeth me not so easily. I know well, and feele it in my selfe, that the like hath befalne me which happeneth in bookes that are mouldie, and whose leaues cleaue together. I must dilate my mind, & what soeuer things haue beene heard therein, they ought to be refreshed and brought in vse, that they may alwayes be in a readinesse as often as we haue neede to vse them. But let vs deferre this for the present; for it requireth much labour and much diligence. Assoone as I may make more longer residence in a place, I will take this taske in hand; for there are some things which thou mayest compose in thy Coach, and some other that deserue the bed, the repose, and solitarie places. Yet those very dayes wherein a man is occupied, we must doe somwhat, yea, all the whole dayes: for now occasions and occupations will be neuer scantie; we see this

this our selues, and from one springs manie; and that which is worst, wee giue our selues delayes. But as soone as I haue made an end of this (say wee) I will wholly dedicate my selfe, and if I can end this troublesom matter, I will addict my selfe vnto studie. Thou must not expect till thou haue leasure to follow Philosophie. Thou must contemne all other things, to be alwayes with her. A man cannot finde time that may be sufficiently long for her, although it continue with vs from the yeares of our infancie, vntill the most longest life of man. It skilleth not much whether thou omittest Philosophie, or intermittest it. For it remaineth not there where it was interrupted; but euen as those things that are bent, as soone as they are let slip doe forcibly retire themselues, so that which departeth from his continuation, retireth it selfe, and returneth wholly vnto his beginnings. We must reiect all affaires and occupations, we must not studie how to dispose them, we must wholly dispossesse and driue them from vs. There is no time vnfitting for a wholsome studie. But there are many that studie not those things which they ought to studie. Shall there be any occasion that may let them? Truely not him whose minde in all affaires is watchfull and ioyfull. To these persons onely true ioy is interrupted, which haue not as yet attained perfection. But in regard of the wise, their ioy is continuall, it keepeth the same tract, there is not any fortune or occasion that can countermand the same. It is alwayes peaceable and reposed; for it hath no dependance of another: she expecteth no fauour at fortunes hands, nor mens applause: it is a felicitie that is bred in her owne house: she would leaue the soule if she entred: she is engendred therein. There might some occasion fall out to make him remember that he is mortall, but it very slight, and surpassed not the vpper skin. Hee feeleth, I say, some incommoditie, but that good which is the greatest he hath, is neuer shaken: well wot I that out wardly there are some incommodities, euen as vpon a strong and able bodie there appeareth som itch, and pimples, & vlcers, but inwardly there is no euill. The difference, I say, that is betweene a man that hath alreadie acquired a perfect wisedome, and him that is as yet to attaine the same, is such as there is betwixt a man that is healthfull, and him that beginneth to recouer himselfe from a long and tedious sickenesse, who thinketh himselfe to be then in good health, when the fit of his feuer is the shortest. This man, except he be very carefull of his health, he feeleth by times certaine shakings, and easily falleth relapse into his former infirmitie. But a wise-man cannot fall againe, nay more, he neuer more can be attainted therewith: for as touching the body, it hath health but for a time, and that Physitian that hath recured him, cannot promise him perpetuitie: hee is oftentimes recalled by him, whom almost before time he had resuscitated: But the soule is healed for euer at one time. I will teach thee how to know when a man is in health, if he be content with himselfe, if he may trust himselfe, if he knoweth that all mortal mens vowes, that all the benefites which are giuen and demaunded haue no moment in a blessed life. For that thing whereunto a man may annex somewhat, is not perfect. But that from whence nothing may be taken continueth eternally. He whose ioy is perpetuall may reioyce of that which is his owne. But all these goods whereunto the common fort aspire inconstantly flowe hither and thither: fortune giueth nothing with warrantize; and yet the benefits of fortune are pleasing vnto vs when they are tempered by reason, and she directeth them. She it is that maketh vs allow of exterior things. The vse whereof displeaseth if they be desired ouer-ardently. *Attalus* was wont to vse this comparison: Hast thou seene a dogge snatching at a peece of bread with open throat, or a morsell

morsell of flesh which his master casteth him? He deuoureth incontinently all that which is giuen him, and still openeth his mouth, in hope that some one will cast him more. So falleth it out with vs, what soeuer fortune casteth vpon vs during our expectation, that swallow we without any pleasure, still expecting and affecting some second pray. So fareth not a wise-man; he is full, and if any thing befall him, he securely receiueth and layeth it vp; his ioy is great, continuall, and his owne. Is there any one that hath a good will, and that profiteth somewhat, but hath not as yet attained to perfection? Such a one shall be somtimes deiected, sometimes incouraged, sometime is he raised as high as heauen; otherwise rauished as lowe as earth. The ignorant, and such as haue little experience, neuer make an end of their precipitation, but fall into confusion, and into *Epicurus* his *Chaos*, voyde and infinite. There is another third kind of those that wanton it about wisedome, which as yet they cannot attaine, yet are they in sight thereof; and if I might say so, they may clap her on the hand. These are neyther shaken, neyther doe they fall, they are not as yet on the continent, but they are alreadie in the harbor. Since then there is so great a distance betwixt those that are on high, & those that are most low, since that they which are in the middest, feele as yet some storme, and that they are followed with more danger to returne vnto a more wicked life, we must not addict our selues to any occupations, we must reiect them. If they were once entred, they would set some other in their places. Let vs hinder their beginnings, and the lesse labour will there be to keepe them from beginning, then to see them take end.

Epist. LXXIII.

That Philosophers are not disobedient but more obedient, and faithfull to Princes, then these ambitions and Palatines: for these affect enuie, and are alwayes vnquiet, often displeased, but they loue them, because they liue quietly vnder them, and are such that is full of good merchandize. They impute this benefite also, although it happen vnto manie. At length he counselleth him to aspire vnto vertue, that is to God; for that (such is the Stoicks pride) they make a wise-man equall with him.

THey deceiue themselues, in my iudgment, that suppose that they who haue wholly addicted themselues to Philosophie, are disobedient and rebellous to their Magistrates and Kings, or that they contemne those by whose authoritie publique affaires are administred: for contrariwise there is not any one that reuerenceth and respecteth them more then they. And not without cause; for that Kings cannot doo greater good vnto any man in this world, then to those that may enioy a peaceable repose. It must then necessarily fall out, that they to whom publique assurance openeth the way to the intention they haue to liue well, should reuerence the author of the same good, as their Lord and Father. And truely farre more then those light witted and irresolute men, who being infinitely bound vnto their Princes, will notwithstanding haue men thinke that they owe them nors, on whom a man cannot imploy any liberalitie, how great soeuer it be, that may satisfie their ambitious desires, which increase alwayes the more, the more they are glutted. But he that thinketh to receiue new benefits, hath alreadie forgotten the olde; and couetousnesse hath not any vice more great then ingratitude. Adde hereunto now, that there are none of those that

that are imployed, and conuerſant in publique affaires, that reſpecteth thoſe at any time, whom he hath ouer-ſtripped, but lookes into thoſe that out-ſtrip him, and it is not ſo pleaſant a matter vnto them, to ſee many men come after them: as it is grieuous vnto them, that any one ſhould ouer-paſſe them in dignitie. All ſort of ambition hath this vice, that it neuer reſpecteth that which is paſt. And ambition is not onely inconſtant and wandring, but all couetouſneſſe likewiſe; becauſe it beginneth alwayes from the end. But that ſincere and poore man, who hath forſaken the Court and the Palace, and all preheminencie in common-weale to retire himſelfe for more noble intents and ends, loueth thoſe by whoſe authoritie it is lawfull for him to doe theſe things with ſecuritie; he alone payeth them with gratuitall teſtimonie of acknowledgement, and confeſſeth himſelfe to be indebted vnto them for a great good, although they knowe not his good will. Euen as he honoureth and reuerenceth his Maſters, by whoſe inſtructions he is deſpoyled of thoſe vices, in like ſort reſpecteth he thoſe, vnder whoſe protection and gouernement he may exerciſe honeſt diſciplines. But the King protecteth others alſo by his power. Who denieth it? But euen as amongſt others that haue trauelled by Sea, and haue beene partakers of one and the ſame calme, hee thinketh himſelfe more bound vnto *Neptune*, that hath brought home more great quantitie of precious merchandize; and as the Merchant payeth his vow with greater courage then a Paſſenger doth: And as he alſo amongſt the Merchants that bringeth perfumes, purples, and other pretious things which are ſolde for their waight in gold, reknowledgeth this fauor more liberally, then doth he that hath but laide downe poore Merchandize, and other things which ſhould ſerue but to balliſt and loade the ſhip: So the beneſite of this peace, appertayning to all, doth more deepely content them that vſe the ſame well: For there are many of theſe Magiſtrates and mightie men, to whom peace is more troubleſome then warre. Art thou of that opinion, that they which make no other vſe of peace, but to imploy it in drunkenneſſe, in ryot and other ſorts of vices; for the extermination of which, it were neceſſarie to enterpriſe a warre, ſhall be ſo much obliged for the ſame? Except happily thou wert of that opinion, that a wiſe-man were ſo iniuſt, that hee thought that hee were no wayes obliged to his gouernour, for publique and common benefits. I owe much vnto the Sunne and Moone, and yet they ſhine not for me alone. I am particularly bound vnto the yeare, and to God that tempereth and gouerneth the ſame, although they haue not been ordained for my particular honor. It is the fooliſh auarice of mortall men, that maketh a diuiſion of theſe goods, and aſſigneth the propertie vnto them, and that beleeueth nothing to be his that is for publique profit. But this wiſe-man iudgeth nothing to be more aptly his, then that which is common betweene him and all other men. For goods cannot be common, if the portions of them appertained not to particulars. A man is made partaker how little part ſoeuer he enioy in a common thing. Adde hereunto alſo this other reaſon, that the greateſt and trueſt goods are not ſo diuided, that a little ſhould light vpon euerie priuate man. They come wholly into euerie mans poſſeſſion. Of thoſe preſents which Princes make vnto the people, the particulars take as much by powle, as hath beene promiſed to euery one. At a common banquee, and at the common dole of fleſh, and in all that which is receiued by hand, the almes is diſtributed in priſes. But theſe indiuiſible goods, ſuch as peace and libertie are, theſe alſo are intire to all, as they are particular vnto euery one: and therefore a wiſe-man conſidereth what he is, by whoſe means the publique neceſſitie conſtraineth him no more to beare armes, nor

nor to intend the Watch, nor to ſtand Sentinell on the walls, and not to pay an infinitie of taxes any more which warre bringeth with it, and giueth thanks vnto his Prince. This doth Philoſophie teach vs, eſpecially to be dutifully thankfull for benefites, and faithfully to requite them; and the onely acknowledgement ſometimes ſerueth for payment. He will therefore confeſſe that he is very much bound vnto him, by whoſe wiſe gouernement and prouidence this great and happie repoſe is befalne him, to be able to paſſe the terme of his life in ſuch tranquillitie and quiet, which is not interrupted by any publique occupations.

'Tis God O MELIBE *that gaue this peace,*
Him as my God Ile honour without ceaſe.

If then theſe calmes and contentments are ſo principally to be aſcribed to him that hath procured them for vs, the greateſt good whereof is

He (as thou ſeeſt) my yoaked teame permits
To plow the earth, by him in pleaſant fits,
Mine Oaten pipe I tune as beſt befits.

How much ought we to eſteeme that repoſe which we partake with the gods, that maketh vs become gods. Thus ſay I *Lucilius*, thus call I thee to heauen by a ſhort way. *Sextius* was wont to ſay, *That* IVPITER *could not doe more then a good man.* IVPITER hath more meanes to be liberall towards men. But among two good men, he is not the better that is the richer, no more then betweene two that haue equall knowledge in gouerning a ſhip, thou wilt not call him better that gouerneth a Carricke or great veſſell, and full of rich lading. What aduantage hath *Iupiter* ouer a good man? It is but onely this, that he is more long time good. A wiſe-man reckoneth himſelfe nothing the leſſe, becauſe his vertues are determined in a ſhorter time. Euen as of two wiſe-men, he which is dead in fulneſſe of his age, is not more happie then he, whoſe vertue hath taken end in leſſer years. So God likewiſe ſurmounteth not a wiſeman in felicity, although he exceed him in age. That vertue is not greater which is longer. *Iupiter* hath all theſe things, but he hath giuen the vſe and poſſeſſion thereof vnto others: This onely vſe appertaineth vnto him, that he is the cauſe that others may vſe the ſame. The wiſe-man likewiſe is glad to ſee the poſſeſſion of all goods in an other mans hands, and maketh as ſmall account alſo of that as *Iupiter* doth, and further ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue this aduantage aboue him, that *Iupiter* cannot haue vſe of them, and a wiſe-man will not. Let vs therefore beleeue *Sextius*, who ſheweth vs a faire way, and crieth out, This is the way to heauen, by ſobrietie, by temperance, and by patience in aduerſitie. The Gods diſdaine no man, enuie no man, they entertain and ſtretch forth their hand to thoſe that aſcend. Wondereſt thou to heare that men goe vnto the Gods? God commeth vnto men, nay (which is more neere) he commeth into men. There is not any ſoule that is good without God. There are certaine diuine ſeeds diſperſed in the bodies of men, which growe anſwerable to their originall, and growe alike vnto that graine from whence they tooke their beginning, if they be entertained in the boſome of a good huſbandman. But if he be euill, he choaketh them as a barren and faggie ground; and finally, in ſtead of corne beareth chaffe & ſtraw.

EPIST.

Epist. LXXIIII.

O faire, O honest Epistle, and of honestie it selfe, and that indeed it is the onely good, the rest but in opinion. He that will safely and securely line, let him so thinke. What likenesse? Let him haue a readie buckler against all casualties, which is to follow God. At length he answereth certaine obiections. Lastly he sheweth that a blessed life is as a circle, perfect both in small and great. That nothing is added, nothing taken therefrom by externall things. It must be reiterated. O faire, O honest, enioy thou this, who hast such a minde.

THy letter hath delighted me, and awakened me when I was wearied, and quickened my memorie also, which is now slow and heauie. Why shouldest thou not, my *Lucilius*, thinke this perswasion to be the greatest instrument of blessed life, that there is onely one good, that is to say, that which is honest? He that hath circumscribed all sorts of good vnder honestie, is happie in himselfe. For he that iudgeth that other things are goods, subiecteth himself to the power of Fortune, and dependeth on another mans will. This man is sorrowfull for the losse of his children, another carefull of them that are sicke, and that other, if they be dishonest and noted of infamie. Thou shalt see one man tormented with the loue of another mans wife, and another transported with the loue hee beareth his owne. There wanteth not some one likewise, that is distracted with the repulse he receiueth in his affected dignitie, and another that is disgusted with the honor which he possesseth. But the greatest number of all those men which are thus miserable, is of them whom the assault and touch of impendent death, which they feare on euery side, pressèth and tormenteth incessantly, for there is nothing from whence they thinke not, that she should not assaile them. Therefore as if they liued in an enemies country, they ought to looke about them on euery side, and on euery voice they heare, to turne their neckes thitherward: for except this feare be driuen out of their breasts, they liue in continuall heart-breake and suspition. Some will be found out that haue beene sent into exile, and depriued of their goods, and some also will occur (which kinde of pouertie is the most irkesome) poore in their riches. Thou shalt meete with some that are shipwracked, or such as haue suffered some such like thing vnto shipwracke, whom either the wrath or enuy of the common sort (which is a dangerous weapon to wound the better sort) hath ouerthrowne vnawares, and when they were most secure, after the manner of a gust, which is wont to breake forth in the most seeming securite of a calme, or a sudden lightning, at whose cracke the neighbouring countries haue trembled. For euen as he that is nerest to this fire, remaineth as much amazed, as if he had beene striken: in like sort, in these accidents that come by violence, the calamitie oppresseth one, but feareth the rest, & maketh the abilitie to suffer equal with the heauines of those that doe suffer. Other mens misfortunes, which surprise them at vnawares, astonish the mindes of all those that see them. And euen as the onely noise of a sling, although it be not charged, frighteth the birds. In like manner, wee not onely tremble at the stroake, but at the least cracke we heare. No man therefore can be blessed, that hath credited himselfe to this opinion. For nothing is blessed, but that which is without feare: the life is miserable that is incombered with suspition. Whosoeuer hath addicted himselfe very much vnto casualties, hath

hath made himselfe a great and inexplicable matter of perturbation. There is but one way for him to tract, that will search out a life full of assurance, which is to contemne the goods of Fortune, and to content himselfe with that which is honest. For if any man thinketh that there is any other thing better then vertue, or that there is any other good besides the same: he openeth his bosome to that which Fortune spreadeth, and with extreame care expecteth those goods whereof she maketh larges. Suppose, and imagine in thy minde, that Fortune maketh publike plaies, and that she casteth amiddest this great assembly of men, honors, riches, and fauours, whereof the one part is broken and torne in peeces, betweene the hands of those that rauish them; another part is vnequally diuided by a disloyall societie; and another hath wrought their inestimable damage, that haue engrossed them; and finally also some others, haue fallen into the hands of some they thought not any wise of, and others haue beene lost by running after the same ouer-greedily, and they haue bin torne out of our hands by reason of the ouer-greedy desire which we had to attain them. To conclude, there is not any, how happie soeuer his rauishment be, whose ioy, in respect of that he hath rauished, can endure long time. For which cause, the wiser sort, as soone as they see the presents brought in, flie out of the theater, as knowing well, that a little thing would cost them deare. No man fighteth with him that retireth, no man striketh him that flieth; it is vpon the prey the contention groweth. The same successe is there in those things that Fortune casteth down from on high. We burne in miserable desire after these goods, we are in great trauell, we desire to haue many hands; now regard we this man, presently that man, we thinke that they are too slowly sent vnto vs which stir vp our desires, and that it can fall but into few mens hands, although it be expected and desired by all men. We desire to encounter those that fall, we laugh if we may surprise any thing, and some other enuie, whom vaine hope hath deceiued. Wee redeeme a lamentable damage with a little prey, or thereby were deceaued. Let vs therefore depart from these playes, and let vs giue place to these rauishers. Let these men fixe their intention as much as they will on those goods which hang in the aire, and let themselues likewise be more in suspence. XWhosoeuer is resolued to be blessed, let him resolue there is but one good, which is honesty. For if he supposeth that there is any other good; first of all he iudgeth euill of Gods prouidence, because many mishaps befall good men: and because all that which she hath giuen vs, is but of a very small continuance, if thou compare it with the age of the whole world. From this complaint it groweth, that we are vngratefull interpreters of diuine things. We complaine, because goods befall vs not euery day, that they are little, that they are incertaine, and that they must suddenly depart from vs. Hence commeth it to passe, that wee will not liue, neither haue desire to die; we hate life, and we feare death. All our counsailes are vncertaine, and there is no felicitie that can satisfie vs. The cause hereof is nothing else, but that we haue not as yet attained that soueraigne good, which cannot be surmounted by any other thing, and on which we ought to stay our desires, for aboue the place that is most highest, there is no other place. Aske thou me why vertue hath need of nothing? Because she is pleased with things present, and desireth not the absent. There is nothing but seemeth great vnto her, because that euery thing sufficeth her. And if thou shouldest separate thy selfe from this opinion, neither pietie nor faith should haue any place. He that would follow both the one and the other, shall bee constrained to suffer verie much of that which we call euill, and to spend much of that which we esteeme

and reckon of for good. Furthermore, constancie that must make triall of her selfe is lost, magnanimitie is lost also, because she cannot approue her selfe, except she contemne al things as ouer base, which the common sort desireth as the most greatest. In briefe, the grace and requitall of all good turnes is lost, it is but paine and trauell, if we thinke that there is any other thing more precious then faith, and if wee fixe not our eyes on that which is the best. But to let these things passe, either those that are called goods, or none at all; or a man is happier then God. For God maketh no vse of those goods which are prepared for vs, disordinate pleasures, foolish expences in banquets, riches, nor any of that which may allure a man, or draw him to loathsome pleasures, appertaine not to him. We must then say (that which is incredible) either that God hath want of these goods: or wee must conclude vpon this argument, that whatsoeuer God wanteth is not good. Furthermore, there are many things that would be thought to bee goods, which are more amplie employed on beasts then on men. They eate with more greater appetite, they are not so soone wearied in the act of generation, their forces are more great and lasting, whereby it followeth that they are more happy then man: for they liue without wickednesse or deceit, they enioy their pleasures, which they enioy more fully, and more easily, without any feare of shame or repentance. Consider thou therefore, whether that is to be called good, wherein God is ouercome by man. Let vs lodge the soueraigne good in our mindes. He loseth all his grace and dignitie, if from the better part, which is in vs, it should be translated to the worse, and should be transferred to the senses, which are more actiue in brute beasts. Our chiefest felicitie is not to be planted in the flesh. Those are true goods which reason giueth, they are solide and euer lasting; which cannot fall, neither be decreased nor diminished. The rest are goods in opinion, they haue onely a common name with the true, but they haue no propertie or effects of vertue in them. Let them then be called commodities, or according to our phrase, profits and reuenues. But let vs know that they are but as our slaues, and not any part of vs, let them be in such sort with vs; that we remember our selues that they are without vs, and if they be with vs, wee must put them in the number of those things which are most base and abiect, and for which no man ought to waxe proud. For what is more foolish, then for a man to please himselfe, in that which himselfe hath not done? Let all these things approach vs, but not cleaue vnto vs, and if they must bee drawne from vs, let them be so seuered, that we be not distracted and torne therby. Let vs vse them, and not glory in them, and let vs vse them sparingly, as such things as are lent vs, and are not to remaine with vs. Whosoeuer vseth them contrary to reason, he hath not long time enioyed them. For felicitie it selfe hurteth vs, except it be well tempered and gouerned: is ouer-pressed, if she trust her selfe to transitorie goods, she is quickly forsaken, and left she should be forsaken, she tormenteth her selfe infinitly. There are few men who haue had the fortune to lay by their felicitie contentedly. The rest of men, with those goods that made them esteemed aboue others, are deiected, and that which for a time exalted them, finally humbleth them. Much wisdome therefore must be made vse of, which may dispose them with measure and parsimony. For a disordinate libertie ouerbeareth and destroyeth his proper riches in such sort, that immeasurable expence hath neuer continued long, if reason by her moderation had not restrained the same. The miserable end of diuers cities will make thee know this, whose luxurious empires in their first flower and pride haue decayed, and will teach

teach thee, that all that which hath bin gotten by vertue, is ruinated by superfluitie and lauish expence. Against these casualties are we to arme our selues. There is not any wall that can resist the batteries of Fortune: and it is within vs, that we ought to arme our selues. If that noble fortresse be assured, a man may be assailed, but he cannot be surprised. Wilt thou know what fortification it is? That he trouble not himselfe with any thing that may happen, that he beleeue that whatsoeuer, yea euen that which seemeth to offend him, dependeth on the conseruation of the whole world, and that it is a part of that which finisheth the course and office of the heauens. A man ought to take pleasure in all that which God taketh pleasure in; hee ought to admire himselfe, and all that which is in him, for this onely consideration, that he cannot be vanquished, that he holdeth his euill vnder his feete, and that with reason, then which nothing is more powerfull, he surmounteth Fortune, griefe and iniurie. Lone reason then, for the loue thereof will arme thee against all the greatest misfortunes that may be. The loue of their yong ones causeth wilde beastes, to fall into snares, who otherwise by their fiercenesse and violence were vntameable. Sometimes the desire of glorie hath drawne some yong and generous mindes into contempt, both of sword and fire; the opinion and shadow of vertue hath egged some on to seeke out a voluntarie death. But the stronger and constanter reason is against all this, the more vehement and violent becommeth thee against all feare and danger. You doe nothing, will some man say, because you deny that there is any other good but honestie. This defence of yours shall not make you strong and impregnable against Fortune. For you say that amongst these goods, a man ought to include obedient children, cities well gouerned, and parents that are honest: and yet if these be in any danger, you cannot see it without astonishment. For a siege of thy citie, the death of thy children, and the bondage of thy parents will trouble thee. But I will set thee downe what it is, that is accustomably answered for vs in this case, and then againe will I adde what besides that may be answered in my iudgement. There is another condition in those things which being taken from vs, substitute some other incommoditie in their place, as health being impaired, changeth it selfe into sicknes; the sight of the eye extinguished, affecteth vs with blindnesse, and when the hammes are cutte, not onely sinewes perish, but debilitie followeth in stead thereof. And yet the danger is not in those things, which wee haue spoken of a little before. Why? Because that if I haue lost a good friend, I must not therefore be perfidious for him, neither if I haue buried good children; there is no reason that impietie should supply their place, to endanger and hurt me. Moreouer, by this death, friends and children are not lost, it is but the bodie. But good cannot be lost, but by one only meanes, that is, if it should change it selfe into euill, which Nature permitteth not, for all vertues and all their actions remaine incorruptible. Againe, although that friends, although that well approued children, and haue in nothing contradicted their fathers commands, bee dead, yet notwithstanding, there is something that may supply their place. Aske thou me what it may be? It is that vertue that hath made them good men. She suffereth not at any time, that there should be any place voide. She entirely taketh seisure of our soules, she exterminateth the sorrow of all things, and contenteth her selfe to be alone. For the power & original of all goods is in her. What skilleth it if the water that floweth hee stolne, or fleete away, if the fountaine from whence it issueth be liuing and replenished. Thou wilt not say, that a man is mbre iust, because his children are yet aliue, or for that they are dead,

no more moderate, more honeſt, more wiſe, more better, conſequently a great number of friends make not a man more wiſe, neither the diminution, or want of them, maketh him not more fooliſh, and conſequently alſo, neither more happy, nor more miſerable. As long as thy vertue ſhall remaine entire, thou ſhalt neuer feele any loſſe that thou haſt made. What then? Is not he who is enuironed with a goodly troupe of friends and children more happie? Why ſhould he not be? Becauſe the ſoueraigne good cannot bee diminiſhed or augmented. He alwayes remaineth after the ſame faſhion. How ſoeuer Fortune carrie her ſelfe, although the yeares be old, or that he die before he be aged, it is one and the ſame meaſure of the ſoueraigne good, although it be different in age. Whether thou make a circle greater or leſſer; it is but in reſpect of the ſpace, but not of the figure: and although the one hath remained a long time painted, and that thou haſt incontinently defaced the other, and couered it with duſt in the place where thou haſt caſt it; yet both the one and the other were the ſame figure. That which is right and iuſt is not eſteemed by the greatnes, nor by the number, nor by the time; it can neither be lengthened nor ſtrengthened. Take as much as thou wilt, an honeſt life that endured an hundred yeares, and reduce and determine it in one only day, the one is as honeſt as the other. Vertue extendeth it ſelfe more at large: ſhee gouerneth Kingdomes, Cities, and whole Prouinces, ſhe maketh lawes, ſhe priſeth and honoreth friendſhips, ſhe diſtributeth offices and duties betweene the neereſt parents and their children; and preſently ſhe circumſcribeth her ſelf in a ſtraiter ſcope of pouertie, baniſhmēt, and loſſe of children. Yet is ſhe not leſſened, although that from a great and high eſtate ſhe is fallen, into a priuate and particular, and from a royall throne, to an abiect and baſe place. And if from a publike and ample power, ſhe reſtraine her ſelfe in a homely cottage, or in ſome corner ſhe is alwayes as great, if after ſhee hath beene driuen from all places, ſhe ſolely retire her ſelfe into her ſelfe. For this notwithſtanding, ſhe hath a courage great and inuincible, a prudence that is perfect, a iuſtice immutable, and conſequently ſhe is alwayes happy. For this bleſſednes and this good is lodged in one only place, that is to ſay, in the minde. It is euerlaſting, & full of tranquillitie, which cannot be without the knowledge of diuine and humane things. It followeth now, that which I ſaid I would anſwere. A wiſe-man tormenteth not himſelfe for the loſſe of his children, nor his friends, for he endureth their death with as equall conſtancie and courage, as he expecteth his owne. He feareth the one as little as he grieueth for the other, becauſe vertue conſiſteth in conueniēcie, all her workes are agreeable with her ſelfe, and anſwer one another. This concord would be laſt, if the minde which ſhould be aſſured and conſtant, ſhould ſuffer it ſelfe to be ouercome with ſorrow and ſadneſſe. All ſorts of aſtoniſhment, all feare, all idleneſſe and ſlackeneſſe in any act whatſoeuer, is diſhoneſt. For all that which is honeſt is full of aſſurance; and diligence; it is neuer aſtoniſhed, but alwayes prepared. What then, ſhall he not feele ſome paſſion like vnto trouble? Shall he not change his colour? Shall not his countenance diſcouer ſome perturbation, ſhall not his members wax chill? and all other things which a man doth not by the command of the minde, but by a ſudden and inconſiderate heate of nature? I confeſſe he ſhall. But he ſhall alwayes be thus perſwaded, that none of all this is euill, nor worthy that a good vnderſtanding ſhould be aſtoniſhed at. All that which he ought to doe, he will doe boldly and readily: for who is he that will not ſay that it is the proper nature of follie, to performe that cowardly and againſt his heart which he doth, and to driue the bodie into one place, and the minde into another;

ther; and to ſuffer himſelfe to be drawne by ſo many contrarie motions. That euery thing for which ſhe eſteemeth her ſelfe ſo much, and for which ſhe entereth into admiration of her ſelfe, maketh her contemptible, and beſides, that which is worſe, ſhe performeth not that with a good will, from whence ſhe taketh her glorie. But if ſhe feareth that any euill ſhould befall her, ſhe perplexeth her ſelfe in exſpectation thereof: ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe as if the euill had alreadie attainted her; and all that which ſhe feareth ſhe may ſuffer hereafter, ſhe preſently ſuffereth by the meanes of her feare. Euen as there are certaine ſignes that appeare in the bodie before the feuer commeth (for a man feeleth a dulneſſe in the ſinewes, a laſſitude, a gaping or yawning, and a horrour which paſſeth thorow all the members) In like ſort a ſicke minde feeleth ſome ſhakings and aſſaults, which enfeeble him before the euill touch him: he enters into ſorrows, and loſeth his heart before the time. But what more greater follie may a man ſee, then for a man to diſmay his mind for ſuch things as are yet to com? and not to be able to reſerue himſelfe to ſuffer the torment when it ſhall come, but to ſummon miſeries from a farre off, and to approach them, before they preſſe him; which he were better to delay if he might not anoyde. Wilt thou know that no man ought to be tormented for that which is to come? Whoſoeuer ſhall heare it ſaid, that ſome fiftie yeares hence he muſt be led to execution, he will not torment himſelfe, becauſe he hath paſt the halfe of this time, and that he is not plunged in this diſquiet of mind, which ſhould not com but in an age after. The like befalleth thoſe ſpirits that are voluntarily ſicke, and do nothing but ſeeke occaſion of ſorrow, who are ſad for things long ſince forepaſſed and forgotten. All that which is paſt, and which is to come, is abſent. We neyther perceiue the one nor the other. But there is no griefe but of that which thou feeleſt.

Epist. LXXV.

That Philoſophie affecteth not wordes, and yet neyther renounceth wit nor good diſcourſe. The chiefeſt matter is, that the life be correſpondent to the wordes. Furthermore let vs endeuour to proceede, becauſe we are to aſcend by degrees, and they are three. The degrees of thoſe that are proficient.

THou complaincſt that the Letters which I ſend thee, are not written ouer-curiouſly; but who is he that writeth in ſo an affected ſtile, but he that would write to inſinuate? Such as my ſpeech ſhould be if we were ſitting together; or if men walked out together, eaſie and without Art: ſuch will I that my Epiſtles be, that they neyther be extrauagant nor affected. If it were poſſible that a man might vnderſtand that which I thinke, I had rather expreſſed it by ſignes, then by words. And if I ſhould diſpute likewiſe, I would not ſtampe vpon the ground, nor caſt my hands abroad, nor lift vp my voyce: I would leaue that to Orators, and content my ſelfe to haue made thee vnderſtand my conceit, without inriching my ſpeech, or neglecting it alſo. I would plainely perſwade thee this one point, that I firmely beleeue that which I ſay, and that I not onely beleeue the ſame, but loue it alſo. Men kiſſe their Miſtreſſe in one ſort, and their children in another; & notwithſtanding in this embracement, ſo holy and ſo chaſte affection ſufficiently diſcouereth it ſelfe. Truly I would not that my diſcourſes which

men holde of ſo great matters, ſhould be dull and drie: for Philoſophie renounceth not a happie and gentle ſpirit, yet will ſhe not likewiſe that we employ ouer-much affectation in our diſcourſe. In briefe, ſee here what is the ſumme of our intention. Let vs ſpeake what we thinke, and think what we ſpeake; let our ſpeech be anſwerable to our life: he hath fulfilled his promiſe who is the ſame when thou ſeeſt him, and when thou heareſt him: we ſhall ſee what he is, and how great he is; but he muſt alwayes be one. It is not neceſſarie that our words be pleaſing, but that they profit. But if eloquence may befall any man, without much labour and affectation, if it be alreadie acquired, or hath coſt him little, let him bouldly make vſe thereof, and employ it in worthie ſubiects. Let it be ſuch that it rather expreſſe the matter, then it ſelfe. All other Arts appertain only to the wit, but nothing is intreated of here but the affairs of the mind. The ſicke-man ſeeketh not out an eloquent Phiſitian, but ſuch a one as knoweth how to cure well: yet if ſo be it ſo fall out, that he who knoweth how to heale well, diſcourſeth eloquently of that which he ought to performe, he ought not to be diſpleaſed thereat. Neyther alſo ought he to reioyce, becauſe he is ſalne into the handes of a Phyſitian that can ſpeake well: for it is as much as if a skilfull Maſter of a Ship were a goodly man alſo. Why ſcratcheſt thou mine eares? Why delighteſt thou me? Thou muſt; there is another thing now in hand, thou muſt miniſter me an actuall cauterie, I muſt be lanced, I muſt haue a Dyet preſcribed me: for this cauſe art thou called. Thy ducty is to heale an old ſickneſſe that is dangerous and publique. Thou haſt as much to doe as the Phyſitian in the plague time. Wilt thou ſpend the time about wordes? If thou finiſh the cure then mayeſt thou reioyce. When ſhall it be that thou wilt lodge that which thou haſt learned ſo inwardly in thy ſelfe, that it may neuer more depart from thee? When wilt thou make triall thereof? for it ſufficeth not to commit them to memorie, as thou doeſt other ſciences: Thou muſt aſſay to put them in execution. He that knoweth all this is not happie, but he that doth it. What then, are there no degrees vnder him? May a man vpon the ſudden attaine vnto wiſedome? I cannot beleeue it: for he that profiteth is counted amongſt the number of fools, yet is he eſtranged from them by a great diſtance, and amongſt thoſe that are proficient alſo there are great differences: they are diuided, as ſome ſay, into three rankes; The firſt are they that haue not as yet attained wiſedome, but are alreadie ſetled neere vnto it, although that which is neere is as yet without. Thou wilt aske me who theſe are? They are thoſe who haue alreadie laide aſide all their affections and vices, & that haue learned that which they ought to embrace, but their aſſurance is not as yet experimented. They haue not as yet the vſe of their good; yet can they not fall againe any more on that which they haue alreadie fled. They are ſo farre forward that they cannot retire backe, but they know it not as yet. And as I remember I haue written in a certaine Epiſtle, they know not that they doe know it. They can alreadie make vſe of their good, but their confidence is yet vnaſſured. Som there are that ſpeake thus of this ſort of men, who profite and whom I ſpeake heretofore, and ſay that they haue alreadie eſcaped the ſickneſſes of the minde, but not the paſſions; and that they are as yet affraide to fall, becauſe no man is out of the danger of vice, but he that hath wholly driuen it from him; but no one driueth it away but he that hath aſſumed wiſedome in his place. I haue oftentimes tolde what differences there are betwixt the ſickneſſes of the ſoule, and the paſſions of the minde. Yet will I refreſh the memorie therof vnto thee. The ſickneſſes are inueterate and obdurate vices, ſuch as are auarice, and ouer great ambition,

bition, at ſuch time as they haue intangled the minde, and haue begun to be a perpetuall ſickeneſſe. And to be ſhort, the ſickeneſſe is an obſtinate iudgement in wicked things, as if a man ſhould greatly deſire that which he ought not to deſire but ſlightly; or if thou like it better, we may define it thus. To deſire that ouer-vehemently which we ought to wiſh for ſlightly, or which a man ſhould not any wayes wiſh or deſire; or elſe to priſe that ouer-much which a man ſhould priſe verie little or nothing at all. Affections are improbable, ſudden and violent motions of the minde, which being frequent and neglected, haue cauſed a ſickneſſe, as a deſcent and diſtillation of rhume doth; which being as yet vnformed, engendreth a cough: but if it continue and waxeth olde, it becommeth *Phthiſis*. Euen ſo they who haue alreadie profited much, are out of ſickeneſſe, yet feele they as yet ſome paſſions, yet are they neere vnto perfection. The ſecond ſort is of thoſe who haue eſcaped the greateſt paſſions and ſickeneſſes of the ſoule, but it is in ſuch a ſort that they are not certaine in the poſſeſſion of their ſecuritie; for they may fall againe into their infirmities. This other third ſort is exempt from a number of the greater vices, but not out of all: he hath fled from auarice, but is as yet ſenſible of wrath: he is no more ſubiect to pleaſures and voluptuouſneſſe, but he is full of ambition: he is not coueitous, but he is as yet fearefull and timorous; but in this feare he is ſufficiently aſſured in ſome things, and ſheweth himſelfe remiſſe in ſome other things: he contemneth death, but he feareth dolour. Let vs thinke a little vpon this third place; it will be well with vs, if we be admitted vnto this third number. It is with a great felicitie of nature, and with a ſtudie accompanied with a great and induſtrious diligence, that a man entreth into the ſecond ranke: yet muſt we not deſpiſe thoſe of the third order. Thinke with thy ſelfe how many euils thou ſeeſt about thee; beholde how there is not any offence how deteſtable ſoeuer it be, of which we cannot ſhew ſome examples. See how wickednesſe encreaſeth daily, and what faults are committed both in publique and priuate; and thou ſhalt vnderſtand that we haue profited enough, if we be not ranked amongſt the worſt. But I hope, ſayeſt thou, that I may be made one of the honourable order. I ſhould rather wiſh vs this good fortune, then promiſe it. We are alreadie ſeaſed and arreſted: we runne after vertue, but we are intangled and fnated in vices. I am aſhamed to ſpeake it; we follow not honeſt things, but then when we can doe nothing elſe. But how great a reward attendeth vs; if wee would wholly breake off our occupations, and ſhake off thoſe euils which holde vs captiue. Neither deſire, neither feare ſhould compell vs, but being freed from all terrors, intire and incorrupted againſt all pleaſures, we ſhould no more be affraide of death, or of the Gods: We ſhould vnderſtand that neyther death is euill, and that the Gods are good: as infirme and feeble is that which may hurt, as that to whom it hurteth. The beſt things, and ſuch as neuer hurt, doe expect vs when we ſhall depart one day out of this order, to mount thoſe high and ſublime places with a placabilitie of minde, and after the errours ſhall be driuen away, with an intire and perfect libertie. Askeſt thou what it is? Not to feare men or Gods, neither to will that which is diſhoneſt, nor deſire ouer-much, and to haue the greateſt power ouer himſelfe. It is an ineſtimable good for a man to be able to become his owne.

Epist. LXXVI.

That he heareth Philosophie, and goeth to the Schooles. Hee complaineth of the negligence and sloath of men, which learne other things, and neglect Philosophie. Doe not thou so, my Lvcilivs, *make haste and learne goodnesse. What good? That which is onely honest. And againe he approueth by arguments that it is so, and that other things are not. A laudable and wise Epistle.*

THou threatnest me that thou wilt be mine enemie, if so be I conceale ought from thee of those things which I daily doe. Beholde how freely and simply I liue with thee: for this also will I impart vnto thee, I hear a Philosopher, and for these fiue daies past alreadie haue I haunted the schoole, and haue heard him dispute from eight of the clocke. I am olde enough, wilt thou say, to goe thither: and why should not this age be good? What greater follie may there be, then because of long time thou hast not learned, not to learne at all? What then, shall I doe nothing else but that which those yongfull and refreshed wantons do, I should thinke my selfe happie, if there were nothing ill beseeming mine age but that. This Schoole admitteth men of all ages. Let vs waxe olde in this Schoole, we must follow it, as if as yet we were young. Shall I goe vnto the Theater as olde as I am? shall I cause my selfe to be carried to the sports and publique spectacles? shall not one couple of combatants be singled out to fight, except I be a looker on? and shall I be ashamed to goe and see a Philosopher? So long art thou to learne as long as thou art ignorant; and if wee giue credite to the Prouerbe, so long as thou liuest: neither can this more fitly be applied to any thing then to this, so long art thou to learne in what manner thou shouldest liue, as long as thou liuest. Yet teach I also something in this Schoole. Aske thou me what I teach? Forsooth this, that how olde soeuer a man be, he ought alwayes to learne. Vndoubtedly I am ashamed to see how men liue. As often as I enter into the Schoole, I must of necessitie, as thou well knowest, passe by the Neapolitane Theatre: it is their way that goe to *Metronactes* house. This Theatre before I come is replenished with people, although the greatest studie that they vse, is but to iudge who it is that playeth best vpon the Fluie. A great number of men flocke thither to heare the Fifes and the Grecians Trumpets sound; but in that place where a man learneth to be a good man, few men stay there. And these also in diuers mens iudgement seeme to haue no good businesse in hand, they call them men of little spirit and loyterers. I should be glad to see my selfe mocked in this kinde. A man ought to endure patiently the iniuries of the ignorant. It becommeth him that followeth honest things to contemne this contempt. Courage, my *Lucilius*, goe forward, and make hast, lest that befall thee which is falne vpon me, that is to learne in thine olde age: but haste thy selfe, since for the present thou hast vndertaken that which thou canst hardly compleately learne, although thou shouldest attaine the fulnesse of thine age: how much, sayest thou, shall I profite? As much as thou wouldest assay. What expectest thou then? No man hath euer beene wise by casualtie. Riches will come of it selfe, honor shall be offered, grace and dignitie happily shall be thrust vpon thee: but vertue will not befall thee, when thou little thinkest of it, neither also with slight trauell, and little paine. He must not be wearie of the trauell which he taketh, who should at one time gaine all the goods

goods of this world. For there is but one only good, that is to say, that which is honest. In those things that are plausible to fame, thou shalt finde nothing true, nothing certaine. I will tell thee why that is onely good which is honest, because thou supposest, that in my former Epistle I haue not sufficiently expressed vnto thee the reason; and for that thou thinkest then, I haue better praised, then proued this proposition, and I will succinctly, and in few words, signifie and abridge all that which I haue spoken. All things haue their proper good. The Vine is commended for his fruitfulnes, the wine for his taste, and the Hart for his swift footing. Why askest thou, wherefore horses haue strong backes? because he onely serueth to beare burthens. The first thing that is required in a dog, that is, to be employed in searching out and hunting wilde beasts, is his quicke sent; if to ouertake them, is his swiftnesse, if to bite and inuade them, his fiercenesse. In all things that whereunto a man is borne, and for which hee is prized and esteemed, is alwayes the best. What is the best thing in a man? It is his reason. By it he surpasseth beasts, and followeth the gods very neere. So then perfect reason is a mans proper good, all other things are such, as brute beasts pertake them in common as well as he. If he be mightie, so are Lions; if he be faire, so is the Peacocke; if he be swift, so is the horse. I will not say that hee is ouercome and surpassed in all these things. I dispute not what that is, which is most excellent in him, but what it is that is most proper vnto him. He hath a bodie, so haue the trees; hee hath vehemencie and voluntary motion, both beasts and wormes haue no lesse. He hath a voice; but how faire more clearer haue dogges? More shriller haue Eagles, more strong haue Bulls, more sweete and delicate haue Nightingales? What then is it which is proper and best in a man? Reason. This it is that being compleat and perfect, accomplisheth a mans felicitie. If therefore euery thing that hath perfected his owne good is praiseworthie; and hath attained the end of his nature; and mans particular good is reason; if he hath perfected the same, he is worthy of praise, and hath attained the end whereunto his nature directed him. This perfect reason is called Vertue, and is no other thing then that which is honest. That therefore is the onely good in a man, which is the onely marke of a man. For now we enquire not what God is, but what mans good is; but man hath no other good but reason: this therefore is his onely good, which is the most precious and priseable of all others. If any man be a wicked man, he in my opinion will be misliked of. If a good man, he will as I suppose, be allowed of. That therefore is proper and particularly a mans, whereby he is praised or improued. Thou doubtest not whether this be good, but whether it be his onely good. If any man should enioy all other things; health, riches, many images of his predecessors, adorning his fore-court, a multitude of attendants at his Pallace-doore, and yet in all the worlds iudgement hee were wicked, thou wouldest disallow him. If likewise there were a man that hath none of all these things, which I haue related, neither money, nor attendants of courtiers, neither nobilitie, nor any images of his grand-fathers, and great grand-fathers arranged by order; but that were an honest man, in all mens opinion, thou wouldest praise him. There is then one only good in a man, whereof if any man findeth himselfe possessed, although he be destitue of all others, yet is he to be praised; and if he hath it not, although he haue all other things in abundance, yet is he despised and reiected. Such as the condition of all things is, such is the condition of men. That ship is called good, not that which is painted with precious colours, or that hath a siluer or golden beake, nor whose tutelar signe is enriched with Iuorie, or that is laden with

goods

goods and royall riches, but that which is strong and firme, that is so well timbered and calked on euery side, that it admitteth no leake, that can sustaine the breaking of the sea, that is light of steerage, and is good of saile, howsoeuer the winde driue it. Thou wilt say, a sword is good, not for that it hath a golden belt, or a sheath couered with precious stones, but that which hath an excellent edge, and a strong point, able to pierce an armour of steele. Wee enquire not how faire the rule be, but how straight. Euery thing ought to be praised, when it is sorted and purueyed of that which is proper vnto it. Therefore in a man also it is nothing to the purpose, how many acres of land hee plow vp, how much money he lend to vse, by how many he be saluted; how rich and precious the bed bee whereon hee resteth, how goodly a cup hee drinke in, but how good a man he is, and a good man is he, if his reason be perfect and vpright, and accommodated to the will of Nature. This is called Vertue, this is honest, and the onely good of a man. For since that only reason maketh a man perfect, only perfect reason maketh him likewise happy. But that only good of a man, is that which may only make him happy. Wee say likewise, that those things which proceed and are engendered by vertue, that is to say, all her actions, are goods; but vertue is the sole and onely good, because there is not any good without her. If all good remaine in the soule, all that which maketh the same firme and constant, all that which raiseth and enobleth it is good. But it is vertue that maketh the soule more strong, more excellent, and more couragious, for all other passions that animate and incite our pleasures, doe deiect and ruinate the soule likewise, and when they seeme to raise the same, they doe but puffe her vp with pride, and deceiue her with their vanities. There is then but one only good, whereby the minde is bettered. All the actions of the whole life are measured, either in that they are honest, or in that they are villanous. Thereby it is that reason is gouerned, either to doe, or not to doe any things. I will tell thee what this meaneth. A good man will doe that which in his thought may be honestly done, although it be accompanied with much trauell, and attended with losse and danger. Contrariwise he will do nothing that is dishonest, although thereby he reaped riches, pleasures, and authorities. Nothing shall withdraw him from doing a good thing, nothing shall inuite him to doe that which is villanous. Vndoubtedly then, if he must follow that which is vertuous, he will likewise flie all that which is villanous; and in all the actions of his life he will regard these two things, that there is no other good, but that which is honest, nor any other euill, but that which is villanous. Now if there be but one onely vertue that remaineth vncorrupted, if thee onely remaine alwayes in her entire vertue, it is the only good, to which nothing may happen that may hinder her from being good. For wisdome is out of the danger of all change, wisedome cannot bee rauished, shee cannot fall into folly. I haue told thee, if happily thou remember the same, that diuers haue contemned and trodden vnder feete that which is vulgar, by an inconsiderate heate, either desired or feared. Some haue there beene, that haue thrust their hands into the flame, whose smiles the tormentour could not interrupt, that in the buriall of their children haue not shed one teare, and that haue presented themselues to death without any feare. Loue, wrath, couetousnesse, hath oftentimes made them seeke out perrills. If therefore a short resolution of the soule pricked forward by some pregnant occasion, may doe this, with what more greater resolution shall vertue doe it, that gathereth her forces, not from rashnesse or any sudden motion, but a constancie and perpetuall power? It followeth then, that those things

things which are often contemned by the inconsiderate, and by wise men alwayes, that they are neither good nor euill. Vertue then is the onely good, that marcheth proudly betweene both the one and the other Fortune, and despiseth them both. And if thou enter into this opinion, that there is any other good, but that which is honest, all vertues shall be in trouble. For no man might attaine any of them, if she desired any thing that were out of her selfe; and if this were, it should be contrarie to reason, from whence vertues proceed; and to truth, which is alwayes accompanied with reason. But all opinion which is contrary to truth, is false. Thou must needes confesse, that a good man carrieth great pietie and reuerence towards the gods, and for this cause he will patiently endure all that which may befall him. For he well knoweth that all this is befalne him by the will of the gods, by which all things are conducted. And if it be thus, he will thinke that to be the onely good, which is honest. For in honestie consisteth the obedience to the gods, the patient sufferance of those accidents, which may follow the constant entertainment of fortunes, and the willing acceptance of that the gods will, and the performance of their commandements. If there were any other good, but that which is honest, we should bee attended with an insatiable desire of life, and an affection to all that which entertaineth life: a thing intollerable, infinite, and that which extendeth it selfe ouer farre. The onely good then is that which is honest, that hath a certaine measure. We haue said that the life of man should be more happy then that of the gods, if that whereof the gods make no vse were goods, of which kinde are riches & estates. Furthermore, if the soules suruiue the bodies after they are departed from them, a more happie estate attendeth them, then that which they then possessed, when they were imprisoned in the body. And yet if those things which we vse by the meanes of the bodie were goods, they should be more vnfortunate after they were departed from the same, but no man can any wayes beleeue, that being inclosed and imprisoned, they should be more happie, then when they are released and set at libertie through the whole world. I haue moreouer said this, that if it be a good that equally befalleth both man and brute beasts, that beasts likewise should enioy a happy life, which cannot bee true in any manner. Wee must suffer all things for honestie sake, which wee should not doe, if there were any other good but that which is honest. All this, although I haue more amply debated vpon in my former Epistle, I haue thought good to abbreuiate in these few words. Yet neuer will this opinion seeme true vnto thee, except thou rowse thy minde, and question with thy selfe, whether, if need required, thou wouldest die for thy country, and to saue the life of all other thy fellow citizens, thou wouldest lose thine owne, and yeeld thy necke, not only with patience, but with a free will? If thou canst doe this, there is no other good. Thou leauest all things, that thou mayest haue this. See how great the force of honestie is. And although thou shouldest not doe it presently, yet should it be at least, as soone as thou oughtest to doe it. Sometimes in a very short space of time a man receiueth a great ioy of a very faire thing. And although some fruite of a worke alreadie performed, can doe little profit to the dead, when he shall be out of this world, yet the only thought of that which he would doe, reioyceth and comforteth him; and a iust and constant man, when he setteth before his eyes the price of his death, which is the liberty of his country, and the life of all those, for whom he employeth his life, he feeleth a great pleasure, and alreadie pertaketh the fruit of his perill. But he also who is depriued of this pleasure, which the execution of this work would yeeld him,

him, as the greateſt and laſt pleaſure of his life, without any more delay will encounter his death, and content himſelfe that he hath done iuſtly and pioully. Contrariwiſe, ſet thou now before his eyes diuers reaſons that may diſſwade him. Tell him, that this worthy act which thou haſt done, ſhall be ſuddenly forgotten, the Citizens will not be ſo thankfull as thou deſerueſt; he will anſwere thee. All this is out of the action I haue done, I contemplate and conſider it in it ſelfe, I know it is honeſt. Therefore it is that, into what place ſoeuer I am led, into what place ſoeuer I am called, I am there. It is then the only good which a perfect ſoule, not only feeleth, but a generous man, and ſuch a one as is of a good nature. All other things are of little eſteeme, and ſubiect to change. And therefore it is that a man cannot poſſeſſe them without much care and trouble of minde, although the fauour of Fortune had aſſembled them all together into one mans poſſeſſion, yet are they for no other vſe, but a burthen to their maſter; they preſſe him alwayes, and ſometimes ouerwhelme him. There is not any one of thoſe, whom thou haſt clothed in purple, that is happie, no more then are they that beare a royall Scepter in their hands, and a Mantle on their backes vpon a ſtage in acting a play. For after they haue marched in their proud array and buskins before the people, as ſoone as they depart from them they are diſapparelled, and returne to their former eſtate. There is not one of thoſe, whom riches and honors haue raiſed to the higheſt places, that is great. Why then ſeemeth he to be great? Thou meaſureſt him by his ſhow. A dwarfe will be alwayes little, although hee be ſet vpon a mountaine; and huge ſtatue will retaine his greatneſſe, though it ſtand in a ditch. We are blinded with this error, and thus are we deceiued, becauſe we eſteeme no man by that which is in him, but we adde vnto him his ornaments. But when thou wilt haue a true eſtimate of a man, and know what a one he is, behold him naked: let him lay aſide his patrimony, his honours, and thoſe other flattering and falſe goods of Fortune. Let him diſpoſſeſſe himſelfe of his bodie, behold his minde, what and how great it is, whether of his owne good, or by anothers: if he dare looke on a drawne ſword with a manly eie, if he know that there is no great matter whither his ſoule depart, by his mouth, or by his throat; call him happy. That at ſuch time when he ſhal heare that he muſt endure bodily torméts, or ſuch euils as happen by caſualtie, or by the plot of great men, that if he muſt ſuffer bonds and exile, and the vaine feares of humane mindes, ſecurely heareth them, and ſaith.

Not any new ſuſpition of miſhap,
O Virgin, ſhall my ſetled minde intrap:
All theſe haue I forethought long time agoe,
My dangers are forecaſt in weale and woe.

Thou telleſt mee all this to day, I haue alwayes denounced it to my ſelfe. I haue diſpoſed man vnto all humane things. The ſtroake of miſchiefe which a man foreſeeth, is leſſe troubleſome and more light. But to fooles, and ſuch as credit Fortune, the face and appearance of things ſeemeth new and vnexpected, and noueltie for the moſt part is the greateſt cauſe of euil to the ignorant. That thou mayeſt know this, they ſuffer patiently thoſe things that they thought difficult, when they are accuſtomed thereunto. Therefore it is, that a wiſe-man inureth himſelfe to euils that may befall him, and that which others by a long patience make light and eaſie, the wiſe-man doth it after hee hath long time thought:

thought: we heare oft-times the diſcourſes of theſe ignorants, which ſay, I had not thought that this would as yet befall me; but the wiſe-man knoweth that all things are incident to him, and confeſſeth, that hee knoweth very well all that which may happen.

Epist. LXXVII.

And this by the way, is to be numbred amongſt thoſe that are good and profitable. He intreateth by the way of the Alexandrian Fleete, how whilſt other vanne out to ſee them, he neglected them. For what auayle theſe? or how long? I am olde, I am going hence, and at length I muſt willingly depart as Marcellinvs *did. Then againſt the feare of death, and that the reaſons thereof are to be contemned.*

THis day vpon the ſudden that *Alexandrian* Ships appeared vnto vs, which are vſually ſent before the Fleete, to giue tidings of the fortunate approach of the Nauie, which men call Friggats or Ships of meſſage. The view of theſe was gratefull and welcome to all *Campania*. All the people of *Pozzolo* climed vp vpon the Piles to behold them, and by the manner of their ſayles knew them from the reſt, notwithſtanding that they were intermingled with a great bulke of other ſhipping: for they onely haue libertie to ſpread their top-ſaile, which in their top all ſhips haue. For there is nothing that helpeth their courſe ſo much as that vpper part of the ſaile: for by it the Ships courſe is moſt of all furthered; and therefore as often as the winde encreaſeth, and is more violent then it ought to be, the top-yard is ſtriken for the winde, hath leſſe force ouer the bodie of the ſhip. But when they haue entered *Capreas* and the Promontorie, from whence,

Pallas *from high of ſtormie Mountaine ſpies.*

All other ſhips are commanded to content themſelues with their maine ſayle; the top-ſayle is the marke to know the *Alexandrian* ſhips. Amidſt the courſe of all theſe people that ran thus haſtily to the Sea ſhoare, I felt a very great pleaſure in my ſloath, becauſe that thinking to receiue Letters from mine agents, I made no haſt to know in what eſtate my affaires ſtood, or what they had brought me. For long agoe nothing hath beene gotten or loſt by me. This opinion ſhould I maintaine, although I were not olde: but now the rather, becauſe how little ſoeuer I had, I haue more to make vſe of them, I haue time to liue, eſpecially ſince we are entred into that way, which we neede not to accompliſh. The iourney will be imperfect, if thou ſtay either in the mid-way, or ſtand on this ſide the prefixed place: the life is not imperfect, if it be honeſt. Whereſoeuer thou endeſt, if the end be good it is intire: we ought likewiſe often and courageouſly to end, and not for great cauſes, for theſe are not the mightieſt that holde vs. *Tullius Marcellinus* (whom thou knoweſt very familiarly) who was temperate in his youth, and quickly an olde man, being ſurpriſed by a ſickneſſe which was not incurable yet long and tedious, and ſuch as commanded him to ſuffer much, began to deliberate and conclude vpon his death. To this intent he called together diuers of his friends. Euery one of theſe being naturally timerous, gaue him that counſaile they would haue entertained themſelues, or if there were a flatterer, or any one that ſtudied to pleaſe him, he gaue him that

aduice, that he thought would be best pleasing to him that demanded the question. Our friend *Asticho*, a worthy man, & that I may dignifie him with those titles, wherein he worthily deserueth praise, a man couragious and valiant, counsailed him in my opinion very nobly: for he began thus; *Torment not thy selfe, friend* MARCELLINE, *as if thou deliberatedst on any important affaire. It is no great matter to liue all thy slaues liue, and all other beasts also. It is a great matter to die honestly, prudently and valiantly. Bethinke thy selfe for how long time together thou hast done the same thing. Meate, sleepe, lust, by this circle all the world commeth. Not onely a valiant man, a strong man, a miserable man can haue a will to die, but he also that disdaineth life.* He needed no man to counsaile him hereunto, but some assistant; for his slaues would not obey him. First of all he tooke from them all feare, and taught them that slaues were in great danger, when as it was incertaine whether the death of the Lord were voluntarie or no. For otherwise it should be as dangerous an example to hinder a Master to die, as to kill him. Afterwards he admonished *Marcellinus* himselfe, that euen as when supper is ended, the remainder is deuided on those that attend; so when life is ended, somewhat is bequeathed to those who had beene attendants during the whole life time. *Marcellinus* was a man of a gentle and facile disposition, and liberall euen in those things which were his proper goods: he therefore distributed some small summes amongst his weeping seruants, and comforted them himselfe: he needed not eyther sword or shedding of bloud, for three daies he abstained, and in his very chamber he caused his Pauillion to be raised; afterwards his bath was brought thither, in which he lay long time, and caused water to be oftentimes cast vpon him, so by little and little fainted and failed he, not without a certaine pleasure, as he said (which a slight fainting is wont to bring) not vnapproued vnto vs, who are sometimes subiect to soundings. I haue made relation of this storie vnto thee, which I know will not be distastefull to thee, because thereby thou shalt vnderstand the manner of thy friends death, which was neyther difficult nor miserable: for although he procured his owne death, yet departed he and escaped most sweetly out of life. Neyther will this storie be vnprofitable to thee; for necessitie oftentimes exacteth such examples. Wee oft-times must die, yet we will not: we die, and yet we will not. There is no man so ignorant, but that he knoweth that one day he must die, but when the time approacheth neere he playes the coward, trembleth & weepeth. Wouldest thou not esteeme him the foolishest of all men, that should weepe because hee liued not a thousand years agoe? As foolish is he that weepeth because he shall not liue a thousand yeare after. Those are equall thou shalt not be, neither wast thou: both these two times are not our owne. Thou art cast vpon this point, which although thou mightest prolong, how long wouldest thou prolong it? Why weepest thou? What wishest thou? Thou losest thy labour;

Cease thou to hope that prayers so powerfull be,
That they can change the destinies decree.

They are firme and fixed, they are led by an eternall and powerfull necessitie. Thou shalt goe thither whither all things goe. Why thinkest thou this a new matter? Thou art borne vnder this condition, thy father hath had the like hap, this hath thy mother met withall, this haue thy predecessors knowne, this shall befall all men after thee. It is an inuincible successe and order that no force can change, and that tyeth and traineth all things with it. O how great number of people

people shall follow thee when thou art dead? How many are that shall accompanie thee? Thou wouldest in thy opinion be more constant, if diuers thousands of men should die with thee. And yet many thousands of men and beasts shall lose their liues by diuers sorts of death, at that verie instant when thou makest it a difficultie to die. But diddest thou not thinke that one day thou shouldest attaine thither whither thy iourney was alwaies intended? There is no iourney without end. Thinkest thou that I will recount vnto thee at this present examples of diuers great personages? No, I will but tell thee some of young lads: The memorie of that young *Lacedemonian* will neuer be lost, who hauing scarcely a haire vpon his chin, and being taken prisoner, cried out in that his Dorique tongue, I will not serue, and confirmed his wordes by effect; for as soone as he was commanded to doe some seruile and base office (for some commanded him to emptie the close stoole) he did beate out his brains against the wall. Our libertie being so neere, is there any man will serue? Haddest thou not rather thy sonne should die thus, then waxe olde in idlenes? What is there therefore why thou shouldest be perplexed, if to die couragiously be but a childes play? Thinkest thou that thou wilt not follow, thou shalt be enforced. Make that to be in thy power which is in another mans. Wilt thou not take vpon thee this young mans courage, and say, I will not serue? O miserable wretch! thou art slaue vnto men, thou art slaue vnto things, thou art slaue to thy life: for life if it want the courage to die, is a true seruitude. Hast thou any thing for which thou shouldest expect? Thou hast spent those pleasures that attended and retained thee. There is not any that is new vnto thee, not any but is now odious vnto thee, because thou hast surfeited therewith. Thou knowest what the taste of wine is, and what is the taste of Methegling: it skils not whether a hundreth or a thousand vessels of wine passe by thy bladder: thou art a sacke: thou hast often learned what the Oyster is, what the Mullet sauoreth thou knowest well, thy foolish expence hath reserued nothing for time to com, which thou hast not alreadie deuoured. Now these are they from which thou art drawne so vnwillingly. What other thing besides this is there which should yeeld thee discontent, if it were taken from thee? Are they thy friends and thy country? Hast thou so much euer honored the sunne, that for her thou wouldst haue deferred thy supper? Thou wouldest sooner choake vp the brightnesse of the sunne if thou couldest. For what hath beene euer done by thee that is worthie the light? Confesse, I pray thee, that there is not any amitie that thou bearest to the Senate or Palace, or to the nature of things which withdraweth thee from dying. It is in spite of thy teeth that thou leauest the shambles, in which thou hast left nothing. Thou fearest death: but how wouldest thou contemne it in the middest of thy pleasures? Thou desirest but to liue; for thou knowest well what it is, and hast feare of death: but what is this life, is it not death? *Caligula* passing thorow the Latine way, when as one of those that were ledde prisoners, that had a long beard and hoarie haires, besought him to giue him leaue to die. What said he, liuest thou yet? The same answer must be made vnto those to whom death might bring any comfort. Hast thou feare to die, and why liuest thou yet? But I, saith he, will liue; for I employ my selfe in many honest affaires. I leaue those offices and functions of life vnwillingly, which I discharge both faithfully and industriously. What, knowest thou not that it is one of the offices of life to die? Thou leauest no office, for the number of the duties which thou art to accomplish being vncertaine, it is determined. There is no life is not short: for if thou hast respect to the nature of things. Both *Nestors*

ſtors and *Statilias* life is ſhort, who ordeined that this ſhould be ingrauen on her tombe, that ſhe had liued ninetie nine yeares. Seeſt thou how this poore woman vaunteth her ſelfe of her long life? but who could haue ſupported her glorie, if it had beene her fortune to haue liued out full one hundred yeares? It fareth with our life as with a Stage-play, it skilleth not how long, but how well it hath beene acted. It importeth nothing in what place thou makeſt an end of life: die where thou wilt, thinke onely to make a good concluſion.

Epist. LXXVIII.

Of his ſickneſſes, yea, euen in his young yeares, and what reliefe he found for them. Honeſt ſtudies (ſaith he) and friends alſo, but the remedy of remedies contempt of death. Thither calleth he Lvcilivs, *and diſputed many things deepe, manly, and true againſt griefe.*

THe more impatiently ſuffered I to ſee thee vexed often with rhumes and feuers, which follow long defluxions, and ſuch as are alreadie brought into cuſtome, becauſe I my ſelfe haue had experience of this ſickneſſe, whereof at the beginning I made little reckoning. My youth could as yet ſupport this violence, and defend it ſelfe confidently againſt infirmities, but at length I ſunke vnder the burthen, and was brought to that eſtate, that I my ſelfe fell into a mortall diſtillation. Afterwards I became by little and little ſo extenuate and leane, that a ſudden deſire ſurpriſed me to procure mine owne death; yet my fathers olde years which I decrely tendered, reſtrained me therein. For I imagined not how conſtantly I might die, but how patiently he might endure my loſſe; for which cauſe I commanded my ſelfe to liue as yet: for ſometimes to liue is a manly deſigne. I will tel thee what reconforted me moſt at that time, but ſo as thou be before hand aduertiſed, that thoſe things wherein I tooke moſt repoſe, ſerued me for a medicine. Honeſt pleaſures are to vs in ſtead of remedie, and all that which may reioyce the ſpirit, profiteth the bodie in like ſort. My ſtudies gaue me my health. I muſt confeſſe that I am indebted to Philoſophie for my recouerie and health, to her I owe my life, and leſſe then that I cannot owe her. I haue beene furthered in recouerie of my health by the meanes of my friends, by their exhortations and watchings, and by thoſe diſcourſes they entertained me with, I was verie much comforted. There is nothing (my *Lucilius* the beſt of men) that more recreateth and comforteth a ſicke man, then the affection of his friends. There is nothing that ſo much ſtealeth away the thought & feare of death: I thought not on death when I ſaw them ſuruiue me: me thought, I ſay, that I ſhould liue yet, not with them but by their meanes: me ſeemed that I loſt not my ſpirit, but that I rendred it into their handes. All theſe encouraged me to aſſiſt my ſelfe, and to ſuffer all ſorts of torments: otherwiſe it is a miſerable matter, when as thou haſt loſt thy deſire to die, not to haue an affection to liue. Retire thy ſelfe therefore vnto theſe remedies. The Phyſitian will ſhew thee how long thou ſhouldeſt walk, and how much thou ſhouldeſt exerciſe: he will teach thee not to follow a repoſe whereunto an idle health is addicted, to reade aloude, to exerciſe and ſtrengthen thy breath, when the paſſages of the ſame, and the paſſages of the lungs are ſtopped, to faile, and make thy ſtomacke to deſiſt by gentle motion and exerciſe, what meats thou ſhouldeſt vſe when thou ſhalt call for wine

wine to ſtrengthen and comfort thee, and when thou ſhouldeſt intermit the ſame, leſt it ſhould prouoke and exaſperate thy cough. But I teach thee that which is not only a remedy for this infirmity, but of the whole life: Contemne death. There is nothing diſtaſtofull when we flie the feare hereof. Theſe three things in euery ſickneſs are very tedious; the feare of death, the paine of the bodie, and the intermiſſion of pleaſures. Of death there is enough ſpoken, I will only ſay this, that this feare proceedeth not from infirmities, but from nature. Sickneſſes haue delayed the death of many men, and to them it hath proued ſecuritie to ſeeme to periſh. Thou ſhalt die, not becauſe thou art ſicke, but becauſe thou liueſt. This death will attend thee when thou art recouered: when thou art freed from ſickneſs thou ſhalt eſcape, not thy death, but thy infirmitie. Let vs now returne to that incommodity that is proper to ſickneſs: it is accompanied with great and intollerable torments, but the intermiſſions make them tollerable; for when the griefe is moſt intended, it ſuddenly groweth to an end. No man can ſuffer an exceſſiue paine a long time; for Nature that loueth vs as much as is poſſible, hath ſo prouidently prouided, that ſhee maketh our paines either tollerable or very ſhort. The greateſt paines are felt moſt in thoſe parts that are moſt leane; the nerues, the ioynts, and all other parts that are thinneſt are cruelly tormented; when as corrupted humors are encloſed in theſe narrow paſſages, but theſe parts are quickly nummed, & loſe the ſenſe of paine, by reaſon of the pain it ſelf, either becauſe the ſpirits being hindred, to perforate their naturall courſe, and changed to the worſt, loſe the force which maketh them vigorous, and inciteth vs; or becauſe the corrupt humor, when it wanteth force to flow thither, whither it ſhould paſſe, choaketh them, and depriueth thoſe parts of ſenſe which are ouer much choaked. So the gout in feete and hands, and the paines that are felt in our ioynts, and nerues, are appeaſed when they haue ſtopped and ſtupified the parts they haue tormented. It is the firſt aſſault, ſharpnes and pricking that tormenteth, but this violence is extinguiſhed in time, and the end of the paine is to bee wholly ſtupified. The paine of the teeth, eyes, and eares, is the moſt violent, becauſe it is bred in the narroweſt and ſtraiteſt parts of the bodie, and no leſſe, vndoubtedly, is that of the head. But the more violent that is, the ſooner is it changed into madneſſe or ſtupiditie. This therefore is the comfort in intended griefe, that thou muſt of neceſſitie ceaſe to feele the ſame, if thou feele it ouer much. But that which moſt of all afflicteth ignorant men, during the torment which they feele in their bodies, proceedeth hence, becauſe they are not accuſtomed to content themſelues with the goods of the minde, and for that they entertaine too much friendſhip with their bodies. And therefore a great and prudent man retireth his minde from his bodie, and is for the moſt part conuerſant with the better and diuiner part, and but onely for neceſſities ſake with the other, which is fraile and ſtill plaining. But thou wilt ſay it is a tedious thing for a man to want his accuſtomed pleaſures, to abſtaine from meates, to ſuffer thirſt and hunger. I confeſſe that vpon the firſt abſtinence it is a tedious thing, but by little and little this deſire is diminiſhed, when as the things which wee deſire are gouerned, and reſtraine themſelues of themſelues. Thence commeth it to paſſe, that the ſtomack is more tempered, and they that fed with moſt rauenous appetite growne in hatred thereof. Deſires and appetites die of themſelues. It is no grieuous thing to want that, that thou haſt deſiſted to long after. Moreouer, there is not any griefe, but hath ſome intermiſſion and remiſſion. Furthermore, a man can warrantize himſelfe from euills that are to come, and preuent thoſe by remedies,

dies, which threaten and menace him. For there is not any ſickneſſe, but hath ſome precedent ſigne, yea euen that which returneth by cuſtome. Thou mayeſt beare an infirmitie patiently, if thou contemneſt the extremitie wherewith it threatneth thee. Make not thine euils greater then they be, and charge not thy ſelfe with complaints, the paine is light, if opinion aggrauateth it not; contrawiſe, if thou begin to exhort thy ſelfe, and to ſay, *It is nothing, or in effect verie little, let vs endure the ſame, and it will ſuddenly haue an end.* Thou ſhalt make it light whileſt thou thinkeſt it ſo. All things depend vpon opinion; not only ambition, but expence and auarice are meaſured by it; our paine is but opinion. A man is no more miſerable, thē he ſuppoſeth himſelf to be. I think that the complaints of forepaſſed pains ought to be forgotten, and ſuch words as theſe: *There was neuer any man more miſerable. What torments, what euils haue I ſuffered? No man thought that I ſhould euer riſe again. How often haue my friends bewailed me? How often haue I beene giuen ouer by my Phyſitians? Such as haue beene tortured on the racke, are not ſo much ſtretched.* Although all this be true, yet is it alreadie paſſed. What pleaſure takeſt thou in the remembrance of fore-paſſed paines, and to refreſh thy miſerie that is already paſt: conſidering likewiſe, that there is not any one that will adde to his euill, and that lieth not to himſelfe? Againe, it is a thing very agreeable to recount the euill that is paſt. It is alſo a thing naturall to reioyce vpon the end of his miſerie. We muſt therefore driue out of vs two things, the one is the feare of future euill, and the other the remembrance of that which is paſt: this for the preſent appertaineth not vnto mee, that not as yet, when he ſhall finde himſelfe in theſe difficulties, he may ſay,

And theſe perhaps heareafter call'd to minde
Will moue vs to reioyce.

Let him fight againſt the ſame with all his forces, if he yeeld, he ſhall be ouercome, if he enforce himſelfe againſt his griefe, hee ſhall ouercome. There are many in theſe dayes that doe this, they draw vpon themſelues the ruine which they ſhould reſiſt. If thou retireſt thy helfe from vnder that which preſſeth and oppreſſeth thee, that hangeth ouer thy head and menaceth thee, it followeth thee, and falleth vpon thee with a greate waight; but if thou makeſt head againſt it, if thou wilt reſiſt it, thou ſhalt repulſe it. How many ſtroaks and wounds do the wreſtlers receiue vpon their faces, and their whole bodies? yet ſuffer they all theſe torments for the ambition of glory; and endure the ſame, not only becauſe they fight, but to the end they may know how to fight well; the exerciſe it ſelfe is a very torment. Let vs then likewiſe endeuour to ſurmount all trauels, the price and reward whereof, is not a ſimple crowne, a palme, or a trumpet, which commandeth ſilence, to the end that the praiſe of our name might bee publiſhed, but the vertue and conſtancie of the minde, and a tranquillity of the ſpirit which wee obtaine for euer, if in any combare wee could ſurmount Fortune. I feele a cruell paine, but how ſhouldeſt thou otherwiſe doe but feele it, if thou endure it in no other ſort, then women doe. Euen as the enemie chargeth thoſe moſt ſtrongly, who flie moſt ſpeedily: in like ſort, all the euils that Fortune ſendeth vs, charge him moſt violently that loſeth his courage and playeth the coward. But this griefe is euer violent. And why? Are wee not conſtant but to ſuffer light things? Whether hadd'eſt thou rather, either that thy ſickneſs ſhould be long, or that it ſhould be violent and ſhort? If it be long, it hath intermiſſions, and giueth place to refection, it giueth much time, it muſt in the end for-

forſake thee and depart. A ſhort and violent ſickneſſe will either doe the one or the other, it will either ſuddenly end, or ſuddenly mend thee. But what skilleth it, whether it be not, or I be not? Since both in the one and the other, the paine hath an end? It may alſo profit thee much, to diuert thy thoughts to ſome other thing, and not to dreame at all of thy paine. Set before thine eyes that which thou haſt ſometimes vertuouſly and honorably done: diſcourſe with thy ſelf on the nobleſt ſtratagems: caſt thy remembrance vpon that which thou haſt greatly admired, and what at that time the moſt conſtant, and they that haue ouercome griefe, preſent themſelues vnto thy thought; how he that ſtretched out his legge to ſuffer his *Varices* to be cut, perſeuered in reading his booke. He likewiſe that neuer ceaſed to laugh, whileſt his wrathfull torturers wondering thereat, wrought vpon him with all the tooles and inſtruments of crueltie. Shall not that paine be ouercome by reaſon, which hath beene ouercome by laughter? Tell me now what ſoeuer thou wilt, both of the diſcent of Rhumes, and of the vertue of a continuall cough, that maketh a man yeeld vp a part of his bowels, and of a feuor that ſcorcheth the intrailes, and of thirſt, and of the ioynts of feete and hands, which griefe and paine hath contracted, and diſlocated. The flame, the racke, the burning and glowing plates, and that which is laid vpon the ſwollen wounds, to renue their paine, and to make it pierce more deepe, is yet more cruell. And yet there haue beene ſome, that haue ſuffered all this without complaining. It is a ſmall matter. And bath not once beſought them to giue ouer. It is a toy. And that hath neuer anſwered. It is a trifle. That hath laughed out-right with all his heart. After all this, wilt thou laugh at paine? But ſicknes, thou wilt ſay, ſuffereth me to doe nothing. It hinders mee in all my functions. Sickneſſe attaineth the bodie, but not the minde. Therefore it is that ſhe ſtayeth the feete of him that runneth, and tieth the ſhoomakers hands, and hindereth the ſmithes hammer. But thou haſt well learned to make vſe of thy ſoule, thou ſhalt admoniſh, thou ſhalt teach, thou ſhalt heare, thou ſhalt learne, thou ſhalt demaund, thou ſhalt remember thy ſelfe. What then? beleeueſt thou that thou doeſt nothing, if thou be temperate in thy ſickneſſe? Thou ſhalt ſhew that the ſickneſſe may be ouercome, at leaſtwiſe that it may be endured. Truſt me, vertue findeth place euen in the bed it ſelfe. Armes, and following the warre, doe not onely teſtifie a valiant heart, and ſuch a one as may not be daunted with feare. A man may approue his valour and courage euen in his couerlets and ſleeping cloathes. Thou haſt enough to employ thy ſelfe in. Fight valiantly againſt thy ſickneſſe, if it conſtraine thee to doe nothing; if it get no maſtery ouer thee, thou ſhalt ſerue for a worthie example. O how great were the matter of our glory, if a man ſhould come and ſee vs when we were ſicke? But caſt thou thine eyes vpon thy ſelfe, and praiſe thy ſelfe. Beſide, there are two ſorts of pleaſures, ſicknes hindereth the corporall, yet taketh them not away wholly; but rather if thou wilt iudge according to the truth, it inciteth them. There is more pleaſure in drinking when a man hath thirſt, and the meate is moſt taſtfull to him that is moſt an hungered. All that which a man findeth after a long abſtinence, he eateth with a greater apperite. But as touching thoſe other pleaſures of the minde, which are both greater and more aſſured: there is not any Phyſitian forbiddeth them his patients; thoſe whoſoeuer followeth and vnderſtandeth them well, contemneth all the blandiſhments of the ſenſes. O vnfortunate ſicke man. And why? Becauſe hee mixeth not his wine with ſnow, becauſe he renueth not the cold that he drinketh mixed in a great cup, by theſe morſels of ice which hee breaketh

keth there into, becauſe thoſe Oyſters which are fiſhed in the lake Lucern, are not opened for him at his table, becauſe he heareth not round about his hall the rumor of his Cookes, that bring and ſerue in his meate, together with the fire to keepe them warme. For prodigality and fooliſh expence hath already found out this inuention, to the intent that no meat ſhould be cooled, and that leſt the pallet of the mouth, already hardened, ſhould finde nothing that were not very hot; the Cooke attendeth the ſupper. O vnhappie ſicke man? he ſhall eat but what he can diſgeſt: hee ſhall not haue a whole boare meſſed into his ſeruice, to be ſent away as courſe commons. He ſhal not be ſerued with the pulpes of fowles (for men now adayes diſdaine to ſee them intire) aſſembled in diſhes apart. What wrong haſt thou receiued hereby? Thou ſhalt ſup like a ſick man; yea hereafter like a whole man. But all thoſe things ſhall we eaſily ſuffer, both brothes, warme water, and other things whatſoeuer ſeemeth intollerable to delicate and voluptuous men, and ſuch as are more ſicke in minde then in body. Let vs onely forget the horror and feare of death. But that ſhall we not forget, if we cannot diſtinguiſh the ends of euill and good. And by this meanes finally we ſhall not feele any diſguſt of our life, nor any feare of death: for a man can neuer be wearie, or diſliking of life, when it is occupied after things ſo diuers, ſo high, and ſo diuine. There is nothing but idle and laſie repoſe that cauſeth vs to hate the ſame. Truth will neuer be tedious vnto him that trauelleth in the ſecrets of Nature; there is nothing but fallhood that glutteth vs. Againe, if death come and call vs, although it be before our time, although it abridge vs of the moitie of our liues, yet long before that time the fruit hath beene gathered. All nature for the moſt part is knowne vnto him, hee knoweth that honeſt things encreaſe not by their durance or continuance. They of neceſſitie muſt ſuppoſe their liues ſhort, who meaſure the ſame by vaine, and therefore infinite pleaſures. Recreate thy ſelfe with theſe thoughts, and in the interim caſting thine eyes vpon our Epiſtles, a time will come that ſhall reunite vs, and reaſſemble vs, how little ſoeuer it be, the knowledge how to vſe it wel, wil make it long enough. For, as *Poſſidonius* ſaith, *One day amongſt learned men dureth longer, then the longeſt age of an ignorant and vnlearned man.* In the meane time hold this opinion conſtantly, that thou muſt not ſuffer thy ſelfe to be ouercome by aduerſities; nor truſt too much in proſperitie, to haue the power of Fortune alwayes before our eyes, as if ſhe ſhould do all whatſoeuer ſhe can doe. Whatſoeuer is long looked for, is leſſe tedious when it happeneth.

Epist. LXXIX.

Somewhat of Charibdis, Scilla, and Ætna. Then that wiſe-men are equall amongſt themſelues: and he exhorteth vnto wiſdome, although glory accompany it not. But it will accompany the ſame, though after death. Good.

I Expect thy letters, by which thou ſhouldeſt certifie me what noueltie hath encountered thee in all that voyage thou haſt made about Sicely, and what thou haſt learned of certaintie, as touching *Charibdis*. For I know that *Scilla* is a rocke which is not dreadfull to thoſe that ſaile by it. But I haue a great deſire to vnderſtand, if all thoſe fables which haue beene reported by *Charibdis* be true, and if happily thou haſt obſerued any thing, for it is a thing worthy to be marked. Reſolue

Reſolue me whether it be one winde that cauſeth ſo manie Whirle-pooles, or whether euery tempeſt alike doth exaſperate that Sea; and whether it be true likewiſe, that all that which is deuoured in this tempeſt and ſtorme of Sea by the waues, is carried away ſecretly vnder the waues of the Sea for many miles, and afterwards caſt on ſhore on the bankes of the gulfe of *Tauromenitan*. When thou haſt wholly ſatisfied me herein, then dare I command thee alſo to doe me that honor, to aſcend the mount *Ætna*, which ſome men ſuppoſe and conclude to be conſumed and decayed by little and little, becauſe in times paſt men were wont to ſhewe it more farther off to Paſſengers. This may happen, not for that the height of the mountaine is diminiſhed, but becauſe the fire is weakened, and blaſeth out with leſſe vehemencie and abundantly; and by the ſame reaſon that the ſmoake by day time is more little. But neither the one or the other is incredible: neither that the mountaine which the fire deuoureth continually, is not diminiſhed; neither that the fire continueth alwaies in one and the ſame greatneſſe. For it is not of it ſelfe, but ingendred in ſome gulfe vnder earth: it is ſtirred, and is kindled and nouriſhed by a forraigne meanes, hauing but one only paſſage & iſſue by this mountain, and not his nouriſhment thereby. There is in *Licia* a Territorie of land, very well known vnto all men, the inhabitants thereabouts call it *Epheſtion*, or the land which is pierced in diuers places. This countrey is inuironed with a fire, that no waies hurteth whatſoeuer plant it is that groweth thereupon: the Region therefore is fruitfull and full of graſſe, which the flames doe neuer burne, but make ſhine with a faint and forceleſſe brightneſſe. But let vs reſerue theſe to queſtion vpon, then when thou haſt written me how farre diſtance the ſnowes are from the mouth of the mountaine, which the ſummer thaweth not, ſo ſecure are they from the fire. Thou muſt not ſay that I am the cauſe to make thee vndertake this labour: for thou woul-deſt ſatisfie this Poeticall fancie of thine, though no man vrged thee thereunto, vntill thou deſcribeſt *Ætna* in thy verſe, and deſcribed this place, ſo renowned by all the Poets: for although *Virgil* had fully deſcribed it, yet was not *Ouid* deterred from handling the ſame ſubiect, and that which theſe two had plentifully written did not deterre *Cornelius Seuerus*. Beſides, this place hath proued to all, and they which wrote before, ſeeme not in my iudgement to haue preuented thoſe things which might be ſpoken, but to haue explained them. But there is a great difference, whether thou addreſſe thy ſelfe to a matter throughly wrought vpon, or ſuch a one as is well prepared. This groweth daily, and thoſe things that are already found and inuented, cannot hurt thoſe that ſhould inuent hereafter. Moreouer, the condition of the laſt commer is the beſt: hee findeth wordes alreadie prepared, which addreſſed after another manner, haue a new appeareance; neither layeth he hold on them, although appertayning to others, for they are publique. The lawyers denie that any thing which is publique may be held by preſcription; either I know thee not, or thy teeth water at *Ætna*. Thou haſt a minde to write vpon ſom great ſubiect, like to thoſe of the auncients; for more thy modeſtie permitteth thee not to hope, which is ſo great in thee, that I ſuppoſe thou wouldeſt reſtraine the forces of thy ſpirit, if there were any likelihood thou ſhouldeſt conquer: ſo greatly reuerenceſt thou antiquitie. Amongſt the reſt wiſedome hath this goodneſſe in it, no man can be ouercome by another, if it be not in mounting when they ſhall come to the height, all is equall, there is no place for increaſe, ſhe is ſetled. Doth the Sunne adde any thing to his greatneſſe, doth the Moone become more great then ſhee was wont? The Seas increaſe not, the world obſerueth the ſame habite and manner.

manner. Those things which haue attained to their iust greatnesse, cannot augment themselues more: whosoeuer shall be wise, they shall be euen and equall. But each of them shall be endowed with his proper vertue, the one shall be more milde and affable, the other more readie; the one more prompt in declayming, the other more eloquent; that whereof we speake, which maketh a man blessed shall be equall to all. I know not whether thine *Ætna* may sinke and be ruinated in it selfe, whether the continuall force of fire impaire and consume this high and conspicuous topped hill, which is seene so farre at Sea. Neither fire nor raine can bring vertue vnder. This maiestie only cannot be depressed, it cannot be extended further, nor withdrawne backward, her greatnesse is setled as that of the celestiall bodies. Let vs endeuour to present our selues vnto her, alreadie haue we performed much, and yet not very much if I should speake the truth: for it is not goodnesse to be better then the baddest. Who would glorifie himselfe, or boast that he had eyes that could beholde the day, when as the Sunne shineth on them thorow mistie cloudes, although he be contented in the meane space to haue fled the darkenesse, yet as yet he enioyeth not the good of the light? Then shall our minde haue wherewithall to gratulate himselfe, when as discharged of this darkenesse in which he is plunged, he shall see those cleere things, not with a feeble sight, but after he hath seene the light of the cleere day, and restored to his heauen, he recouer againe the place which he enioyed by the condition of his birth. His first originall summoneth him vpward. And in that place shall he be, yea, euen before he be deliuered out of this prison, where he hath shaken of his vices, and become pure and light he shall be raised into contemplation of diuine things. This must we doe, my deere *Lucilius*, hither must we bend all our forces, although few men know it, although no man see it. Glorie is the shadow of vertue, and will accompanie vs against our wils: but euen as the shadow sometime goes before, and sometimes followeth; so glorie is sometimes before vs, and offereth her selfe to be seene, sometimes she is behinde vs, and becommeth more great, because she commeth somewhat later, when as enuie is wholly retired. How long time seemed *Democritus* to be mad? *Socrates* had scarcely any reputation? How long was it ere *Rome* knew what *Cato* was? How long contemned she him, and neuer thorowly knew him, till she had wholly lost him? *Rutilius* innocencie and vertue had lien hid, except he had receiued iniurie, whilst he is wronged his worthinesse appeared. Did he not thanke his fortune, and embrace his exile? I speake of those whom fortune made glorious, when she grieued them; how manie mens deserts and worth grew to light after them? How many hath fame neglected in life, and eternized in the graue? Thou seest how much *Epicurus* is not onely admired amongst the learned, but also among the ignorant; and this man was vnknowne to the *Athenians* themselues, where he liued alwayes obscured. Outliuing therefore *Metrodorus* by manie yeares, when in a certaine Epistle of his with gratefull commemoration he had notified the friendship betwixt *Metrodorus* and him, in the conclusion he added this; *That amidst so many goods which* METRODORVS *and he had partaken in their life, it little harmed them, that so renowned Greece was not onely ignorant of them, but scarcely had heard of them.* Was he not therefore found when as he ceased to be? Did not his opinion grow famous? The like also doth *Metrodorus* confesse in a certaine Epistle, *That he and* EPICVRVS *were not in sufficient reputation, but that afterwards both he and* EPICVRVS *should haue a great and addressed fame at their handes who would follow the way that they had held.* No vertue is obscured, neither is it anie indignitie or damage

mage to it, to haue beene hidden: the day will come which will bring it to light, though hidden and restrained through the worlds wickednesse. Hee is borne for the profite of few men, that thinketh onely on the people of his age. Manie thousands of yeares and nations shall succeede vs; looke thou on them, although enuie hath enioyned silence to all those that liue with thee, there shall others succeede, who shall iudge without hatred or fauour: and if vertue ought to receiue any recompence by glorie, she shall not lose it. We shall not vnderstand what wordes posteritie speaketh of vs; yet shall they honour vs, and frequent vs, though we perceiue it not. There is not any whom vertue hath not dignified both in life and after death: if so be he hath followed his wholly, and with a good faith, if he haue not decked and disguised himselfe, if he continued on, whether it seemed vpon warning, or vnprepared and suddenly. Dissembling profiteth nothing; a fained countenance, and slightly forged externally, deceiueth but very few; vertue which way soeuer you turne her is all one. Things deceiueable are of no stabilitie. A lie is thin, thou shalt easily see thorow it, if thou diligently looke vpon it.

EPIST. LXXX.

That the common sort went to the showes and games, he to his studie and contemplation. That the minde is to be beautified and not the bodie, and how easie a thing it is if you desire good things. That we are to search out libertie, which is performed by despising and spurning at desires. That true felicitie is therein, and not in externall splendor. Good.

THis day I am wholly mine owne, not onely by mine owne means, but for that the foote-ball play hath withdrawne all those that were troublesome vnto me, and came to importunate me. There is not one that thrusteth in vpon me, no man distracteth my thoughts, my doore creaked not so often as it was accustomed, my hanging was not lifted vp, I haue freedome to be solitarie, which is most necessarie for him that walketh alone, and followeth his owne way. Doe I not therfore follow the auncient? I do. Yet suffer I my selfe to inuent somewhat, and to leaue. I seruilely tye me not to their opinions, but assent vnto them; yet haue I spoken a great word, who promised my selfe silence and secrecie if I were not interrupted. Beholde a huge crie is raised in the Theatre, where men exercise their running, which cannot draw my selfe from my selfe, but rather transporteth me to contemplate on the combats that are in hand. I thinke with my selfe, how many exercise their bodies, how few their mindes; how many men throng to a vaine and trifling spectacle, and what desolation there is about good arts, how weakely minded they are, whose armes and shoulders we wonder at? But aboue all I meditate vpon this. If a man may by exercise bring his bodie to this patience, whereby he may sustaine not only the stroakes and spurns of manie men, whereby soiled with his owne bloud, hee may endure the scorching Sunne, and hotteſt sand all the day long: how much more easily may the mind bestrengthned, inuincibly to entertaine the shocke of fortune, to the end that being cast to ground, and trode vnder foote, he may yet raise himselfe? For the bodie hath neede of manie things to strengthen the same, but the minde increaseth by it selfe, is nourished by it selfe, exerciseth it selfe. The bodie hath neede of

of much meat, of much drinke, and much oyle, and much exercise; but vertue will come vnto thee without any furnishing, without any expence. Whatsoeuer may make thee good is with thee; what needest thou to make thee good? thy will. But what better mayest thou will, then to deliuer thy selfe out of this seruitude, which tyrannizeth ouer the world, and from which the slaues themselues, of how seruile condition what soeuer, & borne euen in the ordures thereof, striue by all meanes to cast off? That flocke of cattell they haue bought by pinching their owne bellies, they pay for their liberty; wilt not thou endeuour at what charge soeuer, to obtain this libertie, who thinkest thy selfe a free borne man? Why castest thou thine eye vpon thy coffers? I cannot be bought. It is a vaine thing therfore to cast the name of libertie into the Tables of Manumission, which neyther they that bought, nor those that sell the same may haue. It is thou that must giue thy selfe this good, thou must demand it of thy selfe: first of all discharge thy selfe of the feare of death; for that is it which first of all bringeth vs in subiection, and afterwards from the feare of pouertie. If thou wilt know how little euill there is therein, make a comparison betwixt the looks of such as are poore, & those that are rich: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily: no pensiuenes deeply groundeth it selfe in his breast, although some trifling affliction befall him, it passeth away like a light cloude. The ioy of those who are called rich is fained, or their sorrow is grieuous and rotten; and so much the more grieuous, because they dare not discouer their miseries, but amidst the sorrowes that gnaw their very hearts, they are enforced to set a face of felicitie vpon their discontent. I must oftentimes make vse of this example, for by no other may this minick of mans life (which assigneth vs these parts which we act very aukwardly) be expressed. He that in the Scene stalketh proudely vp and downe, and looking vpward, vttereth these words;

Behold I gouerne Greece, PELOPS *my sire*
Hath left me Kingdomes, and the Lands which lie
From Helisp̃ont vnto the Seas that tire
Th' Ionian shores.

Is but a slaue, he gaineth fiue bushels of corne and fiue pence. That proude fellow, who full of ostentation and puffed vp with confidence of his owne strength sayeth,

Except proude MENELAVS *thou be still,*
And shun debate, this right hand shall thee kill.

Hath but his daies allowances, and sleeps in a poore ordinarie chamber. Thou mayest say as much of all these wanton minions, who are hanged in the ayre, in a Litter, carried more high then the heads of men, and aboue the troop of common people. The felicitie of all these is but masked. Thou wilt contemne them if thou despoile them. When thou wouldest buy a horse, thou causest his saddle to be taken off of his backe. Thou causest the slaue thou wouldest buy, to be turned naked, for feare least any infirmities of his bodie should be hidden. Wilt thou estimate a man when he is wrapped vp? These Regrators shadow and couer by some slight that which might hinder the Merchandize of their slaues. And therefore it is that a faire garment and ornament maketh them oftentimes suspicious that intend to buy. If thou shouldest see an arme or a knee

knee bound vp, thou wouldest command to haue it vnswathed and laid open, and all the bodie to be discouered. Seest thou that King of Scithia or Sarmatia adorned with a rich attire vpon his head: if thou wilt estimate him, and know him wholly what he is, take from him his royall ornament; much mischiefe lies hidden thereunder. Why speake I of others? If thou wilt estimate thy selfe, lay apart thy money, thy house, and thy dignitie, and consider well with thy selfe what thou art inwardly. For now thou trustest other men to shew thee what thou art.

EPIST. LXXXII.

The beginning concerneth an vngratefull man: and then followeth a question, whether we ought to bee thankefull vnto him who formerly helped vs, and afterwards hurt vs. He disputeth this matter, both subtilly, and diffusedly, and distinguisheth diuersly.

THou complainest that thou art fallen into an vngratefull mans hands: if this be the first time, either thanke thy fortune, or thy diligence. Although diligence in this place can make thee nothing, except it make thee wicked. For if thou wouldest auoid this perill, thou shalt neuer doe any man a courtesie: thus left thy benefits should perish in another mans hands, they shall perish in thine owne. It were better they were neuer recompenced, then neuer giuen: yea euen after a bad haruest we returne to tillage. Oftentimes what soeuer hath beene lost by the vsuall sterilitie of a barren ground, hath beene redeemed by the plentie of one good yeare. It is so great a matter to finde one gratefull man, to make triall of many vngratefull: no man hath so certaine a hand in giuing benefits, but that he is oftentimes deceiued, let them faile sometimes once to be assured. The seas are sailed on when the shipwracke is past. The Vsurer forbeareth not to lend because he hath met with a banckrupt. Our minde will quickly be benummed with fruitlesse idlenes, if it should incontinently forsake what soeuer is distastefull vnto it. But let this very thing make thee more bountifull. For if thou wilt that a thing (whose euent is vncertaine) should haue a happie issue, it behoueth thee to assay it oftentimes. But hereof haue we sufficiently spoken in our Books which we haue written of Benefits. Better it were to dispute of another point, (which, in my iudgement, is not sufficiently expressed and decided) whether he that befriendeth vs, and afterwards hurteth vs, hath equally his benefit, and whether we are acquit from him. Adde if thou wilt hereunto this also, that afterwards he had hurt vs more, then before-time he profited vs. If thou expect a seuere sentence of a Iudge, that would follow the rigor of law, he will release them respectiuely, and will say. Although the iniury bee more great, yet let that which remaineth of the iniury bee giuen to the benefits. He hath hurt more. But first of all he hath profited, and therefore we must haue some regard of time. Now those things are more manifest, then that they need an admonition, that it is necessarie to know how willingly hee hath profited, how vnwillingly harmed. Because both benefits and iniuries are measured by the minde. I would not giue a benefit, but I was ouercome with shame, or by the pertinacie of his instant suite, or by hope. What soeuer is owing, is examined by the same minde wherewith it is giuen, neither is it weighed by the greatnes thereof,

but by the wil frō whence it proceedeth. Let all coniecture be now taken away. Both that was a benefit, & this that exceeded the measure of the former benefit, is an iniury. A good man will in such sort make his account, that he himselfe will deceiue himselfe. He will adde vnto the benefit, & take from the iniury. But another that would iudge more gratiously, as I would doe, will forget the offence, and remember the fauour. Assuredly it is the act of iustice (saith he) to giue each man that which appertaineth thereunto, to the benefit acknowledgement, to the iniury reuenge, or at least-wise an euill acceptance. This shall bee true, when as one doth an iniury, another giueth a benefit. For if it be the same, the force of the iniury is extinguished by the benefit. For to him whom wee ought to pardon, although no deserts of his were precedent, to him is more then pardon due, if he hurt vs after he hath done vs kindnesse; yet take I not them both alike, more prise I the benefit then the iniury. Euery one knoweth not how to owe a benefit gratefully. An imprudent, rude, and base conditioned fellow may restore a benefit, and recompence the same anon after he hath receiued it, but he knoweth not how much he is obliged. The wise-man onely knoweth at what rate each thing is to be taxed. For that foole, of whom I spake of late, although he haue a good will, either restoreth lesse then he oweth, or doth it not in time and conuenient place, and lauisheth and casteth that away, which he should recompence and satisfie. There is a wonderfull proprietie of words in some things, and the custome of ancient language deligneth some things vnto vs in effectuall meats, and ductie teaching lessons. Thus truely are we wont to say. This man hath referred or requited that mans fauour: to requite, is willingly to returne that which thou owest. We say not, hee hath returned thankes; for both they who are demanded, and are vnwilling, and that in euery place, and those that returne by another mans hand giue satisfaction. We say not, he hath remitted the benefit, or he hath paid it, for those words which are proper to acquit a man of money lent, are no wayes pleasing to me in this subiect. Referre, is as much to say, as to goe and acknowledge, that is, beare backe, vnto him whom thou hast receiued. This word signifieth voluntarie relation or reknowledgement. Hee that hath referred, that is to say, reknowledged, hath appealed and sommoned himselfe. The wise-man will examine all things with himselfe, how much he hath receiued, from whom, when, where, and how. Therefore is it, that we deny that any man knoweth how to reknowledge a benefit, but a wise-man, no more then any other man, knoweth how to giue a benefit, except he be a wise-man, and such a one, who is more glad to giue, then another to receiue. This some man numbreth amongst those things which wee seeme to name extrauagant and strange vnto all men, the Greekes call them Paradoxes, and saith: Is there no man therefore that knoweth how to requite a good turne but a wise-man? Therefore no other man but he knoweth how to pay his creditor that which hee oweth him, nor when hee buyeth any thing, to pay the price thereof to him that selleth the same? But lest this blame should fall vpon me, know this, that *Epicurus* saith as much. *Metrodorus* assuredly saith, *That the wise-man onely knoweth how to reknowledge a fauour.* Againe, the same man admireth, when we say, *The wise-man only knoweth how to loue, the wise-man onely is a friend*: but to requite a fauour, is both the part of loue and friendship; nay rather this is more vulgar and more casuall amongst many, then true friendship. Againe, the same man wondereth, because we say, that there is no faith, but in a wise-man, as if he himselfe had not said the same. Supposest thou this, that he hath any faith, that knoweth not how to acknowledge a benefit? Let them therefore cease to defame vs, as if we preferred or maintained vncredible things, & let them know that true honesty is lodged only in a wise-mans breast, and the only images and appearance of honest things with the common sort. No man knoweth how to requite a courtesie, but a wise-man. A foole in some sort also acknowledgeth as he conceiueth the meanes, and how he may, and let his knowledge rather faile him then his will. The will is not learned. A wise-man will compare all things to their worth: his worke although it be the same, is made eyther greater or lesser, by time, place, and cause. Oft-times riches powred into a house, could not do that that a thousand pence could, being giuen in season. For there is a great difference whether thou giuest, or succourest. Whether thy liberalitie hath saued him, or engreatned him. Oft-times that which is giuen is small, that which followeth thereby is great: but what difference is there, whether any man hath taken backe againe that which he had giuen, or receiued a benefit, to the end he might giue? But least we should returne into the examination of those things which he hath sufficiently debated of; in this comparison of benefite and iniurie, a good man will iudge that which is most right full, yet will he fauour the benefite, and be most addicted to that side. But the consideration of the person is of greatest moment in these affaires. Thou hast giuen me a benefite in the person of my slaue, but thou hast done me iniurie in my father. Thou hast saued me my sonne, but taken my father from me; consequently he will pursue and examine all the circumstances by which all comparison hath his proceeding: and if it be but a smal matter that causeth the difference, he will dissemble that. But if it be great, and that he hath the power to pardon it, without iniurying pietie or faith, he will remit it, that is, if the whole iniurie appertaine vnto himselfe. The summe of the matter is this, he shall be facile and gratious in this compensation, he shall suffer himselfe to be more charged in the account, and will neuer pay a benefit with an iniurie, except it be by great constraint, he will incline alwayes to this side, he will maintaine this part in desiring to acknowledge a benefite, and affecting to requite it. For he is deceiued what soeuer he be, that more willingly receiueth a benefite then hee restoreth it. By how much the more ioyfull hee is that payeth then hee that borroweth, by so much ought he to be more content that discharged himselfe of a great debt by restoring the benefite which he hath receiued, then the other which obligeth himselfe by receiuing. For in this also vngratefull men are deceiued, in that they satisfie their creditor with an ouer-plus besides the principall, and suppose that the vse of benefits is gratuitall: yet these increase by delay, and so much more is to be satisfied, by how much it is slackly satisfied. Ingratefull is he that restoreth a benefite without vsurie; and therefore we ought to haue a respect to this length, when we compare the receits and layings out. We must labour as much as in vs lieth, to be most gratefull; for this good is truely ours, euen as it is not iustice as it is commonly beleeued that appertaineth to others, the greatest part thereof returneth into it selfe. There is no man that hath profited another, that hath not profited himselfe. I speake it not with the intent wherewith he that hath been succoured, would succour, and he that hath beene defended would defend, because a good example returneth to him that gineth it, as also euill examples doe finally fall vpon their author; neyther finde they any pittie who suffer iniuries, and by acting the same haue taught others that they may be done, but because the reward of all vertue lieth in them: for they are not put in execution, vnder hope of reward. The reward of a good action is to haue acted the same. I am grate-

full, not that another should more willingly lend me, being egged thereunto by the former example, but that I might performe a thing both most pleasing and agreeable. I am gratefull, not because that shall yeelde me profit, but because it contenteth my minde. And to the end thou mayest know that which I speake is so truely: if I haue not the meanes to expresse my gratuitie, except in shewing my selfe to be vngratefull, if I cannot yeeld satisfaction, except it be vnder a pretext of doing iniurie, I ought most willingly to follow this counsaile, although I be in danger to be noted of infamie. There is no man in my iudgement that estimates vertue more, no man more deuoted therunto then he that lost the reputation of a good man, because he would not make shipwrack of his cõscience. Therefore, as I said, thou art gratefull more for thine owne good then another mans: for to him there happeneth but an ordinarie and common thing to recouer that which he had giuen, but to thee a great contentment, and such as proceedeth from the estate of a happie soule, to haue acknowledged a benefit. For if wickednesse maketh men miserable, and vertue maketh them blessed, and to be gratefull is a vertue, thou hast restored but an vsuall thing, but attained an inestimable matter, that is to say, the conscience to haue been gratefull, which seizeth not on a minde but such as is diuine and fortunate. But the contrarie of this affection is vrged with great infelicitie. There is no man that is not miserable if he be ingratefull. I dally not with him, he is presently miserable. Let vs therefore flie ingratitude; if for no other cause, yet for our owns. The least part of wickednesse, and that which is least to be feared, redoundeth vnto others; but that which is the worst, and (if I may so speake it) that which is the thickest remaineth with him, and tormenteth his possessor. As our *Attalus* was accustomed to say, *Malice and mischiefe drinketh the greatest part of his owne poyson.* That venom which the Serpents cast out of them to destroy others, and keepe within them selues without their owne preiudice, is not like vnto this. For this poison is pernicious to those that nourish the same. The vngratefull man tormenteth himselfe, he becommeth leane, he hateth that which hath beene giuen him, because he must restore the same, and extenuateth it: contrariwise, he dilateth the iniuries and augmenteth them. But what man is there that is more miserable, then he that forgetteth the benefits he hath receiued, and remembreth him of the iniuries? Contrariwise, wisdome speaketh honourably of all sorts of benefits, and commendeth them to her selfe, and delighteth her selfe with the continuall remembrance thereof. The euill sort haue but one pleasure, and that very short, and that is whilst they receiue benefites, whereof the wise-man feeleth a long & perdurable ioy: for he delighteth not in receyuing, but in this, that he hath receiued, whereof he feeleth a continuall and immortall pleasure. He contemneth those thing whereby he is harmed, neyther forgetteth he negligently but willingly. He turneth not all things to the worst, neyther seeketh he to whom he may impart the fault, and rather layeth the blame of mens errors on fortune then on themselues. He taketh exceptions neyther to mens words nor lookes; whatsoeuer falleth out, he excuseth it with a gratious interpretation, and remembreth not an iniurie rather then a benefit: He setteth his remembrance on that which was both the first, and the best: he changeth not his minde towards those that haue well deserued, except their iniuries surpasse very much, & the difference be manifest, euen though he should shut his eyes, and then also in this onely, that he continueth the same man after the greatest iniurie, as he was before the benefite. For whereas the benefit is equal with the iniurie, there remaineth some sparke of beneuolence in the mind.

Euen

Euen as a guiltie man is acquit when the opinions of the Iudges are equally diuided, and alwayes in whatsoeuer thing is doubtfull, humanitie inclineth to the better: so a wise-mans minde, whereas the merits equall the misdeedes, will forbeare to owe, but will not desist to be willing to be beholding, and doth this which they are wont to doe, who after a generall acquittance of all debts, will notwithstanding satisfie. But no man can be gratefull, except he contemne these things, that maddeth and besotteth the common sort. If thou wilt be thankefull for a benefite, thou must make account to suffer banishment, to shedde thy bloud, to fall into pouertie, and see thine owne innocence oft-times stained, and subiect to base and scandlous rumours. It costeth a man no small matter to approue himselfe gratefull. We esteeme nothing more deerer then a benefite as long as we aske it, nothing more basely when we haue receiued it. Aske thou me what is that maketh vs forget the courtesies receiued? It is the desire and couetousnesse of those things we would receiue hereafter. We thinke not of that which we haue already obtained, but on that onely which we would obtaine hereafter. Riches, honour, power, and all such other things which in our opinion we repute of great esteeme, but base and abiect in their owne value, retire vs from vertue. We know not how to estimate things; whereof we ought to make our election, not according to the common report, but by the counsaile of nature, the mother of all things. These haue no magnificence in them, whereby they should draw our mindes vnto them, except this, that we are accustomed to admire them. For therefore are they praised, not because they are to be coueted, but therefore are they to be coueted, for because they are praised; and when as euerie particular mans error hath made them publique, the publique shall make it to be the errour of euerie one. But euen as we haue beleeued those things, let vs also beleeue the common sort in this, that there is nothing more honest then a gratefull minde. All Cities, all Nations, yea, those of the barbarous and sauage Regions will subscribe hereunto, the good and euill will agree in this point. There will be some that will praise pleasures, there will be some that had rather labour. There will be som that will say that paine is the greatest euill that may be, some that will scarcely call it euill; Some one shall repute riches for the chiefest good, another shall say that they were found out for the ruine and mishap of humane life, and that there is no one man more rich, then he to whom fortune hath not found out any thing to giue him. In this so great diuersitie of opinions, all the world will maintaine (as it is said) with one voyce that we ought to be thankfull vnto those who haue deserued well at our hands. All Nations, though different in manie other things, consent and agree herein, and yet notwithstanding, in the interim we repay benefites with iniuries: and the chiefest cause that euery one hath to become vngratefull, is this, because he could not be sufficiently gratefull. The furie is growne to that head, that it is a very dangerous thing to giue great benefits to any one: for in that he thinketh it a dishonest part not to requite, he desireth he should not liue, to whom he should make restitution. Reserue that to thy selfe which thou hast receiued, I redemand, I exact it not, it contenteth me that I haue pleasured thee. There is no hatred more pernicious then his, who is ashamed because he hath violated a benefite.

Epist. LXXXII.

Against delicacie and effeminate life, and sluggish idleneſſe alſo, and that we ought to dedicate the ſame to ſtudie, and in eſpeciall to Philoſophie, which ſhould defence vs against feare and all externall euills, yea against death it ſelfe. That we are armed all in vaine, with ſubtilties and ſophismes against the ſame, and by the way, against ſuch as vſe it, that death in it ſelfe is indifferent, but ſuch or ſuch honeſt or diſhoneſt. Againe, against Cauillers. Good.

NOw haue I giuen ouer the care I haue had of thee. What one saiest thou of the gods, hast thou accepted for my suretie: truely euen him that deceueth no man, a minde that is a louer of right and honestie. The better part of thee is in safetie. Fortune may doe thee an iniurie, but that which is most pertinent to the matter, I feare not that thou shouldest iniurie thy selfe. Keepe on the course thou hast begun, and compose thy selfe in this habit of life temperately, not effeminately. I had rather thou shouldest liue ill, then effeminatly. Now so interpret thou ill as it is vsually spoken amongst the common sort, hardly, sharply, and laboriously. So are we wont to heare the liues of diuers men praised, who are enuied. *He liueth effeminately.* This they say, he is euill. For by little and little the minde is made effeminate, and groweth remisse and negligent, and vndertaketh the similitude of that idleneſſe and sloth wherein he is buried. What then? is it not more befitting a man to bee more sterne and rigid. Againe, such as are delicate feare death, whereunto they haue made their life alike. There is a great difference betwixt idleneſſe and the graue. What therefore sayest thou, were it not better for a man to repose himselfe thus, then to tosse and tumble himselfe in these gulfes of affaires? Both these two things are mortall, the conuulsion of the nerues and debilitation of the minde. I thinke him as much dead that lieth buried in his perfumes, as him that is drawne with the hooke. Retirement without studie is a death, and the sepulchre of a liuing man. Finally, what profiteth it vs to be retired, as if the causes of cares and troubles followed vs not beyond the seas? What hidden place is there, whereinto the feare of death entereth not? What so defenced and high raised repose of life, which sorrow terrifieth not? Whereſoeuer thou shalt hide thy selfe, humane miseries will make a noise about thee. There are diuers externall things, which wheele about vs, whereby they either may deceiue or vrge vs. Many things internall which incense and enflame vs also, euen in the middest of solitude. We must arme our selues with Philosophie, which will serue vs as an impregnable wall, which Fortune with all her engins cannot pierce. The minde that hath disclaimed externall things, is relidest in an impregnable place, and defendeth himselfe in his fortresse, each weapon aimed at him, falleth vnder him. Fortune hath not long hands, as we imagine, she is Mistresse ouer none, but such a one as cleaueth vnto her. Let vs therefore, as much as in vs lieth, retire our selues from her, which the onely knowledge of her selfe and of Nature will effect. Let him know whither he is to goe, whence he came, what is his good, what is his euill, what he should desire, and what he should eschew, what that reason is, which discerneth, what things are to be desired and esteemed, whereby the fury of desires is meekened, and the cruelties of feares abated. Some there are that thinke that they haue ouercome all this without the assistance of Philoſophie

phie, but when as any misfortune lighteth vpon any of these, that pretend securitie; too late are they enforced to confesse the truth. These great words are forgotten, when the hang-man commandeth them to giue him their hand, when death approacheth more nigh them. Thou mayest iustly say vnto him: Thou prouokest absent euils: now see heere griefe, which thou saidst was easie to support: see heere death, against which thou spakest so much, and so audaciously: the whips yerke, the sword shineth;

Now hast thou need, Æneas, of a minde
Arm'd with constancie.——

But that will continuall meditation make strong in thee, if thou exercise not thy words, but thy minde: if thou prepare st thy selfe against death, against which he cannot exhort thee, nor encourage thee, who shall attempt by some cauils to perswade thee that death is not euill. For I will, my *Lucilius*, (the best of men) laugh at the follies of the Greekes, which as yet I haue not well examined, though I wonder at them. Our *Zeno* vseth this collection. There is no euill which is glorious, but death is glorious, *Ergo*, death is no euill. Thou hast profited mee much, thou hast put me out of feare, hereafter I will not doubt to stretch out and offer my head. Wilt thou not speake more seuerely, nor make a man laugh that is readie to die? Vndoubtedly, I can hardly tell thee whether he were more foolish, who supposed by this question to extinguish the feare of death, or he that endeauoured to answere the same, as if it were a thing pertinent to the matter. For he himselfe opposed a contrary argument, taken from that, because we place death amongst things Indifferent, which the Grecians cal *Adiaphora*. Nothing, saith he, that is indifferent, is glorious; but death is glorious death therfore is not indifferent. Thou seest plainly wherto this argument tendeth. Death is not glorious; but to die cõstantly is glorious. And when, he saith, nothing Indifferent is glorious, I grant it thee; yet say I this, that there is nothing glorious, but in things Indifferent. These things terme I indifferent, which are neither good nor euill, as sicknesse, paine, pouertie, exile, death; none of these in it selfe is glorious, yet nothing without these. For pouertie is not praised. But he that is neither humbled, nor deiected by her. Banishment is not praised, but he that sorrowed not for it: griefe is not praised, but hee whom griefe hath enforced nothing. No man praiseth death, but him whom death sooner separated from life, then astonished. All these things are not honest nor glorious in themselues, but if Vertue intermixeth her selfe amongst them, if shee manage them, shee maketh them honorable and full of glorie. For of themselues they are placed betweene both, and are indifferent, it only concerneth vs to know whether malice or vertue hath past the same thorow their hands. For that death which is glorious in *Cato*, is presently base & shamefull in *Brutus*, and to be blushed at. For this is that *Brutus*, who when he should be slaine, sought to delay death, who went aside to doe his easement, and being called vpon to die, and commanded to lay downe his necke; I will lay it downe, saith hee, so that I may liue. What madnesse is it to flie away, sith that thou art vnable to goe backe? I will lay it downe, so that I may liue: almost he added thereunto, euen vnder *Antonius*. O worthy man, to bee yeelded vnto life! But as I began to say, Thou seest that death it selfe is neither a bad, nor a good thing; *Cato* most honestly vsed it; *Brutus* most dishonestly. Euery thing that hath not honor, vertue being added thereunto, it assumeth it. We say that a chamber is full

full of light: yet this ſame is moſt darke by night. The day infuſeth light into it, the night taketh it away. So to theſe things which be by vs called indifferent and middle things, namely, to riches, ſtrength, beautie, honours, rule; and contrarily to death, baniſhment, bad health, ſorrowes, and what other things wee haue feared, eyther leſſe or more; eyther naughtineſſe or vertue giueth the name of good or bad. Paſte of it ſelfe is neyther hote nor colde, but being put into the Ouen, it waxeth hote; againe, it being put into the water waxeth colde. Death is honeſt, through that which is an honeſt thing: that is vertue and a minde contemning outward things. There is alſo, O *Lucilius*, a great difference of theſe that we call honeſt things. For death is not ſo indifferent, as that whether thou doe weare thine haire euen or not. Death is amongſt thoſe things that be not bad indeed, but yet haue a ſhew of that which is bad. There is a loue of owne ſelfe, and an engrafted wil of abiding & of preſeruing owne ſelfe, & a ſhunning of diſſolution, becauſe it ſeemeth to take away many good things, and to leade vs out of the abundance of this, whereunto we haue accuſtomed our ſelues. That thing alſo alienateth vs from death, becauſe we haue alreadie knowne theſe things: thoſe things whereunto we are about to goe; we know not of what ſort they may be, and we feare things that be vnknowne. Furthermore, there is a naturall feare of darkeneſſe, into which it is ſuppoſed that death will conduct vs. Therefore, although death be an indifferent thing, yet for all that it is not amongſt thoſe things, which eaſily may be neglected. With great exerciſe the minde is to be hardned, that it may endure the ſight and the comming thereof. Death ought to be contemned, more then it is accuſtomed to be; for we beleeue many things concerning it. It hath beene the ſtrife of manie wits to encreaſe the infamie of it. An infernall priſon is deſcribed, and a region oppreſſed with continuall night, wherein is the great porter of hell.

Lying vpon bare bones halfe eaten vp
In bloudy den, where he doth dine and ſup,
Eternally with barking doth affright
Each pale and bloudleſſe ghoſt an ſhade-like ſpright.

But alſo when thou ſhalt perſwade thy ſelfe that theſe things be fables, neither that any other thing remaineth to the dead, which any one ought to feare, another feare commeth in the place of it. For they are alike afraid of being in hell, as of being no where. Theſe things contradicting which long perſwaſion hath infuſed vnto vs, the valiant enduring of death, what elſe may it be but a glorious thing, and amongſt the greateſt workes of a manly mind? which will neuer riſe vp vnto vertue, if it beleeue death to be an euill thing; it will riſe vp vnto it, if it ſuppoſe it to be a thing indifferent. The nature of things is vncapable of this, that one may come vnto that which he ſuppoſeth to be an indifferent thing, ſlowly and lingringly will he come. And that is not glorious, which is done by an vnwilling and backward man. Vertue doth nothing becauſe it is needfull to be done. Adde now that nothing is honeſtly done, except the whole minde hath endeuoured and hath beene preſent therat, and with no part of it ſelfe hath reſiſted it. But when approach is made vnto that which is bad, it eyther commeth to paſſe by feare of worſer things; or by hope of thoſe things that be good, to come vnto the which it is of ſo great worth, that the enduring of one euill is ſwallowed vp. The iudgements of the doer doe diſagree. Hence it is, that he commandeth to accompliſh things purpoſed: thence that he draweth backe

backe and flyeth from a ſuſpected and perillous thing. Therefore is he diſtracted into diuers parts. If this be, glorie periſheth. For vertue accompliſheth decrees with an agreeing minde: it feareth not that which it doeth.

See this, that thou to euils gine no place,
But againſt them goe with a bolder face
Though thy fortune will permit thee.

Thou ſhalt not the more boldly goe, if thou ſhalt ſuppoſe that they be euill things. This is to be taken out of the breaſt: otherwiſe ſuſpicion being about to ſtay the force, will ſticke hereat. It ſhall be thruſt vpon that, which it was to ſet vpon. Some would haue the interrogation of our *Zeno* to be ſuppoſed to be true, but that other to be deceitfull and falſe, which is oppoſed vnto it. I reduce not theſe things to a Logicall lawe, and to thoſe knots of moſt ſluggiſh workemanſhip: I iudge that all that kinde is to be thruſt away, wherby he who is asked, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be circumuented, and wherby he being brought to confeſſe, anſwereth one thing, but thinketh another. Wee muſt deale more plainely for the truth, and more ſtrongly againſt feare. Theſe things which are toſſed vp and down by them, I had rather to looſen, and to ponder vpon, to the end that I may perſwade, and not deceiue. He that will leade an armie into the field readie to die for their wiues and children, how will he exhort? I ſhew to thee the Fabij, tranſlating the whole warre of the Common-wealth into one houſe. I demonſtrate the Lacedæmonians placed in the very ſtraites of Thermopylæ, hoping neyther for victorie, nor for returne. That place was to bea graue vnto them. How exhorteſt thou them to receiue the ruine of a whole nation with offering their bodies vnto it? and rather to depart from their life, then from their place? Thou wilt ſay, that which is euill, is not glorious: death is glorious, therfore death is not an euill thing. O effectuall ſpeech! who after this doubteth to offer himſelfe to the deadly weapons points, & ſtanding for to die? But that *Leonidas* how valiantly did he ſpeak vnto them? *So dine O fellow ſouldiers* ſaith he, *as if ye ſhould ſup amongſt the dead.* The meate encreaſed not in their mouthes, it did not ſticke in their chaps, it did not fall out of their handes. They went cherefully to dinner and to ſupper both. What that Romane Captaine, who ſpake thus vnto ſouldiers, which were ſent to take a place, and were to goe through a great armie of the enemies: *It is needfull, O fellow-ſouldiers; to goe thither, but it is not needfull to returne backe.* Thou ſeeſt how plaine, and how imperious vertue is. What man can our beguilings make more valiant? Whom can they make more couragious? They breake the minde, which is neuer leſſe to be contracted, and to be compelled with pettie and thornie things, then when ſome great matter is framed. The feare of death ought not to be taken from three hundred alone, but from all mortal men. How wilt thou teach them, that it is not an euill thing? How wilt thou ouercome the opinions of all ages, wherwith preſently infancy is ſeaſoned? What helpe wilt thou finde? What wilt thou ſay to the weakeneſſe of man? What wilt thou ſay wherewith they being inflamed may ruſh into the middeſt of danger? With what ſpeech wilt thou turne away this conſent of feareing; with what ſpeech wilt thou auert the obnoxious perſwaſion of mankinde, which is againſt thee? Thou compoſeſt captious words, and knitteſt pettie queſtions for me. Great monſters are ſtricken with great weapons. In vaine with arrowes and ſlings did they ſhoote at that great cruell Serpent in Affrica, and more terrible to the Legions of Rome then

vvarre

warre it selfe. Not *Python* indeed was to be wounded, sith huge greatnesse according to the solide vastnesse of his body, cast backe againe weapons, and whatsoeuer the hands of men had darted against him; at length was he broken with milstones; and against death dost thou dart so pettie things? With a bodkin encountrest thou a Lion? These things are sharpe which thou speakest of. Nothing is more sharpe then the beard of the eare of Corne. Smalenesse it selfe maketh somethings vnprofitable and without effect.

Epist. LXXXIII.

We must liue as before God our beholder and iudge. Then he adioyneth concerning his owne life, temperance and watchfulnesse. Againe (as in the former Epistle) against base talkers, who abase wisdome with their meane speech and cauils. He teacheth against Zeno *himselfe, discoursing against drunkennesse. But we must doe more valiantly and famously: and giuing an example thereof, hee condemneth that vice.*

THou commandest my seuerall dayes, and all of them indeed to be shewed vnto thee. Well iudgest thou of me, if thou supposest nothing to be in them which I will hide. If certainly wee must liue, let vs liue as being in sight: so let vs thinke, as if one were able, and could looke into our innermost brest. For what profitteth it, that any thing should be secret from man? Nothing is closed from God. He is within our soules, and he commeth into the middest of our thoughts. So, I say, he commeth amongst them, as one to depart at length. Therefore I will doe that which thou commandest, and what I doe, and in what order, I will willingly write vnto thee. I will forthwith obserue my selfe: and that which is a most profitable thing, with my selfe will I recall the day to minde. This maketh vs to be very bad, because no man looketh backe vpon his life. What things we are about to doe, we thinke vpon, and but seldome that: what wee haue done, we doe not thinke vpon. But from that which is past, commeth counsell for that which is to come. This day is solide. No man hath taken any of it from me: it is all of it diuided betwixt the booke and the bed. The least part is giuen vnto exercise of the bodie; and for this cause I giue thankes to old age. It costeth me not much. When I haue stirred, I am wearied. But this is the end of exercise, euen to those that are most strong. Seekest thou with whom I exercise my selfe? One sufficeth me, *Earinus* (as thou knowest) a louely boy: but he shall be changed. Now I seeke for one that is more tender. He indeed saith, that we haue the same estate of bodie, because that the teeth of vs both fall out: but now I scarce ouertake him when he doth runne, and within a very few dayes I shall be vnable to doe it. See what continuall exercise can profit. Speedily there is made a great distance betwixt two that goe in a contrary iourney: at the same time he ascendeth, I descend: and thou knowest, how much the one of these is the more speedily done. I lied: for now our age descendeth not, but falleth. Notwithstanding dost thou seeke how this dayes strife succeeded vnto vs? As seldome it falleth forth to runners: neither of vs both did ouercome. From this wearinesse, rather then exercise, I descended into cold water. This is called by me water scarce warme. I that so great wather in cold water, who in the Calends of Ianuarie leaped into a pond, who in the

the new yeare, as I began to reade, to write, to speake somewhat, so began I to leape downe into cleare water, first translating my tentes to Tyber, then to this bathing tub, which because I am most strong, and all things are done in good earnest, the Sunne moderateth for mee. Not much time after, doe I tarrie at the Bath. Then I eate drie bread, and a dinner without a board: after which I am not to wash mine hands. I sleepe very little. Thou hast knowne my custome: and I vse a most short sleepe, and as it were by seuerall naps. It is sufficient that I haue ceased to watch. Sometimes I know, I sometimes I suspect that I haue slept. Behold the crie of the *Circensians* maketh a noise in mine eares: mine eares are stricken with some sudden and vniuersall voice. Neither do they put forth, neither indeed doe they interrupt my thought: most patiently I beare their clamorous hoyses, many voices and confused in one, are to mee in stead of a waue, or of a winde beating vpon a wood, & of other things sounding without sense. O what therefore is it? I will tell thee, whereon now I haue set my minde. A thought abideth with me still since yesterday, namely, what most wise men haue meant, who haue made most light and perplexed proofes for greatest things, which although they be true, are notwithstanding like to a lie. *Zeno* would deter vs from drunkennes, an exceeding great man, the founder of this most valiãt & most holy sect. Heare now how he gathereth, that a good man will not be drunke. None committeth secret speech to a drunken man: but he committeth it to a good man; therfore a good man will not be drunk. Marke howhe may be derided with the like oppõsite interrogatiõ. It sufficeth of many to set downe one. No man committeth secret speech to one that is a sleepe, but he committeth it to a good man; therefore a good man doth not sleepe. By what one way he can, *Posidonius* pleadeth the cause of our *Zeno*: but so can it not be pleaded indeed, as I suppose. For he saith that a drunken man is so said to be two manner of wayes: the one, when one is loaden with wine, and not master of himselfe; the other, if he be accustomed to be made drunke, and be subiect vnto this vice. He is spoken of by *Zeno*, who is accustomed to be made drunke, not hee that may bee drunke. But no man will commit secrets to him, which through wine he may publish abroad, which is false. For that first interrogation comprehendeth him that is drunke, not him who will so be. For thou wilt grant that there is great difference betwixt him that is drunke, and a drunkard. He that is drunke, may so then be at the first time, and not haue this vice: and he that is giuen to drinke, is oftentimes without drunkennesse. Therefore I vnderstand that, which is wont to be signified in this word: especially sith it is put by a man professing diligence, and examining words. Adde now, that if *Zeno* vnderstood, and would haue vs to vnderstand this, by doubtfulnesse of the word, he hath sought place for deceit: which thing is not to be done, when veritie is sought for. But certes although he hath thought thus: yet that which followeth is false; namely, that to him who is accustomed to be made drunke, a secret speech is not to be committed. For thinke to how many souldiers not alwayes sober, both the Emperour, and Tribune, and Centurion hath committed silent things. Concerning that slaughter of *C. Cæsar*, of him do I speak, who hauing ouercome *Pompeius*, possessed the Common-wealth: it was as well committed to *Tillius Cimber*, as to *C. Cassius*. *Cassius* dranke water all his life long. *Tillius Cimber* was both too much giuen to wine, and was lauish of his tongue: he iested at this thing himselfe: Can I beare any one, saith hee, who cannot beare wine? Let euery one now name those vnto himselfe, to whom he knoweth that wine is badly, and that speech is well committed. Notwithstanding

ſtanding I will relate one example that commeth to my minde; leſt it be forgot. For life is to bee inſtructed by famous examples. Let vs not alwayes flie to thoſe that be old. *Lucius Piſo* the warden of the Citie, after that he was once made drunke, ſpent the greater part of the night in the feaſt: and did for the moſt part ſleepe almoſt vntill noone; this was his morning time. Notwithſtanding, moſt diligently he adminiſtred his office, wherein the ſafetie of the Citie was contained. To him both *Auguſtus* gaue ſecret commands, when he gaue him the gouernment of Thracia, which he did ſubdue; and *Tiberius* going into Campania, when he left many things in the Citie both ſuſpected and hatefull, I thinke, becauſe the drunkenneſſe of *Piſo* had well fallen foorth vnto him, afterwards made *Coſſus* gouernour of the Citie, a graue and moderate man, but drowned and floating in wine, ſo that ſometimes being oppreſſed with a found ſleepe, he was carried out of the Senate, into which he had come from a feaſt. To him notwithſtanding *Tiberius* wrote many things with his owne hand, which he iudged ought not to be committed to his owne ſeruants. No priuate nor publike ſecret eſcaped from *Coſſus*. Therefore let vs remoue from amongſt vs theſe declamations: The minde hath not power ouer it ſelfe, being bound about with drunkenneſſe. As barrels themſelues are broken with new wine: and as all that is in the bottome, the force of heate caſteth vp into the vpper part: ſo wine ſoming forth, whatſoeuer lieth hid in the bottome is brought forth and commeth abroad. As they who are loaded with wine, keepe not meat through abundance of wine, ſo indeed do they keepe no ſecret thing; that which is their owne and other mens, alike do they ſpread abroad. But although this is wont to fall forth, ſo alſo is that, that with theſe whom we know ſomewhat freely to drinke, we deliberate of neceſſarie things. Therefore this is falſe, which is put in the place of patronage, that a ſecret is not to be committed to him, who is accuſtomed to be made drunke. How much better were it openly to accuſe drunkenneſſe, and to lay open the vices thereof? which euen a tollerable man hath auoided, much more a perfect and a wiſe man: to whom it is ſufficient to quench thirſt: who alſo if at any time mirth doth ariſe, and is continued ſomewhat long vpon ſome other cauſe, yet notwithſtanding reſiſteth without being drunke. For we will ſee concerning that, whether the minde of a wiſe man may be troubled with too much wine, and may doe that which is accuſtomable to drunken men. In the meane ſpace, if thou wilt conclude this, that a good man ought not to be drunke, why dealeſt thou with ſyllogiſmes? Say how diſhoneſt a thing it is, to powre in more then one can containe, and not to know the meaſure of ones ſtomake: how many things drunken men doe, which ſober men be aſhamed of: that drunkenneſſe is nothing elſe, then a voluntarie madneſſe. Prolong that drunken habit into more dayes, doubteſt thou but it will be madneſſe? Now alſo it is not leſſer, but ſhorter. Relate the example of *Alexander*, the Macedonian, who in the middeſt of a banquet ſtabbed *Clytus*, one moſt deare and moſt faithfull vnto him, and vnderſtanding that heinous deed, he would haue died; certainly hee deſerued to die. Drunkenneſſe augmenteth and diſcouereth euery vice; it remoueth modeſtie, which hindereth from bad enterpriſes. For moe abſtaine from forbidden things, through ſhame to offend, then through good will. When too much wine poſſeſſeth the minde, what euill ſoeuer did lie hid, commeth forth. Drunkenneſſe cauſeth not vices, but betrayeth them; then the leacherous perſon tarrieth not indeed for a chamber, but without delay permitteth to his deſires, ſo much as they ſhall require: then the ſhameleſſe man profeſſeth and publiſheth his diſeaſe: then

then the wanton containeth not his tongue nor hand. Pride encreaſeth to the haughty, rage to the cruell, malice to the enuious; euery vice is diſcouered, and commeth forth. Adde, that not knowing of himſelfe, doubtful and ſcarce plaine wordes, wandring eyes, ſtaggering gate, turning about in the head, the houſe it ſelfe ſeeming to turne about: the torment of the ſtomacke, when the wine waxeth warme, and ſtretcheth out the bowels. Then notwithſtanding, howſoeuer it is tollerable, whilſt it is yet in his owne power. What when it is corrupted with ſleepe, and that which was drunkenneſſe is made cruditie? I thinke what ſlaughters publique drunkenneſſe hath committed. This hath deliuered moſt fierce and warlike Nations to their enemies: this hath laide open walls defended againſt the reſolute warre of many yeares: this hath enforced the moſt reſolued, and the refuſers of ſubiection, to the command of other men: this hath conquered thoſe who haue beene vnconquered in warre. So many iournies, ſo manie battels, ſo many Winters, through which *Alexander* had paſſed, the difficultie of times and places beeing ouercome, ſo manie floods vnexpectedly falling forth, ſo many Seas diſmiſſed him ſafe; but the diſtemper of drinking, and that *Herculean* and fatall cuppe buried him. What glorie is it to containe much? When the victorie ſhall bee atchieued by thee, when men lying ſcattered aſleep, and caſting ſhall refuſe thy drunken carrowſes, when thou alone ſhalt remaine of the whole banquet, when thou ſhalt ouercome all men in magnificall valour, and no man ſhall be ſo capable of wine as thy ſelfe, yet art thou ouercome by a Tunne: what other thing ſaue drunkenneſſe, and the loue of *Cleopatra* no leſſe then wine deſtroyed *M. Antonius*, a great man and of a noble wit, and transferred him into externall faſhions, and into vices which were not Roman-like? This thing made him an enemie to the Common-wealth, this made him vnequall to his enemies, this made him cruell, when the heads of the Princes of the Citie were ſet before him as he did ſuppe, when amongſt moſt exquiſite feaſts & kingly ryot, he looked vpon to know the heads and hands of the proſcribed, when being loaded with wine, he notwithſtanding thirſted for bloud. It was intollerable which hee did when he was drunke, although he did thus being ſober: how much more intollerable was it, that he did theſe things in drunkenneſſe it ſelfe? For the more part crueltie followeth drunkenneſſe; for the health of the minde is violated and exaſperated. Euen as long diſeaſes cauſe tender eyes, yea at the leaſt lighting vpon of a beame of the Sunne: ſo continuall drunkenneſſe enrageth the minde. For when oftentimes they are not their owne men, vices bred with wine, and obdurated with cuſtome of madneſſe, be alſo of force without it. Tell therfore why a wiſe-man ought not to be made drunke. Shew the deformitie and the importunitie of the thing with deedes, not with wordes, which will be moſt eaſie to do. Proue theſe pleaſures, as they are called, when they haue paſſed a meane to be puniſhments. For if thou ſhalt argue vpon that, that a wiſe-man can be drunk with much wine, and retaine a right tenor, although he be ouerturned: thou mayſt as well conclude, that he may drinke poiſon and not die, that he may take iuice of blacke Poppie and not ſleepe, that he may take Ellebore, and not caſt vpward or ſcoure downeward, whatſoeuer ſticketh in the bowels. But if his ſeete be aſſaulted, if his tongue be not his owne, why thinkeſt thou him to be partly ſober, and partly drunke?

Epist. LXXXIIII.

Writing and reading are to be changed. Things read are to be turned into one nouriſhing ſubſtance, and are to be made ours. Lastly, there is an exhortation to wiſedome. Good and profitable admonitions.

I Iudge theſe iourneyes which ſhake off ſlouthfulneſſe from me, to profite my ſtudies and health. Thou ſeeſt why they helpe mine health: ſith the loue of learning maketh me ſlowe and negligent of my bodie, I am exerciſed by others helpe. I will ſhewe thee why they profite my ſtudies. I haue not departed from reading. But it is neceſſarie, as I ſuppoſe, firſt, that I may not be content with my ſelfe alone; then, that when I ſhall know things ſought forth by other men, and then that I may iudge of things alreadie found out, and that I may thinke of thoſe that be to be found out. Reading nouriſheth the wit; and it being wearied with ſtudie, notwithſtanding not without ſtudie refreſheth it. Neyther onely ought we to write, or onely to reade; the one of the things will make ſad, and will conſume the ſtrength; I ſpeake of writing: the other will diſſolue and diſſipate it. Interchangeablie this is to be exchanged with that, and the one is to be moderated with the other; ſo that whatſoeuer is gathered together by reading, the pen may reduce into a bodie. We ought, as they ſay, to imitate Bees, which wander vp and downe, and picke fit flowers to make honie: then whatſoeuer they haue brought they diſpoſe and place through their combes, and as our *Virgil* ſaith;

Moiſt honey to make thicke they much doe ſtriue,
Spreading the ſame with ſweet dew through their Hiue.

Concerning them it is not apparent enough, whether they draw a moiſt ſubſtance from the flowers, which is preſently honie; or whether that they change thoſe things which they haue gathered with a certaine mixture and propriety of their breath, into this taſte. For it pleaſeth ſome, that not the knowledge of making honie, but of gathering it is vnto them. They ſay that amongſt the Indians honie is found vpon the leaues of Reedes, which eyther the dew of that skie or the pleaſant and more fat moiſture of the very Reede may beget. Vppon our hearbes alſo the ſame force, but leſſe manifeſt and notable is found, which a creature born for this end may follow after, and gather together. Som think that thoſe things which they haue picked from the tender of that which is greene & flouriſhing, are not without a certain leauen, as I may ſo call it, whereby diuers things doe knit together into one. But that I be not lead away to any other thing, then to that which is in hand, we alſo ought to imitate Bees, and to ſeparate what things ſoeuer we haue heaped together from diuers reading; for diſtinct things are the better kept. Then vſing the abilitie and care of our wit, to mingle diuers liquors into one taſte: that although it ſhall appeare whence it is taken, yet that it may appeare to be ſome other thing; then that whence it was taken: which thing we ſee nature doth in our bodie, without any helpe of vs. Nouriſhment which we haue taken, ſo long as it abideth in quality, and ſwimmeth ſolid in the ſtomacke is a burthen; but when it is changed from that which it was, then at length it paſſeth into ſtrength and into bloud. The ſame let

let vs doe in theſe things wherewith wits are nouriſhed: that whatſoeuer wee haue gotten, we ſuffer not to be whole, nor to be other mens. Let vs concoct them, otherwiſe they will go into the memory, not into the wit. Let vs faithfully agree vnto them, and make them ours, that one certaine may be made of many things: as one number is made of ſeuerall ones, when one computation comprehendeth leſſer and diſagreeing ſummes. This let our minde do: all things whereby it is holpen, let it hide: only let it ſhew that which it hath done. Although in thee the likeneſſe of ſome one ſhall appeare, whom admiration hath more deeply faſtned in thee: I would that thou ſhouldeſt be like to him, not as an Image, but as a ſonne. An Image is a thing that is dead. What therefore? is it not vnderſtood whoſe ſpeech thou doeſt imitate? whoſe reaſoning? whoſe ſentences? I thinke at length it can not be vnderſtood indeede; if they bee of a great man, for not in all things, which he hath drawne as examples from euery one, hath lice ſo imprinted his ſhape, that they may agree into that one thing alone. Seeſt thou not of the voyces of how many, a Quire doth conſiſt? Notwithſtanding one ſound is made of them all. Some one voyce is acute, ſome baſe, ſom in a mean. Womens voices are ioined with mens, recorders and flutes are added vnto them: there the voyces of euery one in ſeuerall lie hid, of all appeare. I ſpeake of the Quire which the olde louers of muſicke did know of. In our feaſts there are more Singers, then once were of ſpectators vpon the Theaters. When the rowe of thoſe that ſing hath filled all wayes, and the Stage is compaſſed with Trumpeters, and all kinde of Pipes and Organs ſound from a gallerie aboue, a conſonance is made of diſcords. Such would I haue our minde to be, that there be many arts therein, many precepts, examples of many ages, but conſpiring in one. How ſaiſt thou, may this be done? By continuall taking of heed; if we ſhall doe nothing but by the perſwaſion of reaſon: this if thou wilt heare, it will ſay vnto thee; Leaue theſe things euen alreadie now, whereunto men doe runne; leaue riches eyther the danger or burden of thoſe that poſſeſſe them; leaue the pleaſures of the bodie and of the minde, they mollifie and make weake; leaue ſuing for offices, it is a ſwelling, vaine, and windie thing, it hath no bound: as well carefull is it, not to ſee any body before it ſelfe, as not not to ſee it ſelfe after another man: it laboureth with enuie, and indeede with two ſorts thereof. But thou ſeeſt how wretched he is, who is enuied at, if he himſelfe enuie alſo. Beholdeſt thou thoſe houſes of mightie men, thoſe tumultuous doores with the brawling of them that doe ſalute? Much reproach is there that thou maieſt enter in, more when thou haſt entred in. Paſſe by theſe ſtaires of the rich, and entries hanged with heapes of auncient ſpoyles. Not only in a craggie, but alſo in a ſlipperie place ſhalt thou here ſtand. Hither rather vnto wiſedom direct thy courſe, and ſeeke to attaine the moſt quiet, and therewithall the moſt ample things. What things ſoeuer ſeeme to excell in humane affaires, although they be ſmall, and ſtand aboue in compariſon of the baſeſt things, are notwithſtanding by difficult and hard wayes gone vnto. Vnto the height of dignitie there is a broken way. But if thou wilt climbe vnto this top, whereunto fortune ſubmitteth it ſelfe, thou ſhalt beholde indeed all things vnder thee, which are accounted exceeding high; but notwithſtanding thou ſhalt come vnto higheſt things by that which is plaine.

Epist. LXXXV.

He disalloweth Sophismes, and driueth them from serious studies. He giueth certaine examples, but leadeth to profitable things; against the Aristotelians, that a wise man ought to want affections. Then, that blessed life sufficeth of itselfe; it is one and equall, whether it be long or short. Also it is not lessened by outward things, although euils and losses fall forth, yet a wise man vseth all well. A good and wise Epistle.

I Had spared thee, and had now passed by whatsoeuer had remained as yet, contented to giue, as it were, a taste vnto thee, of those things which are spoken by our men, that it may be proued, that vertue alone is sufficiently effectuall to fulfill a blessed life. Thou commandest me to comprehend all the questions, that be either of our owne, or deuised for the teaching of vs: which thing, if I will doe, it shall not be a letter, but a booke. That thing so often doe I protest, that in this kind of argument there is no delight vnto me. It shameth me (being armed with a bodkin) to descend into a warre vndertaken by gods and men. He that is wise, is also a temperate man. He that is temperate is a constant man. He that is constant, is a true tempered man. He that is without griefe, is a blessed man. Therefore he that is prudent is a blessed man, and prudence is sufficient for a blessed life. To this collection, some of the Aristotelians answere after this sort, that thus they may interpret a man of true temper, and constant, and without griefe; that a man of true temper may be said to be, who rarely and smally is disturbed, not he who neuer is. Also without sadnesse doe they say him to be, who is not subiect to sadnes, nor is too frequent, nor too much in this fault. For that were to deny the nature of man, that the minde of some man should bee free from griefe: a wise man is not ouercome with sorrow, but is touched therewith: so other things, after this sort, correspond to their owne sect. They doe not with these things take away the affections, but moderate them. But how little doe we giue to a wise man, if hee bee stronger then the weakest, and merrier then the saddest, and more moderate, then the most vnbridled, and greater then the basest be? What if *Ladas* admire his owne swiftnesse, looking backe vnto those that be lame and weake?

On tops of grasse, not pressing them, she ran,
Nor tops of standing corne, her course hurt can;
In midst of sea on waters highest tip,
Her running feet in water doe not dip.

This is that swiftnesse esteemed of by it selfe, not which is praised in comparison of those that be most slow. What if thou call him, who is slightly sicke of an ague, a sound man? The smalenesse of a disease is not good health. Thus, saith he, a wise man is said to be of true temper, as sweet kernel-lesse Pomgranats, are called so, not in which there is no hardnesse of the kernels, but in which lesse hardnesse is. It is false: for I doe not vnderstand a lessening, but a wanting of euils in a good man: there ought to bee none, not those that are small. For if there be any, they will encrease, and sometimes will hinder vs. As a greater and a perfect web in the eye maketh blinde, so a small one troubleth the eye. If thou giuest any affections to a wise man, reason shall be vnable to master

master them, and shall be carried away, as it were, with a streame: especially when thou leauest not one, but a whole troupe of affections wherewithall it may striue. A troupe, although it bee of those that be meane, can doe more, then the violence of one that is great. He hath couetousnesse, but it is meane; he hath ambition, but it is not eager; he hath anger, but it is to be appeased; he hath inconstancie, but not very wandering; and subiect to motion: he hath lust, but not madnesse. Better is it with him who hath one whole vice, then with him who hath lighter vices indeed, but yet hath all vice. Then there is no difference, how maine the affection be, and how great soeuer it is; it knoweth not to obey, it receiueth not counsell. As no liuing creature obeyeth reason, not the wilde, not the tame and gentle; for the nature of them is deafe to him that doth perswade: so affections doe not follow, they doe not heare, how small soeuer they be. Tygers and Lions neuer put off feirceneſſe, sometimes they submit it; and when thou shalt least expect, their mitigated frowardnesse is exasperated. Vices neuer in good earnest doe waxe tame. But if reason profiteth, the affections will not begin: if they shall begin against reasons will, they will persеuer against the will of it. For it is more easie to forbid the beginnings of them, then to rule their force. Certainly this mediocritie is false, and without gaine, and is to be esteemed of in the same place, as if one should say, wee might be indifferently madde, or indifferently sicke. Vertue alone hath it; the euils of the minde doe not receiue moderation, more easily shalt thou take them away, then gouerne them. Is there any doubt, but that the inueterate and hard vices of humane minde, which we call diseases, be without moderation; as couetousnesse, as crueltie, as vnrulinesse, as impietie? Therefore also the affections are without moderation: for wee passe from these vnto those. Furthermore, if thou giue any power to sadnesse, to feare, to couetousnesse, and to other bad motions, they will not be ruled by vs. Why? because those things be out of our power, whereby they be stirred vp. Therefore they encrease, as they haue greater or lesser causes, whereby they be prouoked. Greater shall the feare be, if there be more wherewithall it may be affrighted, or if one shall look nearer thereunto; couetousnesse shall be more cruell, when hope of a larger estate shall call it forth. If it be not in our power, whether affections may be or not, that indeed is not, how great they may be: if thou hast permitted them to begin, with their causes they will encrease, and they shall bee as great, as they are made by thee. Adde now, that these, although they be but little things, grow to be greater. Neuer doe hurtfull things keepe a meane. Beginnings of diseases creepe forward, although they bee light; and sometimes the least accession drowneth a bodie that is already sicke. But who is so mad, as to beleeue that, that the beginnings of those things which are placed without our will, the limits of them are according to our will? How am I sufficiently able to put an end vnto that, which I am scarce able to hinder? Sith it is more easie to exclude, then to suppresse things admitted in. Some haue distinguished so that they said: A temperate and a prudent man in the frame and habite of the minde is calme, but not in the euent thereof: for in regard of the habite of the minde he is not troubled, neither feareth, nor is sad: but many causes doe outwardly fall forth, which may bring perturbation vnto him. This is it that they would say, that he is not indeed a cholericke man, yet that hee is angry at sometime. And that hee is not a fearefull man, yet that hee feareth at sometime: that is to say, hee wanteth the vice, but not the affection of feare. But if we allow of this feare, with frequent vse it becommeth a vice: and anger

being admitted into the minde, discoureth that habit of the minde that wanted anger. Furthermore, if it contemneth not those causes which outwardly come, and feareth any thing, when that valiantly we are to go against weapons, and fires, for our Countrie, Lawes and libertie, it will lingringly goe forth, and with a minde returning backe. But this diuersitie of minde falleth not vpon a wise man. That furthermore doe I iudge to be obserued, lest wee confound two things which are seuerally to be proued. For by it selfe it is gathered, that there is one only good, namely, that which is honest: that by it selfe againe vertue is sufficient for a happie life. If there be but one good, namely, that which is honest; all then grant that vertue is sufficient to liue well: contrarily it shall not be reiected, if vertue alone doe make a blessed man, that there is one good, that is, that which is honest. *Xenocrates* and *Speusippus* doe suppose, that a blessed man can be made by vertue alone: yet that is not the one only good, which is honest. *Epicurus* also iudgeth, that when one hath vertue, that he is blessed, yet that vertue it selfe is not sufficient to a blessed life: because pleasure may make a man blessed, which is from vertue, and is not vertue it selfe. A foolish distinction. For the same man denieth, that vertue is at any time without pleasure: thus if it alwaies be ioyned vnto it, and be inseparable, it also is sufficient alone. But that is absurd, because it is said, that one shall become happie euen by vertue alone: but shall not become perfectly happie thereby: which thing how it may be done, I doe not finde. For a blessed life hath in it a perfect good, such as cannot be ouercome: which thing if it be thus, it is perfectly a blessed life. If the life of the gods hath in it no more nor better thing; and a blessed life is a diuine life; it hath nothing whereunto it can more lift vp it selfe. Furthermore, if a blessed life needeth not any thing, euery blessed life is perfect, and a blessed, and a most blessed life is the same. What doubtest thou, but that a blessed life is the chiefest good? Therefore if it bee the chiefest good, it is chiefely a blessed life. As the chiefest receiueth not augmentation (for what is aboue that which shall be the chiefe?) so is not a blessed life indeed, which is not without the chiefest good. But if thou shalt bring in one who is more blessed, then shalt thou make a great many more innumerable differences of the chiefest good: when I vnderstand the chiefest good, I speake of that which hath not a degree aboue it selfe. If any be lesse blessed then another: it followeth, that he will more desire the life of that other more blessed, rather then his owne life: but the blessed man preferreth nothing before his owne life. Which of these you will it is incredible; either that any thing remaineth to a blessed, which he had rather haue to be, then that which is: or that rather hee should not desire that, which is better then that other thing. For certainly, by how much he is more wise, by so much he will extend himselfe to that thing which is best of all, and euery manner of way he will desire to obtaine it. But how is he blessed, who can still, yea who ought to desire? I will say what it is, whence this error doth come. They know not that blessed life is one. The quality thereof, not the greatnes placeth it in the best estate. Therefore alike is it long and short, broad and narrow, distributed into many places and parts, and gathered into one. He that esteemeth it by number, and measure, and parts, taketh that therefrom, which is the most excellent therein. But what is that which is excellent in a blessed life? That it is full; namely, as the end of eating and drinking is sicietie: he eateth more, that man eateth lesse. What difference? Either of them is full. This man drinketh more, he lesse: what difference? neither of them is a thirst. He hath liued more, he fewer yeares. There is no difference: if many yeares

yeares haue made him as wel a blessed man, as a few yeares this man. He whom thou callest lesse blessed, is not blessed: the name cannot be lessened. He that is valiant, is without feare: he that is without feare, is without sadnesse: he that is without sadnesse is blessed. This is our interrogation. Against this they endeuour to answer thus; that we bring in a false and a controuerted, for a true thing, namely, that he who is valiant is without feare. What therefore? shall not a valiant man, saith he, feare euils hanging ouer him? This were the part of a mad man, and of one out of his wits, and not of a valiant man. He indeed, saith he, feareth most moderately, but is not altogether without feare. They who speake these things are againe returned vnto the same thing, that smaller vices be vnto them in the place of vertues. For he who feareth indeede, but more seldome and lesse, wanteth not badnes, but is vexed with that which is lighter. But yet I think him mad, who feareth not euils hanging ouer him. True it is which he saith, if they be euils; but if he know that they be not euils, & iudgeth dishonesty alone to be that which is ill, he ought securely to looke vpon dangers, & to contemne those things that are feared by other men: or if it be the part of a foole or of a mad man, not to contemne euil things; by how much any one is the more wise, by so much shall he feare the more. As it seemeth to you, saith he, a valiant man shal thrust himself into dangers. No; he shal not fear, but shall auoyde them. Warinesse, not feare becommeth him. What therefore? Doest thou say, that he shall not feare death, bands, fire, and other weapons of fortune? No; for he knoweth that those things be not ill, but seeme so to be: he thinketh that all these things be the feares of humane life. Describe captiuitie, beating, chaines, pouertie, tearing asunder of the members, eyther by lickenesse or by iniurie: and what soeuer thou shalt bring hereunto, number them amongst imaginarie feares. These things are to be feared by those that be fearfull. Suppose st thou that to be bad, whereunto some times of our owne accord we must come. Seekest what is euill? To giue place to these things which are called euill, and to yeeld our owne libertie vnto them, for which we are to endure all things. Libertie perisheth, except we contemne those things, which lay a yoake vpon vs. They would not doubt what would become a valiant man, if they knew what valor were. For it is not vnaduised rashnesse, nor loue of dangers, nor a desire of fearfull things. It is a knowledge of distinguishing, what is euill, and what is not: fortitude is most diligent in defending of it selfe, and the same is most patient of those things, wherein is a false shew of bad things. What therefore if a sword be thrust into the throat of a valiant man, if first one part and then another be hewed forth, if he see his owne bowels in his owne armes, if after a space, to the end that he may feele torments the more, he be set vpon againe, and fresh blood trickleth downe by his dried bowels? wilt thou not say, that this man doth not feare, that he doth not feele griefe? Certainely he feeleth paine, for no vertue putteth off the sense of a man: but he feareth not: being vnconquered, from on high he looketh vpon his dolours. Thou demaundest, what minde then there is vnto him? The same that is vnto them who exhort their sicke friend. That which is euill hurteth, that which hurteth maketh worse. Dolour and pouertie make not worse, therefore they are not bad. False is it, saith he, which is propounded; for if any thing hurt, it doth not also make worse. A tempest and storme hurt a Pilot, but notwithstanding they make him not worse. Certaine Stoicks do thus answer against this, That a Pilot is made worse by a tempest and by a storme, because that thing which he had purposed he cannot effect, nor keepe on his course. Worse is he made, not

not in his skill,but in his work. To whom the *Aristotelian* : therefore, saith he, pouertie and dolour,and whatsoeuer such like thing there shall be,shal not take vertue from him,but shall hinder his working thereof. This were rightly said, except the condition of a Pilot,and of a wise-man were vnlike. For the purpose of him is in leading his life,not without faile to effect that which he assayeth to doe,but to doe all things aright. It is the purpose of the Pilot, without faile to bring a ship into an hauen. They be seruile arts, they ought to performe that which they promise. Wisedome is a mistresse and gouernesse. The arts doe serue to,wisedome commandeth ouer life. I iudge that we must answere after another sort,namely,that neyther the skill of the gouernour is made worse by any tempest, nor yet the very administration of art. The gouernour hath not promised prosperous successe vnto thee,but his profitable endeuour, and skill to gouerne the ship. This appeareth the more, by how much the more some force of fortune hath hindred him. He that hath beene able to say this,O *Neptune*,this ship was neuer but right,hath satisfied skill. A tempest hindereth not the worke of a Pilot,but the successe. What therefore sayest thou? Doth not that thing hurt a Pilot, which hindereth him from entring the Port? which causeth his endeuours to be vaine? which eyther beareth him backe, or detaineth and disarmeth him? It hurteth him not as Pilot,but as one that doth saile. Otherwise it doth not so much hinder,as shew the Pilots skill. For euery one can,as they say,be a pilot in the calme. These things hinder the ship; not a pilot,as he is a pilot. Two persons a pilot hath; the one common with all who haue gone aboard the same ship,wherein he himselfe also is a passenger; the other proper,as he is a gouernour. The tempest hurteth him as he is a passenger, not as a Pilot. Furthermore the art of a Pilot is anothers good; it appertaineth to those whom he carrieth: as the art of a Physitian appertaineth to those whom he doth cure. Wisedome is a common good, and is proper to owne selfe,for those with whom he doth liue. Therefore peraduenture a Pilot is hurt,whose promised seruice to others is let by a tempest. A wise-man is not hurt by pouertie,nor by dolour,nor by other tempests of life. For not all workes of him be hindered,but only those that pertaine to other men: alwayes is he himselfe indeed; then greatest of all,when fortune hath opposed herselfe vnto him,then manageth he the businesse of wisdome it selfe: which wisdome we haue said to be both anothers and his owne good. Furthermore not then indeed is he hindred to profite other men,when some necessities do presse him. Through pouertie he is hindred to teach, how a Common-wealth may be managed: but he teacheth that thing,how pouertie is to be managed. His worke is extended all his life long. Thus no fortune,no thing excludeth the acts of a wise-man. For he doth not that verie thing, whereby he is fobidden to doe other things. He is fit for both chances: a gouernour of the bad, an ouercommer of the good. So I say hath he exercised himselfe,that he sheweth vertue as well in prosperous as in aduerse affaires, neyther looketh he vpon the matter thereof,but vpon it selfe. Therefore neyther pouertie,nor dolour, nor any other thing,which turneth backe the vnskilfull,and drieth them headlong,hindereth them. Hast thou rather he should be pressed? He maketh vse of it. Not only of Iuorie did *Phidias* know how to make Images: he made them of brasse. If marble were vnto him, if thou hadst offered baser matter, he would haue made such an one thereof,as could be made of that which was the best. So a wise-man will shew vertue,if he may,in wealth; if not,in pouertie: if he shall be able,in his countrie; if not,in banishment; if he can, being a commaunder; if not,being a souldier: if he can,being sound; if not, being weake: what fortune soeuer he shall entertaine,he will performe some memorable thing thereby. Certain tamers there be of wilde beasts,who teach the fiercest creatures,and, which terrifie a man when they meete him, to suffer the yoake: and not contented to haue shaken fiercenesse off, do tame them, euen to keepe them companie. The master vseth often to thrust out his hand to Lions; they kisse it. The Keeper commandeth his Tyger; the *Æthiopian* Player commandeth his Elephant to fall vpon their knees, and to walke vpon a rope: so a wise-man is skilfull to subdue euill things. Dolour,pouertie,ignominie,prison,banishment, when they come vnto him,are made tame.

Epist. LXXXVI.

Of the Countri-house of Africanvs,*of his building and Bath, which was neyther garnished nor neat. Against the vyot of his time. Last of all, of setting Olines, through occasion of a Countrey-house.*

LYing in the verie towne of *Scipio Africanus*, I write these things vnto thee,hauing adored the spirit of him,and the Altar,which I suppose to be the sepulcher of so great a man: the soule of him indeed I perswade my selfe that it hath returned into heauen, whence it was: not because he lead great armies (for this also furious *Cambyses* did,and prosperously vsed furie) but for great moderation and pietie, more admirable in him when he left his countrie, then when he defended it. Eyther *Scipio* must be depriued of Rome,or Rome of libertie. *Nothing*, saith he,*will I derogate from lawes, nothing from decrees. Amongst all Citizens let there be an equall right. O my countrie,vse the benefit of me without me. I haue beene the cause, I will also be an argument of libertie vnto thee: I depart if I haue increased more,then is expedient for me.* How can I chuse but admire this greatnesse of minde? He departed into voluntarie banishment,and disburthened the Citie. The matter was brought vnto that passe,that eyther libertie should do iniury to *Scipio*,or *Scipio* to libertie. Neither was lawfull to be done. Therfore he gaue place to the lawes,and betooke himselfe to Liternum, as willing to impute the banishment of himselfe, as of *Hannibal* to the Common-wealth. I saw that towne builded of foure square stone,a wall compassing about a wood, towers also set vnder both sides of the towne for a defence: A Cisterne laid vnder the buildings and greene places,which was able to serue euen an armie of men: A little narrow Bath,somewhat darke,as the olde fashion was. It seemed none was warmed for our ancestors,except it were obscure. Great pleasure entred into me,beholding the manners of *Scipio* and of vs. In this corner that horrour of Carthage,to whom Rome is in debt,that it was taken but once, washed his bodie,wearied with the labours of the countrie: for he exercised himselfe in work, and he himselfe tilled the earth,as the fashion of the ancients was. He stood vnder this so base a roote,this so meane a floore sustained him. But now who is he that can sustaine to be bathed thus? Poore and base seemeth hee to himselfe, except the walls haue shined with great and precious rounds,except Alexandrian marbles be distinguished with Numidian roofe-cast; except all about vpon them,a curious varied plastering be layed like a picture that is drawne, except the chamber be couered ouer with glasse,except stone of the Ile Thassus,once a rare

rare gazing ſtocke in ſome Church, haue compaſſed about our ponds, into which wee let downe our bodies emptied of much ſweat; except ſiluer cockes haue powred out water vnto vs. And as yet I ſpeake of the conduits of the common ſort: what when I ſhall come to the Bathes of freed men? how great pictures, how great pillers holding nothing vp, but placed for ornament ſake to the cauſing of coſt, how great waters ſliding downe vpon ſtaires with a great noice? To that delicacie are wee come, that wee will not tread but vpon precious ſtones. In this Bathe of *Scipio*, there be verie ſmall chinckes, rather then windowes, cut out in the ſtone-wall, that without hurt of the ſenſe, they ſhould let the light in. But now are they called the bathes of Gnats, if any be not framed ſo, as to receiue with moſt large windowes the Sunne all the day long, except they be bathed and coloured both at one time, except from a throne they look vpon both land and ſea. Thoſe therfore which had concourſe and admiration when they were dedicated, theſe are reiected into the number of the old, when riot hath deuiſed ſome new thing, wherewithall it ſelfe might ouercome it ſelfe. But in old time there were few bathes, neither were they adorned with any trimming vp. For why ſhould a thing of a farthing worth be adorned, and which is found forth for vſe, and not for delight? Water was not ſtill powred in, neither alwaies as from a warme fountaine did it runne freſh: neither did they ſuppoſe that any matter it was, into what ſhining veſſell they put their waſhed-off filth. But, O the good gods, how delighted it to enter into bathes ſomewhat darke, and couered with ſeeling of the common ſort, which thou diddeſt know, that *Cato*, when he was ouerſeer of the buildings, or elſe *Fabius Maximus*, or ſome of the *Cornelij* had tempered with their owne hand? For alſo the moſt noble ouerſeers of houſes, performed this dutie alſo of going into thoſe places which receiued the people, and of exacting neatneſſe, and a profitable and an healthie temperature, not this which is lately found forth, like vnto a ſetting on fire, ſo that it is meet indeed to be waſhed aliue, as a ſeruant conuicted of ſome wickednеſſe is. No difference now ſeemeth vnto me, whether the bathe be ſcalding hot; or be but warme. How great rudenes may ſome condemne *Scipio* of, becauſe into his warme bathe with large windowes he did not let in the day, becauſe with a great deale of day-light he was not ſod, and did not ſee, how he might ſeeth within a bathe? O miſerable man! he knoweth not how to liue; he was not waſhed in faire, but oftentimes in troubled water, & almoſt muddy, when more vehemently it did raine. Neither much cared he, whether he were waſhed ſo, for he came to waſh away ſweat, and not to waſh away oyntment therewith. What ſpeeches beleeueſt thou there will be of ſome? I enuie not *Scipio*, he liued in baniſhment indeed, who was waſhed thus; yea if thou wilt know it, he was not waſhed euery day. For as they ſay, who deliuered the maners of the City as they were of old, they waſhed euery day armes and legges, as which had with worke gathered filth, but all ouer were they waſhed euery nine daies. In this place ſome one will ſay, it is apparant that they were moſt vncleane. What thinkeſt thou they ſmelled of? Of warre, of labour, of playing the men. After that neate bathes are found forth, more filthy men be. *Horatius Flaccus* being to deſcribe an infamous man, and one notorious for too many delights, what ſaith he?

Of Pomander doth RVFILLVS *ſmell*——

Thou art to grant *Rufillus* now, that it were all one, as if he ſmelled of a Goat, and

and wercin *Gorgonius* his place, whom *Horatius* hath oppoſed to *Rufillus*. It is too little to take oyntment vpon thee, except it be renued twice or thrice in the day, leſt it vaniſh from the bodie. What, that they boaſt of a ſmell, as if it were their owne? If theſe things ſeeme too ſad vnto thee, thou ſhalt impute it to the village; wherein I learned from *Aegialus* a moſt diligent husband (for hee now is the poſſeſſor of this ground) that a ſhrub, although it be old, may be tranſlated into another place. This is neceſſarie for vs to learne, who bee old men, of whom there is none but planteth an Orchard of Oliues for another man. That which I haue ſeene, this I ſpeake; namely, that an Orchard of three or foure yeares old, will with a plentifull fall of the leafe yeeld forth fruit; yea alſo that tree will couer thee: which

Hath beene ſlow to make a ſhade before,
To yong nephewes and thoſe that were vnbore:

As our *Virgil* ſaith, who beheld, not what might be ſpoken moſt truely, but moſt ſeemely: neither deſired he to teach husbandmen, but to delight thoſe that read. For (to paſſe by other things) I will adde hereunto that, which is needfull to reprehend at this day.

In Spring be Beans, and dunged Limons ſet,
And Millet doth a new yeares care beget.

Are theſe to be ſet at one time, and whether that the Spring-time be for the ſowing of them both; thou mayeſt iudge from hence. The moneth of *Iune*, wherein I write theſe things vnto thee, is neare vnto *Iuly*. In the ſame day I ſaw ſome gathering Beans, and ſowing Millet. I returne to the Orchard of Oliues, which I ſaw diſpoſed after two ſorts. He remoued the trunkes of great trees, the boughes being cut off all about, and being brought to one foot length, with the bodie of the tree, the roots being cut off, that the very head being onely left, whence thoſe did hang. This being beſmeared with dung, he put into an hole: afterward he did not heape in the earth, but troad and preſſed it downe. There is nothing (as he ſaith) more effectuall then ſtamping it hard, namely, for that it excludeth the cold and winde; leſſe alſo it is ſhaken: and for this it ſuffereth the ſpringing roots to go forth, and to lay hould vpon the ground; which is needfull to be tender as yet, and lightly to ſtick therunto, light toſſing alſo vp and downe, plucketh it vp againe: but it is ſcarce a tree, vntill the root do plentifully hide it ſelfe in the ground, for from euery matter which is made naked, as he ſaith, new roots doe come out. But the ſtocke of the tree ought not to ſtand out aboue vpon the earth, no more then three or foure feete; for preſently it will be garniſhed from below: neither ſhall a great part thereof, as in old Oliue-gardens be withered, and ſcorchingly drie. This alſo hath beene another manner of planting them. In the ſame kinde I haue ſet in the ground ſtrong boughes, not of an hard barke, ſuch as are accuſtomed of the tender trees: but when they come, as it were, from a plant, they haue no rough nor ill-fauoured thing in them. That alſo haue I now ſeene, an old Vine to be tranſlated from her ſhrub: The ſmall ſtrings alſo of this (if it may be) are to be gathered, there the Vine more largely is to bee ſpread abroad; that alſo it may take roote from the body thereof. And I haue ſeene them ſet, not onely in the Moneth of Februarie: but alſo in the Moneth of March, which layed hold vpon, and embraced

ced Elmes about, which were none of their owne. All these trees which (as I so speake) are in great plentie, are, as he saith, to be holpen with Cisterne water: which if it profit, we haue raine in the power of our selues. I thinke it not meete to teach thee any more, lest euen as our *Ægialus* hath made me to be an aduersarie vnto him, so also I procure thee to be vnto me.

Epist. LXXXVII.

The frugalitie of Seneca *and contempt of externall things: an admonition vnto others, that their wils and deedes might bee such. Then follow small disputations, wherein he approoueth, that casuall things are not amongst those that be good: onely that they may be called Commodities.*

I Haue suffered shipwracke, before I haue gone aboard: how it hath come to passe, I set not downe, least amongst the Stoicall paradoxes thou suppose, that this also is to bee put: of which things, I will approoue when thou wilt, yea if thou will not, that none is false, nor so wonderfull, as appeareth to bee at the first sight. In the meane space this iournie hath instructed mee, how many things we neede not to haue, and how easily with iudgement we might contemne them, which if at any time necessitie hath taken away, we feele them not to be taken away. With a very few seruants, whom one Coach could contain, without any stuffe, saue that which was carried vpon our backes, I and my *Maximus* haue now ledde these two dayes a happy life. A matteresse lyeth vpon the ground, I vpon the matteresse. Of two cloakes, the one is a blanket to lie vpon, the other is made a couerlid. Concerning my dinner, nothing is superfluous therein, it hath beene made readie in no more then in an houres time; neuer without drie figs, neuer without an handfull of hearbs: those if I haue bread, be made like water-gruell: if not, they be for bread: alwayes are they serued in vpon New-yeares day, which I make prosperous and blessed by thoughts that be good, and by greatnesse of the minde: which neuer is greater then when it hath seperated forraine things: and by fearing of nothing hath got peace vnto it selfe; and by coueting of nothing, hath got wealth vnto it selfe. The Coach wherein I ride, is a country one. The Mules testifie that they liue by going onely. The Mulet er is vnshod, but not for heat: I scarce obtaine of my selfe, that I would haue this Coach to be supposed mine. A peruerse shamefastnesse of that which is right abideth vs yet: so often as we doe fall into some bratier company, I blush against my will; which is an argument, that these things which I approue, which I praise, haue not as yet a certaine and vnmoueable seat. He that blusheth at a base Coach, glorieth at a pretious one. Little haue I profited as yet, I dare not publish frugalitie, yea now doe I care for the opinions of those that passe by. A voyce was to be sent out against the opinions of all mankinde: yee be mad, you erre, you be amased at superfluous things, you esteeme no man according to his worth. When ye come to patrimonie, ye are most diligent reckoners; thus ye set downe an account of euery one, to whom ye will commit eyther money or benefits. For these also do ye account amongst your expences. He possesseth a great deale, but he oweth much: he hath a faire house, but it is gotten with the money of other men: no man on the sudden can shew a more gallant familie, but he payeth not his debts. If he shall pay his creditors, nothing shall

shall remaine vnto him. The same ye ought also to doe in other things, to examine how much proper goods euery man hath. Thou supposest him to be a rich man, because golden houshold-stuffe followeth him vpon the way, because he tilleth grounds in all Prouinces, because a great booke of his accounts is rouled vp, because he possesseth so much ground in the Suburbes, as with enuie he should possesse in the deserts of *Apulia*: and when thou hast said all, he is a poore man; wherfore? because he is in debt. How much, sayest thou? All that he hath, except peraduenture thou thinkest that there is a difference, whether that one hath borrowed of a man, or of fortune. What to the purpose doe appertaine fatted Mules, all of one colour? What these caruen Coaches?

Tapestry, Scarlet-foot-clothes horses bore,
And long golde poitrels on their breasts before:
Couered with golde, they champ a yellow bit,
And with their teeth the golde they chaw of it.

These things can make neyther a better Master nor Mule. *Marcus Cato* the Censor (whose birth truely profited the people of Rome, as much as *Scipios* did; for the one made warre with our enemies, the other with manners of the time) was carried on a gelding, and had a cloake-bagge behinde him, wherein he carried his necessarie stuffe. O how doe I wish that some of these delicate horse-men might meet with him, hauing foot-men and *Numidians*, and a great deale of dust before him. He without doubt would seeme richer and better attended then *Cato* was: he amongst that delicate preparation, yea, when hee doubteth exceeding much, whether to bestow himselfe on the sword, or on the knife. O how great a dignitie was it to that age, that an Emperour, who had triumphed, who had beene Censor; and which is aboue all, that *Cato* should be contented with one horse, nay certainly not with a whole horse; for his fardell hanging downe on both sides, possessed part of him. Thus wouldest thou not prefer before all the well-fed ambling nags, before great and easie going horses, that one onely horse rubbed by *Cato* himselfe? I doe not see that any end will be vnto this matter, except that which I shall cause to my selfe. Here therefore will I holde my peace as concerning these things: which without doubt hee foresaw they would be such, as now they be; who first called them impediments. Now further will I relate a very few interrogations of our men pertayning to vertue, which we striue to be sufficient for a blessed life. That which is good, maketh men to be good. For also in musicke-skill, that which is good maketh a Musitian. Casuall goods make not a man good, therefore they be not good. The Aristotelians doe thus answer against this, that they say that to be false, which we doe first of all propound: from that say they which is good, men are not also made good. In musicke there is some thing that is good, as a Pipe, an Harpe-string, or some instrument fitted for the vse of singing: notwithstanding not any of these things maketh a Musitian. Here will we answer; you vnderstand not how we haue placed that which is good to a Musitian: for we doe not speake of that which instructeth, but of that which maketh a Musitian: thou commest to the furniture of skill, and not vnto skill. But if there be anie thing which is good in Musicke skill, that certainely will make a Musitian so to be: yea, furthermore I will make that to be more plaine. That which is good in musicke skill, is said so to be two manner of wayes; the one whereby musicall effects, the other whereby Art is holpen. The instruments of the Pipe, and

Organs, and Harpe-ſtrings do apperteine to the effect, but they doe not apperteine to the Art it ſelfe; for he is a workeman without theſe, but cannot peraduenture without them vſe his skill. This is not alike double in a man: for there is the ſame good both of a man, and of his life. That is not good which can befall euery moſt baſe and diſhoneſt man: but riches befall both to the Bawde and Fencer, and therefore they are not good. That which is propounded, ſay they, is falſe; for in Grammar skill, and in the Art of Phyſicke and of gouerning, wee ſee that goods do befall to euery one of the baſeſt ſort. But theſe Arts profeſſe not a greatneſſe of the minde, they riſe not aloft, neyther diſdaine they ſuch things as come by chance. Vertue extolleth a man, and placeth him aboue thoſe which are deere to mortall wights: neyther doth hee too much deſire or feare thoſe things that are called good or bad. *Chelidon* one of thoſe effeminate ones which *Cleopatra* had, poſſeſſed a great Pattimonie: lately *Natalis*, both of a wicked and of an vnpure tongue, into the mouth of whom women were purged, both was the heire of much, and left many heires. What therefore? did money make him pure, or did not he himſelfe pollute money? which ſo falleth vpon certaine men, as a piece of money falleth into the vault. Vertue ſtandeth aboue thete things, it is deemed by the worth of it ſelfe: it iudgeth none of theſe things to be good, howſoeuer they fall vnto vs. Phyſicke and gouernement forbid not to themſelues and to theirs, the admiration of ſuch things. He that is not a good man, may neuertheleſſe be a Phyſitian, may be a Gouernour, may be a Grammarian forſooth as well as a Cooke. To whom it befalleth not to haue euery thing, him mayeſt thou not call an vniuerſall man. What things euery one hath, ſuch a manner of man he is. The Exchequer is worth ſo much as it hath; yea, into the reuenew thereof commeth that which it hath. Who ſetteth any price vpon a full bagge, except the ſumme of the money put therein hath cauſed him? The ſame befalleth to a Maſter of great patrimonies, they are the reuenewes and the appendices vnto them. Why therefore is a wiſeman great? Becauſe he hath a great minde. True therefore it is, that that is not good, which befalleth vnto euerie moſt baſe man. Therefore will I neuer ſay, that the want of ſorrow is a good thing, a Graſſhopper hath that, a Gnat hath that. Nor indeed will I ſay, that quietnes, and to want trouble is a good thing. What is more idle then a Worme? Seekeſt thou what maketh a man wiſe, what maketh a God? It is meet that thou giue ſome diuine, ſome heauenly, ſom magnificent thing. Good falleth not vpon all, neither endureth it euery poſſeſſor. See thou,

What euery land will beare, or will not haue;
This corne, that grapes, more happily doth craue.
Some where yong trees do ſprout, and graſſe amaine:
Of Saffron ſmels, hill Tmolus is the vaine.
Doth not th' Indian clime ſend in'ry out;
Of Sabais ſoft is not their incenſe bought?
From naked Chalybes is Iron brought.

Theſe things are aſſigned to their owne place, that commerce might be neceſſarie vnto men amongſt themſelues, if interchangeably one ſhould demaund ſomwhat of another man. That chiefeſt good it ſelfe hath alſo his ſeat: it ſpringeth not where Iuorie or Iron doth. Seekeſt thou what is the place of the chiefeſt good? The minde: this except it be pure and holy, entertaineth not God. God is not made of that which is bad; but riches are cauſed by couetouſneſſe;

ouſneſs; therefore they be not good. It is not good, ſaith he, that good ſpringeth of that which is bad. From ſacriledge and from theft doth mony come: therfore bad indeed is ſacriledge and theft: but becauſe, it cauſeth more bad, then good things. For it giueth gaine, but with feare, with care, with torments both of bodie and of minde. Who ſoeuer ſpeaketh this, it is needfull that he admit, that as ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it doth many bad things, ſo alſo that it is good in ſome ſort, becauſe it doth ſome good: then which thing what is more monſtrous? Although we be altogether perſwaded, that ſacriledge, theft, and adultery are amongſt thoſe things that be good. How many bluſh not at theft; how many boaſt of adulterie? for ſmall ſacriledges are puniſhed, great ones are carried in triumph. Adde now that ſacriledge, if altogether it be good in any ſort, ſhall alſo be honeſt, & ſhall be ſaid to be well done: for the action is ours, which thing the thought of no man receiueth, therefore good things cannot come of thoſe that be bad. For if, as yee ſay, for this one thing ſacriledge is bad, becauſe it bringeth much euill: if thou ſhalt remit puniſhments to it, if thou ſhalt promiſe ſecuritie, altogether it ſhall be good. But the greateſt puniſhment of heinous deeds is in themſelues. Thou erreſt, I ſay, if thou put them off to the Hang-man, and to the Iayle: preſently are they puniſhed, when they are done, yea whileſt they are in doing them. Therfore good is not borne from that which is bad, no more then a Fig from an Oliue tree. They anſwer that they be borne for ſeed: good things cannot wax worſe. As that which is honeſt, is not borne from a diſhoneſt thing, ſo from a bad thing is not that which is good: for the ſame is an honeſt and a good thing. Some of ours do thus anſwere againſt this: let vs ſuppoſe that mony is a good thing, whence ſoeuer it be taken, not withſtading mony is not therfore frō ſacriledge, although it be taken from ſacriledge. Thus vnderſtand this. In the ſame pitcher there is both gold and a viper. If thou ſhalt take the gold out of the pitcher, becauſe there alſo a viper is, not therefore doth the pitcher giue gold vnto me, becauſe it containeth a viper, but it giueth gold, although it haue a viper. After the ſame ſort gaine is made from ſacriledge, not as ſacriledge is diſhoneſt and wicked, but as it hath gaine; euen as in that pitcher a viper is bad, not the gold which lieth with the viper: ſo in ſacriledge the heinous deed is bad, but not the gaine. Againe, it is argued: the condition of both the things is moſt vnlike: there can I take away gold without the viper: heere I cannot make gaine without ſacriledge: this gaine is not added to, but is mingled with wickedneſſe. Which whileſt we will obtaine, we fall into many euill things: that is not good, whileſt wee will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things; therefore riches are not good. Your propoſition, ſaith he, hath two ſignifications, the one whileſt we will obtaine riches, that we fall into many bad things: but into many bad things doe we fall, whileſt alſo wee would obtaine vertue. Some one whileſt hee hath ſailed to ſtudie, hath ſuffered ſhipwracke; another hath beene taken. Another ſignification is thus, that whereby we fall into euils, that is not good. The conſequent to this propoſition will not be by riches or by pleaſures we fall into euils: or if by riches we fall into many euils, riches are not onely not good, but be bad. But yee onely ſay, that they be not that which is good. Furthermore, ſaith he, yee grant that riches haue ſome vſe, and amongſt commodities doe ye number them. But by the ſame reaſon they ſhal not be a profit indeed: for by them many diſcommodities come to vs. Some men anſwere thus vnto theſe things: ye erre, who impute diſcommodities vnto riches. They hurt no man, either doth folly hurt euery man, or the wickedneſſe of other men: ſo, euen as a ſword which killeth no man, yet is the

weapon of him that doth kill. Riches therefore doe not hurt thee, if for riches there be hurt vnto thee. *Posidonius* speaketh better, as I suppose, who saith, that riches are the cause of euill things, not because themselues can doe any thing, but because they prouoke those that will doe. For there is one efficient cause, which of necessitie forthwith must hurt: another is a precedent cause, riches haue in them this precedent cause. They puffe vp the minde, bring forth pride, procure enuy, and so farre forth estrange the minde, that the fame of money, yea that which will hurt delighteth vs. But good things ought to want all manner of blame: they be pure, they doe not corrupt, nor solicite the minde: they lift vp indeed and dilate, but without swelling. Those things that be good, cause confidence, riches cause boldnesse. Those things that are good cause magnanimitie, riches insolencie. But insolencie is nothing else, then a false shew of greatnesse. After this sort sayest thou, riches are not only not that which is good, but also that which is bad. They were a bad thing, if by themselues they should hurt; if (as I haue said) they should haue an efficient cause: now they haue a precedent cause, and indeed not only one prouoking, but drawing minds thereunto. For they shew forth a very likely shape of that which is good, and credible to most men. Vertue also hath a precedent cause vnto enuie, for many through wisdome, many through iustice are enuied at: but neither from it selfe hath it this cause, nor any like vnto it. For contrarily that more likely shape is by vertue set before the mindes of men, which may call them vnto loue and admiration thereof. *Posidonius* saith, that we must reason thus: What things giue neither greatnesse, nor confidence, nor securitie to the minde, are not good: but riches, and good health, and things like vnto these, cause none of these things; therefore they are not good: yea also hee enforceth this reason after this sort. Those things be bad which giue neither greatnesse, nor confidence, nor securitie to the minde; but contrarily beget insolencie, pride, arrogancie: but by casuall things we are enforced into these; therefore they are not good. By this reason, saith he, they shall not be commodities indeed. There is one condition of commodities, another of good things. A commoditie is which hath more vse, then trouble: a good thing ought to be sincere and without hurt on euery part. That is not good which profiteth more, but that which bringeth profit alone. Wherefore, commoditie pertaineth both to liuing creatures, and to vnperfect men, and to fooles. Therefore discommoditie may be mixed therewithall: but it is called commoditie, being esteemed by the greater part thereof. That which is good, appertaineth to a wise-man alone, it is meet that it should be without hurt. Be of good courage: one, but an *Herculean* knot remaineth vnto thee. From bad things good is not made; from many pouerties riches doe not come; therefore riches are not good. Our men acknowledge not this reason. The *Aristotelians* both faine and loosen it. But *Posidonius* saith, that this Sophisme is tossed through all the Logicians Schooles, and by *Antipater* is refelled thus. Pouertie is not called according to a putting to, but according to a taking from, or (as the Ancients haue said by priuation: the Grecians say, κατὰ στέρησιν: not because it hath, is it called, but because it hath not. Therefore by many voide things nothing can bee filled: many things, and not much want, are the cause of riches. Thou vnderstandest pouertie, otherwise then thou oughtest to doe. Pouertie is, not which possesseth a few, but which possesseth not many things. Therefore it is called not from that which it hath, but from that which is wanting vnto. More easily would I expresse that which I meane, if there were a Latine word, whereby ἀποία is signified. *Antipater* assigneth

assigneth this to pouertie. I see not what other thing pouertie may bee, then possession of a small thing. Concerning this we will see, if there shall be great leasure at any time, what the substance of riches, what the substance of pouerty may be: but then also will we consider, whether it were better to assuage pouertie, to take loftie lookes from riches, then to striue concerning words, as though alreadie we had iudged of the things. Let vs suppose that we are called to a Parliament. A law is propounded for the abolishing of riches: by these reasons shall we perswade or dissuade? By these shall wee cause the people of *Rome* to require, and to praise pouertie, the foundation and cause of their Empire? and to feare their wealth? to thinke how they haue found these amongst the conquered? that hence ambition, and bribery, and tumults haue broken into a most holy and a most temperate Citie? That too luxuriously the spoyles of the Nations are shewed out? That one people hath taken from all, more easily that from one it might bee taken by all. It is better to perswade these things, and to fight against the affections, not to beguile them. If we can, let vs speake more valiantly; if not, more openly.

Epist. LXXXVIII.

Liberall studies are not amongst good things, neither doe they of themselues leade to vertue. Seuerally teacheth he this in Grammer, in Musicke, in Geometrie, in Astronomie. But although they doe not leade, yet they helpe: that is, they fur ther and prepare. Then there is another diuision of Arts, into Vulgar, Sporting, Childish, Liberall: and amongst these he maketh Philosophie to be onely that, which truely maketh free. Yea it alone searcheth foorth concerning Good and Bad things, it alone knoweth them; it therefore alone, or chiefely is to be embraced: and sheweth how vnprofitable and superfluous things Great Readers follow after, yea some Philosophers too. O good, O golden things be heere! Reade ye both yong and old.

THou desirest to know what I thinke concerning liberall studies. I admire none, I number none amongst those things that be good, whose end is for gaine. Hired workmanships they bee, so farre profitable, as they prepare, and not detaine the wit. For so long must wee abide in them, as the minde can performe no greater thing; they be our rudiments, not our workes. Wherefore, thou seest they be called liberall studies, because they be worthy of a free man. But one studie is liberall indeede, which maketh a free man; this is of wisdome, high, valiant, magnanimous; other be pettie and childish things. Beleeuest thou that there is any good in these things? the professors whereof thou seest to bee the most dishonest, and the most wicked of all men? We ought not to learne, but to haue learned these. Some haue iudged that that question is to be propounded concerning liberall studies, whether they could make a man good. They promise it not indeed, neither doe they affect the knowledge of this thing. A Grammarian is conuersant about the care of speech, and if he will wander any further, about Histories, yea that he may extend his limits the farthest of all, about verses. What of these maketh the way to vertue? Doth the vnfolding of Syllables, and diligence of words, and memorie of fables, and the law and scanning of verses? Which of these taketh away feare, taketh out couetousnesse, refraineth lust? Let vs passe to Geometrie, and to musicke: nothing

shalt thou finde with them, which forbiddeth to feare, forbiddeth to couet: which whosoeuer is ignorant of, in vaine he knoweth other things. Let vs see whether these teach vertue, or not, if they doe not teach, they deliuer it not indeed: if they doe teach, they be Philosophers. Wilt thou know, how that they haue not sit downe to teach vertue? behold how vnlike the studies of all be amongst themselues: but likenes had bin if they had taught the same things. Except peraduenture they perswade thee, that *Homer* was a Philosopher, with these very things whereby they conclude, they may deny it. For sometimes they make him a Stoick, allowing of vertue alone, & flying back from pleasures, and not retiring backe from that which is honest, for the price of immortalitie it selfe: sometime an Epicurean praising the state of a quiet Citie, and amongst bankets and songs spending his life: sometime an Aristotelian bringing in three kinds of good things: sometime an Academick, teaching all things to be vncertaine. It appeareth that none of these things be in him, because that all be: for these things disagree amongst themselues. Let vs grant vnto them, that *Homer* was a Philosopher: certainly he was made wise before he knew any verse: therfore let vs learne those things, which haue made *Homer* to be a wise-man. For me to seeke after this thing indeed, whether *Homer* or *Hesiod* were elder by birth, no more appertaineth to the busines, then to know, whether *Hecuba* was yonger then *Helen*, and why so badly she did beare her age. What, I say, supposest thou that it appertaineth to the purpose, to enquire for the yeares of *Patroclus* and *Achilles*? Seekest thou where *Vlixes* did wander, rather then that thou cause, that we doe not alwayes goe astray? There is not idle time to heare, whether that *Vlixes* were tossed betwixt *Italy* and *Sicily*, or was without the world that is knowne vnto vs: for so long a wandring could not bee in so narrow a place. Tempests of the minde doe daily tosse vs, and wickednesse driueth vs vpon all the euils, which *Vlixes* had. Beautie is not wanting which may solicite the eyes, not an enemie: hence are very cruell monsters and delighting in humane bloud: hence are deceitfull allurements of the eares: hence are shipwrackes and so many varieties of euill things. Teach mee this thing how I may loue my Countrey, how my wife, how my father, how cuen suffering shipwracke, I may smile vnto these so honest things. What enquirest thou, whether *Penelope* was vnchast, whether shee deceiued her age, whether she suspected him to bee *Vlixes* whom shee saw, before that shee knew it to be true? Teach mee what chastitie is, and how great a good there is in it: whether it bee placed in the bodie or in the minde. I passe to a Musitian. Thou teachest mee how acute and graue sounds may agree amongst themselues, how a concord may bee of strings making an vnlike sound. Make rather that my minde may agree with it selfe, and that my counsels may not disagree. Thou shewest vnto mee which be the mourning tunes: shew rather how in aduersitie I may not vtter a mourning voice. The Geometrician teacheth me ro measure large pieces of grounds: rather let him teach, how I may measure, how much may be sufficient to a man. Arithmeticke teacheth mee to number, and to lend my fingers to couetousnesse: rather let it teach, that these computations doe nothing appertaine to mine estate. Hee is not an happier man, whose patrimonie wearieth the casters vp of his accounts: yea very superfluous things may hee possesse, who shall become most vnhappie, if hee bee constrained to reckon vp, how much hee hath. What profiteth it mee to know, how to diuide a small field into parts, if I know not with my brother how to diuide it? What profiteth it subtilly to know how many feete are in an acre of ground, and also to

to comprehend if any thing hath escaped the pearch; if a mightie neighbour maketh me sad and encroacheth on somewhat of that which is mine? Teacheth thou me, how I may lose nothing of my bounds? but I am willing to learne how I may lose them all with mirth. I am expelled, saith he, from my fathers and from my grandfathers land. What? before thy grandfather who possessed this ground? Tell it thou canst; not what mans, but what peoples it was? Thereon hast thou entred, not as a Lord, but as a Tenant. Whose Tenant art thou? Thine heires, if thou hast good lucke. Lawyers denie, that any thing can be prescribed vpon, which is publike: this is publike which thou possessest, and belongeth indeede vnto mankind. O remarkeable Art! thou knowest to measure round things, thou bringest into a quadrate what shape soeuer thou shalt receiue: thou tellest of the distances of the starres: nothing is there but falleth within the measure. If thou be a workeman, measure the minde of man: tell how great, tell how little it is. Thou knowest which is a streight line; what profiteth it to thee, if thou be ignorant what is streight in life? Now I come to him who boasteth in the knowledge of heauenly things.

Whether colde SATVRNE *doth it selfe betake,*
And what circles CYLLENIVS *star doth make.*

What shall it profit to know this? that I may be carefull when *Saturne* and *Mars* shall be in opposition, or when *Mercury* shall make his cuening fall *Saturne* looking? Rather I will learne this, that where soeuer these things be, that they be prosperous, that they cannot be changed. A continuall order and an inceitable course of destinies moueth these: by set courses they doe retire. They eyther moue or note forth the effects of all things. But whether they be the cause, why euery thing falleth forth, what shall the knowledge of an vnchangeable thing profite thee? or whether they signifie, what skilleth it to prouide for that which thou canst not auoyde? Whether thou do know or not know these things, they shall come to passe.

On the swift Sunne, and starres that follow it,
If that thou looke in order as they sit,
Th' ensuing day will neuer thee deceiue,
Nor cleare nights slights of foresight will bereaue.

Sufficiently and abundantly it is prouided, that I should be safe from ambushes. Doth not the time that is to morrow deceiue me? for it deceiueth him that is ignorant hereof. I know not what shall be; I know what may come to passe. I despaire nothing of this, I expect the whole. If any thing be remitted, I take it in good part. Time deceiueth, if it spareth mee: but neyther so indeed deceiueth it. For as I know that all things may fall forth, so also I know that for certaine they will not fall forth. For certaine I expect prosperous things: I am prepared for those that be bad. In that it is needfull that thou suffer me not going by that which is put in writing. For I am not perswaded to receiue Painters into the number of the liberall arts, no more then makers of statues, or workers in marble, or other seruants of riotousnes. Alike do I expell wrastlers from these liberall studies, & all the skill consisting in oyle and clay; or may I receiue those that make sweet oiles, & Cooks and others, that do apply their wits for the pleasures

sures of vs? For liberall things, I pray thee haue these fasting vomitors, whose bodies be fat, but mindes be leane and asleepe? Doe we beleeue that this is a liberall studie for our youth, which our auncestors haue exercised to be right, to cast Darts, to tosse a Speare, to ride an horse, to handle weapons. Nothing did they teach their children, that was to be learned by those that lie still. But neyther these nor those do teach or nourish vertue. For what profiteth it to gouern a horse, and with a bridle to moderate his course, and with most vnbridled affections to be led away? What profiteth it with wrastling, or with buffets to ouercome many men, and to be ouercome by anger? What therefore? Do liberal studies bestow nothing vpon vs? For other things much, for vertue nothing. For these base professed Arts, which consist of the hand, conferr very much to the instruments of life, notwithstanding to vertue they doe not belong. Why therefore doe we instruct our children in liberall studies? Not because they can giue vertue, but because they prepare the minde to the receiuing of it. For as that first literature, as the auncients called it, whereby the first principles are deliuered to children, teacheth not the liberall Arts, but prepareth a place for the first receiuing of them: so liberall Arts leade not the minde to vertue, but make it fit. *Possidonius* saith that there be foure kindes of Arts; the vulgar and base, sporting, childish, and the liberal Arts. Vulgar be of crafts-men, which consist of the hand, and be busied for the furnishing of life; wherein there is no counterfeiting of comlinesse, nor of any honest thing. Sporting Arts be those which tend to the pleasure of the eyes & of the eares. To these you may number the Inginers, who deuise frames rising vp of themselues, and boards secretly encreasing to a great height, and other varieties scarce thought vpon; eyther those things seperating which did cleaue together, or these things which stood asunder, comming together of their owne accord, or these things which stood vp by little and little, setling downe againe vpon themselues. The eyes of the vnskilfull are stricken with these things, wondering (because they haue not knowne the causes) at all sudden things. Childish they be, and haue some similitude with the Liberall Arts, namely, these which the Grecians call ἐγκυκλίους, and our men call Liberall Arts. But they alone are Liberall Arts (and as I may more truely speake) bee free, which haue a care of vertue. Euen as, saith hee, some part of the minde is for naturall, some for morall, some for reasoning Philosophy; so also this troope of Liberall Arts, doth in Philosophy challenge a place vnto it selfe. When we come to Naturall questions, we stand to the testimonie of Geometrie. Therefore is it a part of that which it doth helpe? Many things helpe vs, yet for that they are no parts of vs: yea if they were parts, they would not helpe. Meate is an helpe of the bodie, yet is it not a part. The seruice of Geometry performeth somewhat vnto vs: so is it needfull to Philosophie, as a Carpenter is vnto it: but neither is he a part of Geometrie, nor that of Philosophie. Furthermore, both haue their ends: for a wise-man both seeketh and knoweth the causes of naturall things, the numbers and measures of which, a Geometrician followeth after and counteth. A wise man knoweth after what manner heauenly things consist, what force, or what nature is vnto them: a Mathematician collecteth the courses, and returnings backe, and the obseruations, by which they descend and be lifted vp, and sometimes make a shew as though they stood still, although that heauenly things cannot stand. A wise-man knoweth what the cause is that expresseth images in a glasse: a Geometrician can tell that vnto thee, how much a body ought to bee absent from the image, and what forme is of the glasse that may represent images. A Philosopher

losopher will proue the Sunne to be great: the Mathematician will shew how great it is, who proceedeth by a certaine exercise and vse; but that he may proceede, certaine principles are to be obtained by him. But that Art standeth not vpon her owne right, whose foundation is by request. Philosophy desireth nothing from another thing, it raiseth vp the whole worke from the ground. The Mathematicks (as I may so speake) is a superficiall Art, it receiueth principles from others, by the benefit of which it may come to farther things: if by it selfe it could come to that which is true, if it could comprehend the nature of the whole world, I should say that it would bestow much vpon our minds, which encrease by the handling of heauenly things, and draw somewhat from it. The minde is made perfect by one thing, namely, by the vnchangeable knowledge of good and bad things; which agreeth vnto Philosophie onely. But none other Art enquireth about good and bad things: let vs consider all Vertues in particular. Fortitude is a contemner of things to be feared: it despiseth, prouoketh and breaketh terrible things, and such as send our libertie vnder the yoke: what therefore doe liberall studies strengthen this? Fidelitie is the most holy good thing of a humane breast, by no necessitie is it constrained to deceiue, it is corrupted by no reward. Burne, saith he, beat, kill, I will not betray; but by how much the more paine shall seeke to discouer secret things, by so much will I the more deepely hide them: what are liberall studies able to cause these mindes? Temperance ruleth ouer pleasures; it hateth and driueth away some, it dispenseth with other some, and reduceth them to a sound meane, neyther at any time doth it for themselues come vnto them. It knoweth that the best meane of desired things is, not to take how much thou wilt, but how much thou oughtest. Humanitie forbiddeth to be proude ouer thy fellowes, to bee couetous: in words, in deedes, in affections it sheweth it selfe gentle and easie vnto all; it suppoſeth none euill to be estranged from him, but especially it loueth that good of it selfe which shall be for anothers good; what doe liberall studies command these maners? No more then simplicitie, modestie, frugalitie, and parsimonie; no more then clemencie, which spareth the bloud of another as it were his owne, and knoweth that a man must not prodigally vse a man. When ye say (saith he) that without liberall studies vertue cannot be attained vnto: how denie ye that those things confer nothing to vertue? Because neyther without meat can vertue be attained vnto, yet notwithstanding meate appertaineth not to vertue. Wood conferreth nothing vpon a ship, although that a ship cannot be made without wood. There is no cause, saith hee, that thou mayest thinke any thing to be made with the help of that thing, without which it could not be made. That also may be spoken indeede, that without liberall studies wisdome may be comne by: for although that vertue be to be learned, notwithstanding it is not learned by these things. But why is it, wherefore I should esteeme that he shall not become wise, who is ignorant of learning, seeing wisdome is not in learning? It deliuereth deedes, not wordes; and I cannot tell whether the memorie may be more sure, which hath no help out of it selfe. Wisdome is a great and spacious thing; it hath neede of an emptie place: wee must learne diuine and humane things, things past, things to come, things fading an eternall, and time it selfe; concerning which one thing, see how many things may be sought for; first, whether any thing may be by it selfe, then, whether anie thing may be before time: if time hath begun with the world, whether also before the world; because somewhat hath beene, time hath also beene. Innumerable questions be only concerning the mind; whence it may be, and what,

when

when it beginneth to be, how long it may be: whether it may paſſe from one place to another, and may change her houſe, and may be caſt from one forme of liuing creatures into another: or that it may ſerue no more then once, and being ſent forth may wander in the whole world: whether it be a bodie, or no: what it will doe, when it hath ceaſed to doe any thing by vs: how ſhee will vſe her libertie when ſhe ſhall flee out of this denne: whether it may forget former things, and there begin to know it ſelfe, after that it being led out of the bodie, hath departed on high. Whatſoeuer part of diuine and humane affaires thou ſhalt comprehend, thou ſhalt be wearied with huge abundance of things to be ſought for, and to be learned. That theſe ſo many, and ſo great things may haue free place of remaining, ſuperfluous things are to be taken out of the mind. Vertue will not put it ſelfe into theſe ſtraits: a great matter deſireth a large ſpace: let all things be expelled; let the whole breſt be emptie for it. But the knowledge of many Arts delighteth. Let vs therefore retaine ſo much of them, as is neceſſary. Suppoſeſt thou that it is a thing to be reprehended in him, who getteth ſuperfluous things for his vſe, and layeth abroad the pompe of precious things in his houſe: and thinkeſt thou him not to be blame-worthy, who is occupied in the ſuperfluous implements of learning? To bee willing to know more, then may be ſufficient, is a kinde of intemperancie. What, that this following after Liberall Arts maketh men troubleſome, full of words, vnſeaſonable, pleaſures of themſelues, and therefore not learning neceſſarie things, becauſe they haue learned ſuperfluous things. *Dydimus* the Grammarian wrote foure thouſand bookes: wretched, if he had read ſo many ſuperfluous things. In theſe booke it is ſought of the Country of *Homer*; in theſe of the true mother of *Æneas*: in theſe whether *Anacreon* led a more luſtfull or a more drunken life: whether *Sappho* was a whore; and other which were to be vnlearned, if thou ſhouldeſt know them. Goe now, and deny life to be long. But alſo when thou ſhalt come to our owne men, I will ſhew that many things with axes are to be cut off. This praiſing, O learned man! coſteth great expence of time, great trouble of the eare of other men. Let vs be content with this more ruſticke title: O good man. Is it euen ſo? Shall I toſſe ouer the Chronicles of all Nations, and ſhall I ſearch who firſt hath written verſes: how much time may be betwixt *Orpheus* and *Homer*; when I haue not records of time, ſhall I reckon it: and ſhall I reuiew the note of *Ariſtarchus*, wherewith he noted the verſes of other men: and in Syllables ſhall I ſpend my time? What ſhall I ſo ſticke in the Geometricall duſt? Hath that wholeſome precept, *Spare time*, ſo fallen out of minde? Shall I know theſe things, and be ignorant of my ſelfe? *Appion* the Grammarian, who vnder *Caius Cæſar* was caried about in all Greece, and by all Cities was adopted into *Homers* name, ſaid, that *Homer* hauing finiſhed the matter both of the *Odyſſes* and Iliads, added a beginning to his worke, wherein he comprehended the *Troian* warre. He brought an argument of this thing, becauſe of purpoſe he had placed two letters in the firſt verſe, containing the number of his bookes. It is meet that he know theſe things, who will know many things. Wilt thou not thinke how much time bad health may take from thee, how much publike and priuate buſineſſe, how much buſineſſe by day, how much ſleep, meaſure thine age, it is not capable of ſo many things. I ſpeake of Liberall ſtudies: how much ſuperfluitie Philoſophers haue, how much retiring from vſe. They alſo haue deſcended to the diſtinction of Syllables, and to the proprieties of coniunctions and prepoſitions, and to enuy Grammarians, to enuy Geometricians. Whatſoeuer was ſuperfluous in the Arts of them, they tranſlated

tranſlated into their owne Art. Thus it is come to paſſe, that through more diligence they know rather to ſpeake, then to liue. Heare how great euill too great ſubtilitie can cauſe, and how great an enemie it is to truth. *Protagoras* ſaith, that alike, concerning euery thing it may be diſputed on vpon both parts: and concerning this very thing, whether that euery thing may be diſputed on vpon both parts. *Nauſiphanes* ſaith, that of theſe things that ſeeme to be, that nothing rather is, then is not. *Parmenides* ſaith, that of theſe things that are ſeene, there is nothing at all. *Zeno Eleates* hath caſt all buſineſſe out of buſineſſe; hee ſaith, that nothing is. The *Pyrrhonians* are for the moſt part conuerſant about the ſame things, ſo are the *Megaricans*, and *Eretricans*, and the *Academicks*, who haue brought in a new knowledge, of knowing nothing. Caſt all theſe things into that ſuperfluous flocke of Liberall ſtudies. Thoſe deliuer a knowledge that will not profit; theſe take away the hope of all knowledge: it is better to know ſuperfluous things, then nothing at all. Theſe doe not carry a light before, whereby the eye may bee directed to that which is true: theſe put out mine eyes. If I beleeue *Protagoras*, there is nothing but doubts in the nature of things: if *Nauſiphanes*, this one thing is certaine, that nothing is certaine: if *Parmenides*, there is nothing but one thing: if *Zeno*, there is not one thing indeed. What therefore be we? What theſe things which ſtand about, nouriſh, and ſuſtaine vs? The whole nature of things is a ſhade, or vaine, or deceitfull. I cannot eaſily tell, whether I may be more angry at them, who would haue vs to know nothing: or at them, who haue not indeed left this thing vnto vs, to know nothing.

Epist. LXXXIX.

The difference betwixt Philoſophie and wiſedome: and a diuerſe diuiſion thereof, and againe a diuiſion and deſcription of the parts. Then an admonition, that theſe and ſuch like are to be referred to manners and to the minde: and by the way he inueigheth againſt thoſe that be badly rich, and therewithall he chaſtiſeth rioteuſneſſe and couetouſneſſe.

THou deſireſt a profitable thing, and which is for certaine neceſſarie vnto wiſedome, namely, that Philoſophie be diuided, and that the huge bodie thereof be diſpoſed into members. For more eaſily by parts are we brought to the knowledge of the whole. I would that as the face of the whole world commeth into ſight, ſo that whole Philoſophie might come vnto vs, a ſight moſt like to the world. For truely it would ſpeedily draw all mortall men into admiration of it ſelfe, theſe things being left, which now with great admiration of the great ones, we doe beleeue. But becauſe this cannot fall forth, ſo ſhall it be looked vpon by vs, as the ſecrets of the world are ſeene. The minde of a wiſe-man indeed comprehendeth the whole frame thereof, neyther leſſe ſwiftly goeth about it, then our eye goeth about the skie: but to vs, to whom darkeneſſe is to be broken thorow, and whoſe ſight faileth in that which is hard by, ſeuerall things can more eaſily be ſhewed, we being as yet not capable of the whole. I will therefore doe that which thou requireſt, and I will diuide Philoſophie into parts, not into pieces. For it is profitable to be diuided, and not to be hacked ſmall. For as to comprehend the greateſt, ſo hard it is, to comprehend the ſmalleſt things

The

The people are described into Tribes, an armie into hundreths. Whatsoeuer hath encreased to be very great, is more easily taken notice of, if it hath departed into parts; which (as I haue said) it is not meete, they should be innumerable and small. For too great a diuision hath the same fault, that no diuision hath: it is like to that which is confused, whatsoeuer is cut euen vnto dust. First therefore, as it seemeth I will tell, what difference there may be betweene wisedome and Philosophie. Wisdome is a perfect good thing of the minde of man: Philosophie is a loue, an affectation of wisdome. This sheweth that which it hath attained vnto. It appeareth, whence Philosophie may be named: for it confesseth with the name it selfe. Some haue defined wisdome thus; that they called it a knowledge of diuine and of humane things. Some thus; Wisdome is to haue knowne diuine and humane things, and the causes of these. This addition seemeth superfluous vnto me, because causes be parts of diuine and of humane things. Also there haue beene who haue defined Philosophie; some one way, and some another way: some haue said, that it is a studie of vertue; some a studie of correcting the minde. By some it is called a desire of true reason. As though it were manifest, that there were some difference betwixt Philosophie and Wisedome. For it cannot come to passe, that that which is affected, and that which affecteth is the same thing. As there is much difference betwixt money and couetousnesse, seeing the one desireth, the other is desired: so is there betwixt Philosophie and Wisdome. For this is the reward and effect of that: that commeth, this is come vnto. Wisedome is that which the Grecians call σοφία. This word did the Romanes also vse, as also they now vse Philosophie; thing which the auncient Comedies acted in gownes will proue, and the title written vpon the monument of *Dossennus*:

Stranger stand still, to go do not proceede,
But slay, the wisedome of DOSSENNVS *reade.*

Some of our men, although Philosophie were the studie of vertue, and this were sought for, and that did seeke, haue notwithstanding thought, that those might not be seuered. For neyther Philosophie is without vertue, nor vertue without Philosophie. Philosophie is a studie of vertue, but by vertue it selfe: but neyther can vertue be without the studie of it selfe, nor the studie of vertue be without it selfe. For not as in these who endeuour to strike any thing from a farre off, in one place is he that striketh, in another that which is striken: nor as journies which leade vnto Cities, be without them. By vertue wee come vnto it. Therefore Philosophie and vertue doe cleaue together betwixt themselues. Both the greatest and most authors haue said, that there be three parts of Philosophie; namely, Morall, Naturall, and Reasonable. The first composeth the minde, the second searcheth the nature of things, the third exacteth the proprieties of words, and their frame, and manner of reasoning, that false things may not creepe in for that which is true. But there be found, who likewise would diuide Philosophie into fewer things, and who would diuide it into more. Som of the Aristotelians haue added a fourth part, namely, Ciuill skill, because it desireth a certaine proper exercise, and is occupied about another matter. Certaine haue added a part vnto these, which the Grecians call οἰκονομικὴ, the knowledge of gouerning a familie. Some also haue seperated a place for the kindes of life. But is not any part of these, which is not found in that Morall part. The Epicureans haue supposed, that there be two parts of Philosophie, Naturall and Morall.

rall. The reasoning part they haue remoued away. Then, when they were constrained with the things themselues to seperate doubtfull things, to reproue false things lying hid vnder the shew of that which is true, themselues also brought in a place, which they call Concerning iudgement and rule, it beeing called Reasonable after another name: but they suppose that place to bee an augmentation of a Naturall part. The Cyrenians tooke naturall things away together with the reasonable, and were content with Morall: but these also, who remoue them away, doe bring them in another way. For they diuide Morall things into fiue partes: that one part is of things to be desired and to bee fledde from, another of the affections, a third of the actions, a fourth of the causes, a fift of the arguments. Causes of things are from the naturall part, arguments from the reasonable, actions from the Morall. *Aristo Chius* not onely said, that the naturall and reasonable were superfluous, but also contrarie, hee also clipped Morall Philosophie round about, which he had left alone. For hee tooke away that place, which containeth admonitions, and said, it appertained to a Tutor, and not to a Philosopher or a louer of Wisedome: as though that a wise-man is any thing else, then a Tutor of mankinde. Therefore sith Philosophie or the loue of Wisedome is three-folde, let vs first beginne to dispose the Morall part thereof, or that which ordereth the maners of men. Which it pleaseth againe to be deuided into three: that the first might bee a contemplation distributing his owne to euerie man, and esteeming how much euerie thing is worthy of; this part is most profitable; for what is so necessarie as to set prices vpon things? The second part is of endeuour, the third of actions. For the first is, that thou iudge of how great worth euerie thing may be: the second, that thou take an ordered and temperate affection to these things: the third, that there may be an agreement betwixt thine endeauour and action, that in all these things thou may est agree with thy selfe. Whatsoeuer of these three shall bee wanting, it also troubleth the rest. For what profiteth it, to haue all things iudged of within, if thou be too much in eagernesse? What profiteth it to haue represssed eagernesse, and to haue desires in thine owne power, if in the verie action of things thou be ignorant of times, and knowest not when, and where, and how euery thing ought to be done? For it is one thing to haue knowen the worth and prices of things; another, the oportunities; another to refraine eagernesse, and to goe, not to rush to the doing of things. Therefore then is life agreeable to it selfe, when action hath not forsaken eagernesse. Eagernesse is conceiued from the worth of euery thing, therefore it is remisse or more fierce, according as that thing is worthy to be sought for. The part of Philosophie which teacheth concerning the nature of things is cut into two; things that haue bodies, or into those that be without bodies. Both are deuided (as I may so speake) into their owne degrees. The place of bodies into these first, namely into those things which make, and those things which are begotten of these: but the elements are begotten. The very place of an element (as some suppose) is simple, or without any mixture at all; as othersome thinke, it is diuided into a matter, and into a cause mouing all things, and into the elements. It remaineth that wee diuide the reasonable part of Philosophie. Euerie speech is eyther continued or diuided betwixt him that answereth and asketh. It hath pleased that the one should be called *Dialecticke*, or the Arte of Logicke, the other *Rhetoricke*. This careth for wordes, and sense, and order. *Dialecticke* is diuided into two parts; into words and significations: that

is, into things which are ſpoken of, and into wordes, wherewith they are ſpoken. Then there followeth an huge diuiſion of them both: therefore I will make an end in this place.

I onely will relate
Of things their chiefeſt ſtate.

Otherwiſe, if I would make parts of parts, there will be made a book of queſtions. I ſcarre thee not, O *Lucilius*, the beſt amongſt men, from reading theſe things, ſo that whatſoeuer thou ſhalt reade, thou doe preſently referre it vnto manners. Bridle thou thoſe, ſtirre vp that which languiſheth in thee, binde that which is looſe, tame that which is ſtubborne, and vexe thy publique deſires as much as thou canſt: and theſe ſaying, How long the ſame things? Anſwere, I ought to ſay, How long will yee the ſame offend? Yee will haue the remedies to ceaſe before the vices. But I ſo much the rather will ſpeake, and becauſe yee refuſe, I will goe on. Then beginneth Phyſicke to profite, when touching cauſeth griefe in a troubled bodie. I will alſo ſpeake thoſe things which ſhall profite the vnwilling. Sometime not ſome flattering voyce ſhall come vnto you: and becauſe each of you will not heare the truth, heare it in publique. How farre will yee propagate the limits of your poſſeſſions? The ground is narrow for one Maſter, which receiued a people. How farre will yee ſtretch out your tillage, not being contented indeede with ſowing of Prouinces, to limit a meaſure of your Farmes. The runnings of famous flouds thorough the ground of priuate men, and great Riuers, and the bounds of great Nations, from the Fountaine vnto the mouth, bee yours. This alſo is too little, except yee haue compaſſed Seas with your large poſſeſſions: except your Bayliffe raigne beyond the *Hadrian*, and *Ionian*, and *Ægæan* Sea, except Ilands, the houſes of great Captaines, bee numbred amongſt the baſeſt things. Poſſeſſe ye ſo largely as ye will; let that be priuate ground, which ſometimes was an Empire: make yours whatſoeuer yee can, ſo that more belongeth to another man. Now I talke with you, whoſe rioteuſneſſe is alike ſpatiouſly ſpread abroad, as the couetouſneſſe of thoſe is. I will tell you; How long ſhall be no water-lake, ouer which the height of your Villages may not hang? No ſtreame, whoſe bankes your buildings may not couer about? Whereſoeuer veynes of warme water ſhall ſpring vp, there new lodgings of ryot ſhall be builded. Whereſoeuer the ſhoare ſhall bend crookedly into ſome creeke, yee preſently will lay foundations; not being contented with ground, except yee force with hand, to driue the Sea farther in. Although your houſes glitter in all places, ſomewhere being ſet vpon Mountaines, for the vaſt proſpect both of Land and Sea: ſomewhere being reared vp from the plaine ground to the height of Mountaines; when yee haue builded manie, when yee haue builded huge things, yee are notwithſtanding but ſeuerall and ſmall bodies. What doe many chambers profite, yee lie but in one. It is not yours, whereſoeuer yee are not. Then I paſſe to you, whoſe deepe and vnſatiable throate, on the one ſide ſearcheth Seas, on the other ſide ſearcheth Landes. Through great labour hee followeth after ſome creatures with hookes, ſome with ſnares, ſome with diuers kindes of Nets: no liuing creatures haue peace, except it bee by loathing and deteſting them. For how little of theſe bankets, which ye prepare through ſo many hands, doe ye taſte of with a mouth wearied with pleaſures? How little of this wilde beaſt, taken

taken with danger, doth the maſter with a raw and loathing ſtomacke taſte of? How little of ſo many ſhel-fiſh brought from ſo far, ſlideth downe by this inſatiable ſtomacke? Vnhappie alſo ye are, becauſe yee vnderſtand not, that yee haue a greater hunger, then a belly. Tell theſe things to other men, ſo that whileſt thou telleſt them, thou mayeſt heare them thy ſelfe. Write, ſo that when thou haſt written, thou read, and referre all to the manners, and to the aſſwaging of the outrage of affections. Studie, not to know any thing more, but better to know things.

Epist. XC.

The praiſe of Philoſophy, it hath formed life, it hath framed ſocieties and Empires, it hath giuen lawes and equitie. Alſo whether Arts be profitable to life, as working with the hammer, working in Marble, in mettals, on cloathes, and ſuch like? Himſelfe denieth it, againſt Posidonivs, *and ſaith, that theſe things are inferiour to the maieſtie thereof, and that many of theſe be ſuperfluous. It manageth, and hath managed the affaires, not of the bodie, but of the minde. Alſo whether wiſe-men were in the rude age? No, but thoſe that were like to wiſe-men, by the beneſit not of learning, but of nature. There are many good things amongſt theſe, and fruitfull for knowledge, and for life.*

VHo can doubt, my *Lucilius*, but that it is the gift of the immortall gods, that we liue, but of Philoſophy, that we liue well? Therefore by ſo much that we owe more to it, then to the gods, by how much more a good life is a greater beneſit, then life? For certaine it ſhould be due, except the gods had giuen Philoſophie it ſelfe: the knowledge whereof they haue giuen to none, but the abilitie to all. For if they alſo had made this a common good, wee likewiſe ſhould be borne wiſe: wiſedome had loſt that which is the beſt therein, that it is not amongſt caſuall things. For now this is precious and magnificent in that, that it commeth not by chance, that euery man oweth that vnto himſelfe, that it is not ſought for from another man. What ſhouldeſt thou haue, to admire in Philoſophy, if it had beene a thing comming by gift? One worke of this is, to finde forth the truth concerning diuine and humane things: Iuſtice, Godlineſſe, Religion, and all the other traine of vertues vnited and agreeing amongſt themſelues, neuer do depart from this. This hath taught to honor diuine things, to loue humane things, and that gouernment is in the power of the gods, and that ſocietie is to be amongſt men: which ſometime remained inuiolable, before couetouſneſſe diſtracted ſocietie, and was a cauſe of pouertie euen vnto them whom it hath made rich. For they haue ceaſed to poſſeſſe all things, whileſt they would haue them to be their owne. But the firſt men, and who were begotten of theſe without corruption, followed nature, and had the ſame, both for a Captaine and law, according to the iudgement of him that was better. For it is the part of Nature to ſubmit worſer things to the better. For either the greateſt or the moſt vigorous bodies doe indeed rule ouer the dumbe flockes. A baſe Bull goeth not before, but he who hath ouercome other males in greatneſſe, and in ſtrength of limbes: the higheſt of Elephants leadeth the flocke: amongſt men for chiefeſt is he accoun-

red who is the best. Therefore a Gouernour was chosen by the minde: and so it was the chiefest happinesse of the Nations; amongst whom one could not be more mightie, except he were better. For he is able to doe so much as he will, who thinketh that he cannot doe, saue that which he ought. *Possidonius* therefore doth iudge, that rule was in the power of wise-men, in that which is called the golden age. These contained their hands, and defended the weaker from those that were more strong: they perswaded and disswaded, and shewed both profitable and vnprofitable things. The wisdome of these men prouided that nothing might be wanting vnto theirs, their fortitude kept dangers backe, their bountie encreased, and adorned those that were subiect vnto them. It was not a Kingdome to rule ouer other men, but an office. No man tried how much hee was able to doe against them, through whom he had begun to be able to doe. Neither was there either minde or cause to iniurie any one, when there was good obedience to him who gouerned well, and a King could threaten nothing besides, to those who did badly obey, then that they should depart out of his Kingdome. But after that, vices creeping vp, Kingdomes were turned into tyranny: there began to be need of lawes, the which were made by wise men at their beginning. *Solon* who founded *Athens* with equall right: amongst the seuen noted for wisdom in his age. If the same age had brought forth *Lycurgus*, he had beene in that holy number accounted the eight. The lawes of *Zaleucus* and of *Charondas* are praised; these learned not right at the Bar, nor at Counsellers dores, but in that secret and holy solitarie place of *Pythagoras*, which they gaue to *Sicily*, which flourished then, and to *Greece* in *Italy*. Hitherto I agree to *Possidonius*: that Arts were inuented by Philosophy, which Arts life vseth in continual practise: I wil not grant; neither that glory which is adioyned to building. That, saith he, taught those who were scattered vp and downe, and couered with a cottage, or with some rock, vnder which they digged, or with the trunke of an hollow tree, to deuise houses for them. But I iudge Philosophy, no more to haue inuented these frames of one house arising vpon another, and prelling downe Cities, then the ponds of fishes shut herein, to the end that the throat might not vndergoe perils of tempests, and although that the sea were exceedingly rough, yet that riot might haue her bauens, wherein she might fatten seuerall sorts of fish. What sayest thou? hath Philosophie taught men to haue a locke and key? and what else was it, then to giue a signe to couetousnesse? Hath Philosophy with so great perill of the inhabitants, hung vp these tops of houses that hang ouer vs? For it was too little to be couered by those things which by hap did befall vnto vs, and without difficultie and art to finde out some receptacle for our selues. Beleeue that age was happie, which was before builders of houses were. These things were borne when riot began to be, to hew wood into a foure square, and with an instrument of iron cutting it, as it is marked out, and to polish a beame with a certaine hand.

Our forefathers with wedges claue
Such wood as they then cut would haue.

For houses were not prepared for a supper, which could encertaine the people: neither for this vse were Pine or Fir-trees carried vpon a long row of carts, the streets trembling thereat, whilest from that tree, roofes being loaded with gold did hang. Forkes vnder-propped a cottage hanging downe vpon both sides: thicke dead boughes and leaues being heaped together, and set a side-long, caused raine although it were great to runne of. They being secure, dwelled vnder these houses. Thatch couered free-men, bondage enhabiteth vnder marble and gold. In that also I disagree from *Possidonius*, because hee iudgeth that working-tooles were deuised by wise-men. For after this manner he might say, that they were wise, by whom

Deuis'd it was the wilde with net and gin
To take; with dogs great fields to compasse in.

For the craft of men, not wisdome hath deuised all these things. In this thing also I disagree, that they were wise-men, who inuented the metals of iron and brasse: when the burned ground through the firing of woods had powred forth the veines that did lie aboue. Such men inuent these things, as honour them. This indeed seemeth not so subtill a question to mee, as it seemeth to *Possidonius*: whether the hammer or the pinsers began to be vsed first. One of an exercised, sharpe, of no great, nor high wit found them both forth, and euery thing besides which is to be sought for with a bended bodie, and with a minde looking towards the earth. A wise-man hath beene easie to feed. What else? sith euen also in this age, hee desireth to be most soone prouided. How I pray thee agreeth it, that thou admire both *Diogenes* and *Dædalus*? Whether of these seemeth vnto thee to be wise, he that inuented the saw: or he who seeing a boy drinking water in his hollow hand, presently brake a cup taken out of his bagge, thus reprouing himselfe: How long haue I, foolish man, had superfluous burthens? Who foulded himselfe double in a Tub, and did lie therein? At this day whether thinkest thou him the wiser man, who hath found forth, how out of secret pipes he may cast forth Saffron vp to a great height; who with a sudden force of water filleth and drieth little seas; who so coucheth together the changeable roofes of supping Parlors, that one fashion after another may presently succeed, and so often the roofe may bee changed as the dishes themselues: or him, who sheweth this both to himselfe, and to other men, that Nature hath commanded no hard or difficult thing vnto vs? That we may dwell without a cutter of marble, that we may be cloathed without traffick with the *Serians*, that we may haue necessary things for our vses, if wee shall be content with these things, which the earth hath laid in the highest part therof? Whom if mankind would heare, they should know that a Cooke were as superfluous as a Souldier. They were wise-men, or for certaine, like vnto wise-men, to the bodies of whom there was a speedie fence. Necessarie things cost but a simple care: men labour for delights. Thou wilt not desire worke-men, if thou follow nature. It would not haue vs to bee entangled, it hath furnished vs, vnto whatsoeuer things it hath constrained vs. Cold is intollerable for a naked bodie. What therefore? What, cannot the skins of wilde beasts, and of other creatures, enough and abundantly defend vs from cold? Doe not many Nations couer their bodies with barkes of trees? Are not the feathers of birds sewed together for the vse of apparell? And are not at this day a great part of the Scythians couered with the skins of Foxes and of Mise, which bee soft, and not to be pierced thorow by the windes? Notwithstanding there is neede of a thicker shade, to driue backe the heat of the Sommer Sunne. What therefore, hath not Antiquitie hidden many places, which either by iniurie of time, or by some other chance being made hollow, haue retired into the forme of a den? What therefore? haue they not with their hands wouen an hurdle of twigs, and plastered

ltered it with base clay, then haue they not couered the top thereof with stubble, and with other things fetched out of the wood, and whilst raine hath ilidden downe by the eaues therof, haue they not in security spent the Winter? What therefore? doe not the Syrtick Nations lie in a place digged out of the ground? who because of the too great heate of the Sunne, haue no couering sufficient enough for the repelling of the heate, but the very drie ground it selfe? Nature was not so much an enemie, that seeing the gaue an ealie passage of life to all other creatures besides, man alone should not liue without so many Arts. None of these things is by it commanded vnto vs, nothing is to be sought for with labour to prolong our life. We be borne to prepared things: we haue made all things difficult vnto vs by disdaine of ealie things. Houses and clothes and nourishments of bodies and meates, and those things which be now made a great businesse were easie to come by, and freely gotten, and prepared with a light labour: for the measure of all things was as necessitie required; we haue made these things precious, we haue made them marueilous, we haue made them to be sought for with great and with many Arts. Nature sufficeth to that, which it requireth. Riot hath reuolted from nature, which continually inciteth it selfe, and increaseth in so many ages, and helpeth vices with wit. First it began to desire superfluous, then contrarie things, last of all it solde the minde to the bodie, and commanded it to serue the lust thereof. All these Arts, wherewith the Cittie is continually set on worke, or maketh such a stirre, doe manage the affaires of the bodie: to which all things were once performed as to a seruant, but now are prouided as for a Lord. Therfore hence be the shops of weauers, hence of hammer-men, hence of those that seeth perfumes, hence of those that teach effeminate motions of the bodie, and effeminate and wanton songs. For that naturall meane hath retired backe, which finished desires with necessarie helpe: now is it clownishnesse and miserie to be willing to haue so much as doth suffice. It is incredible, my *Lucilius*, how easily sweetnesse of speech can draw from the truth, euen those that be great men. Behold *Posidonius*, as mine opinion is, one of those who haue added much to Philosophie, whilst first of all he will describe how some threeds may be hard spunne, and how some may be drawne from the soft and loosened tow: then how a webbe of cloth extendeth the yarne with weights hung thereon, how the woose is wouen in to mollifie the hardnesse of the cloth, pressing it together on both sides, and how the broad places may be constrained to come, and to be ioyned together: he also said, that the Weauers Art was inuented by wise-men, forgetting this most subtile kinde, which was afterwards found our, wherein

The web is ioyn'd to beame, a small sticke doth diuide
The yarne, the middle woofes with shuttle slide,
Which teeth in stay of Weauers loome fast put,
With their broad comb the wouen yarne do cut.

But if it had hapned vnto him to see the webs of our time, of which apparrell is made that will not couer, wherein I will not say, that there is no helpe to the bodie, but that there is no helpe for shame? Then he passeth to husbandmen, and no lesse eloquently describeth how the ground is plowed vp, and tilled againe, to the end that the earth may more easily lie open to the rootes, then he describeth the seed that is sowen, and weedes picked out by the hand, lest some casuall and wilde thing may encrease vnder it, to kill the corne. This also, saith he,

he, that it is the worke of wise-men; as though that now also tillers of ground did not finde out very many new things, whereby fertilitie might be encreased. Then not contented with these Arts, descendeth a wise-man downe into the hand-mill; for hee declareth how imitating the nature of things, men beganne to make bread. The hardnesse of the teeth meeting together, one with another, breaketh, saith he, the corne that is receiued into the mouth, and whatsoeuer falleth from them, is brought againe by the tongue vnto the same teeth: then is it mingled with spittle, that more easily it might passe thorow the slipperie jawes; but when it commeth into the bellie, it is concocted with the heat of the stomacke, then at length commeth it to the bodie. Some following this example, laide one rough stone vpon another, in likenesse of the teeth, of which the vnmoueable part expecteth the motion of the other: then the graines are broken by the grinding of them both, and more are they turned backe againe, vntill being ground they be brought vnto meale: then sprinckled he flower with water, and mixed it with continuall kneading, and made bread thereof; which first of all warme ashes and an hote stone did bake: afterwards by little and little were Ouens found forth, and other meanes, whose heate might serue, according to the pleasure of men. There wanted not much, but that he said, the Shoomakers craft to be also found forth by wise-men. Reason indeed, but not right reason hath inuented all these things. These are inuentions of a man, not of a wise-man: so verily indeed as ships, by which we passe ouer Riuers, and by which we passe ouer Seas, sailes being fitted for the receiuing of the force of windes, and a sterne being added to the end of the poope, which hither and thither might enforce the course of the ship: and an example is drawn from fishes, who be stered by the taile, and with the small force thereof do bend their swiftnesse into eyther side. All these things indeede, saith he, did a wise-man finde forth, but being lesser then that himselfe might handle them, he gaue them to more base seruants; yet they were inuented by none other, then by such as at this day take charge of them. We know that certaine things haue at length comne forth in our memory; as the vse of windowes made of stone, sending cleere light thorow them, by reason of a slate that the light shineth thorow: as the hanging vp of bathes, and pipes pressed into the walls, by which heat might be dispersed all about, which should alike cherish at one time, both those things that be below, and those that be aboue. What shall I speake of Marbles, wherwith Temples, where with houses doe shine? What of heapes of stone; fashioned to be round and smooth, whereof we make galleries and houses capable to receiue whole peoples? What of the notes of words, whereby speedie speech is taken, and the hand followeth the swiftnesse of the tongue? These are the deuices of the most vile slaues: wisedome sitteth more deepe, neyther teacheth it the hands, it is a mistresse of mindes. Wilt thou know what thing that hath found forth, or what it hath made? Not vnseemely motions of the bodie, nor variable singings by the Trumpet and Flute, by which breath being receiued, eyther in the going forth, or in the passing thorow, is formed into voyce: nor weapons, nor walls, nor warres; it endeuoureth profitable things, it fauoureth peace, and calleth all mankinde to an agreement. It is not, I say, an artificer of instruments for necessarie vses. Why assignest thou so small things vnto it? Thou seest a framer of thy life. It hath other Arts indeede vnder rule: for he that hath life, the ornaments of life do also serue vnto him. But he tendeth to a blessed estate, to that he leadeth, to that he openeth the way. Hee sheweth what be, and what seeme to be euill things. He putteth vanitie out of the mind.

He

He giueth solid greatnesse: but he represseth that which is puffed vp, and beautifull to be seene, through that which is vaine: neyther sustereth hee to be vnknowne, what difference there is betwixt great and swelling things; he deliuereth the knowledge of all nature, and of his owne. He declareth what the gods, and of what manner they be; what be the infernall, what the houshold and the genies be: what be those euerlasting soules, hauing the second nature of deities, where they abide, what they doe, what they can, what they will. This is the initiation of him, whereby not a priuate hallowed place, but the huge Temple of all the gods, euen this world is laid open: whose true images, and true representations he hath brought forth to be seene in the soules of men: for the sight is dull vnto so great sights. Then it returneth to the beginning of things, and to eternall reason infused into the whole, and to the force of all seedes properly figuring euery thing. Then hee beginneth to enquire of the minde, whence it was, where, how long, and in how many parts it is diuided. Then from corporall hee hath transiated himselfe to incorporall things, and hath examined the truth, and the arguments of them: after these, how the doubts of life and of death should be discerned. A wise-man withdraweth not himselfe, I say, as it seemeth to *Posidonius*, from these Arts, but not at all commeth he vnto them. For hee had iudged nothing worthy of inuention, which he would not iudge worthy of perpetuall vse. He would not take vp things to be laid down. *Anacharsis*, saith he, found out the Potters-wheele by the turning whereof vessels be fashioned. Then because that the Potters wheele is found in *Homer*, he had rather that the verses should seeme to be false, then a fable. I do not contend, that *Anacharsis* was the author of this thing: and if he was, a wise-man indeed inuented it, but not as being a wise-man: as wise-men doe many things, as they be men, not as they be wise-men. Suppose that a wise-man is exceeding swift, hee will excell all in running, as hee is swift, not as he is wise. I would desire to shew some glasse-maker to *Posidonius*, who with breath fashioneth glasse into many formes, which would scarce bee framed by a diligent hand. These things are found out, since wee haue ceased to finde out a wise-man. *Democritus* himselfe is said to haue found out the Arch of stone, that the bending of stones by little and little declining on one side, might be fastened to a stone in the middest. I say, that this is false. For it is needfull that before *Democritus*, both bridges and gates were, whose tops for the most part are crooked. Furthermore, yee haue forgotten, how the same *Democritus* found out, how Iuory should be polished, how a well purged stone should be turned into Emrold, by which purging euen at this day, stones profitable in this kind being found out, are coloured. Although that a wise-man hath found out these things, yet found he not them out, as he is a wise-man: for he doth many things, which we see as well to be done, euen by those that are most vnwise, but either more skilfully or more practically. Seekest thou what a wise-man hath found out, what he hath brought forth into light? First the nature of things, which he hath looked vpon, as other liuing creatures haue done, with eyes slow to diuine things. Then the law of life, which hee hath directed according to all things: neither only hath he taught to know, but to follow the gods, and to receiue accidents no otherwise then commands. He hath forbidden to obey false opinions, and he hath weighed with true estimation, of how great worth euery thing was: hee hath condemned pleasures mixed with repentance. And hath praised good things which will alwaies please, and hath made apparent, that he is the happiest man, who hath no need of happinesse: that he is the most mightie man who hath power ouer himselfe. I speake not of that Philosophie, which hath placed a Citizen out of his countrey, gods out of the world, which hath giuen vertue to pleasure: but concerning that, which supposeth that there is no good thing, saue that which is honest, which cannot be mollified neither by the gifts of man, nor of Fourtune; the price of whom is this, not to be able to be taken with any price. I doe not suppose that this Philosophie was in that rude age, wherein as yet workmanship was wanting, and they learned profitable things by vse it selfe: as before those fortunate times, when benefits of Nature did lie to be vsed in common, before couetousnesse and riot had seuered mortall men, and that by consort they ran out to spoile, they were not wise-men, although they did things to be done by those that are wise. Certainly not any one shall more admire any other estate; neither if God permitted him to fashion earthly things, and to giue manners to the Nations, shall allow any other thing, then that which is remembred to haue beene amongst them, with whom

The ground then none did plow, none might diuide
Land that to him alone might then betide.
The earth it selfe in common all did lie;
No toiling was, but things to grow did hie.

What was more happie then that kinde of men? They enioyed the nature of things in common: that sufficed to be a parent for the defence of all: this was the secure possession of publike wealth. Why haue I not said that, that kinde of mortall men was the richest of all, wherein thou couldest not finde one that was poore? Couetousnesse brake into things that were setled exceeding well: and whileste it desired to take somewhat apart, and to turne it to the vse of it selfe, it hath made all things other mens, and from being vnmeasurable, hath brought them into a strait, and hath brought in poucrtie, and by coueting many things, hath lost all things. Therefore although it should now conuert and repaire that which it hath lost; although it should adde fields vnto fields, and driue out neighbours from their lands, either by price, or wrong; although it should enlarge grounds to be as bigge as prouinces; and call a long wandering through their owne, a possession: yet no enlarging of limits shall bring vs thither, whence we haue departed. When we haue done all, we shall haue much; whereas we had all. The earth it selfe was more fertill without labour, and was large for the vse of the people who robbed it not. Whatsoeuer Nature had brought forth, it was a pleasure no lesse to haue found it out, then to shew the inuention to another: neither could there be either too much or too little to any one: it was diuided amongst those that did agree. As yet the stronger had not laid hand vpon the weaker, as yet a couetous man did not by hiding that which did lie vp for him, also exclude another from necessary things. There was the like care of another, and of a mans owne selfe. Weapons did cease, and hands were not tainted with humane bloud; they turned all their hatred vpon beasts. They whom some thicke wood had couered from the Sunne, who liued safe vnder leaues in a base cottage, against the rigor of Winter or of raine, passed ouer pleasant nights, without sighing. Carefulnesse, tosseth vs in our purple, and stirreth vs vp with most sharpe prickes; the hard ground gaue soft sleepe vnto them. Carued roofes did not hang ouer them, but they lying in the open aire, the starres did slide ouer them, and the notable spectacle of the nights,

nights, the world was driuen on apace, leading so great a worke with silence: as well by day, as by night, the prospect of this most beautifull house did lie open: one might behold the signes, declining from the middle part of the auen, and againe some arising from their hidden place. How could it not but delight to wander amongst miracles that be so largely spread abroad? But yee be afraid of euery sound of the houses, and if any thing make a noise amongst your pictures, yee flee away astonished. They had not houses like Cities. The aire and winde was free in open places, and the light shade of a rocke or of a tree, and very cleare fountaines, and riuers not made stale by any worke, nor by a conduit, nor by any constrained course, but running of their owne accord, and meadowes beautifull without arte, amongst these things there is country little houses, reared vp by a rusticall hand. This house was according to Nature, wherein one might be lawfull to dwell, neither fearing it, nor for it; now houses be a great part of our feare. But although a notable, and a life wanting deceit was vnto them, yet were they not wise-men, sith now this is a name in greatest worke. Notwithstanding I deny not that they were men of an high spirit, and freshly sprung from the gods: for the world being not as yet wasted in strength sent forth better things. But as wit was more valiant in all, and more prepared for labours; so wits were not consummated in all things. For Nature giueth not vertue; it is a skill to be made good. They indeed did not seeke for gold, nor siluer, nor glistering stones shining amongst the lowest dregs of the earth, yea as yet they euen spared dumbe creatures: so farre was it off, that a man not angry should kill a man not fearing; onely comming to see him, should kill any one. Not as yet any one had garnished apparell, as yet gold was not wouen in; as yet it was not delued out. What therefore? they were innocent in ignorance of things: but there is much difference, whether one will not, or know not to sinne. Iustice was wanting to them, wisedome was wanting, temperance and fortitude was wanting. A rude life had certaine things like vnto all these vertues: vertue befalleth not but to a minde instructed and taught, and brought to the highest by continuall exercise. Furthermore, indeed we are borne to this, but without this: and also in the best, before thou instruct, there is matter of vertue, not vertue it selfe.

Epist. XCI.

The dolefull and sudden burning of the Colony at Lyons: by calling in of that, we are to thinke of sudden things, and which may fall forth to a man. Hee setteth before our eyes the vncertaintie and variablenesse of things: the greatest and most firme things may be diminished, changed, withdrawne, by earth-quake, waters and fire. All mortall things are condemned to perish. Therefore neither death nor infamie is to be feared by a man.

VR *Liberalis* is now sad, the fire, wherewith the Colony at Lyons was burned vp, being related vnto him. This accident might moue any man, much more one who loueth his country exceeding much. Which thing causeth to seeke out the resolution of ones minde, namely, which he hath exercised, for those things which he supposed might be feared: but I wonder not, if this so vnthought of mischiefe, and almost vnheard of hath not beene without feare, sith it was without

out example. For fire hath vexed many Cities, it hath destroyed none. For also where fire is set vpon houses by the enemies hand, it faileth in many places: and although forthwith it bee raised vp againe, notwithstanding, seldome doth it so deuoure all, that nothing be left to the sword. Scarce also at any time hath there beene so grieuous and so pernicious an earth-quake, as to ouerthrow whole Townes. Lastly, neuer hath there any where beene so terrible a fire, that nothing remained to another burning. One night hath laide along so many mott faire workes, euerieone of which might haue made seuerall Cities to haue beene famous; and it falleth forth into great peace, as could not indeed be feared in warre. Who can beleeue this? that armes being quiet euery where, when securitie is spread abroad throughout the whole earth, Lyons that was pointed at in Gaule, is sought for. Fortune hath permitted all, whom publiquely it hath afflicted, to feare that which they were to suffer: no great thing but hath had some space of the ruine thereof. In this there was onely one night betweene a great Citie and none at all. To conclude, I am longer in telling thee that it hath perished, then it was in perishing. O *Liberalis*, all these things incline our affection to be firme and vndaunted against the euils thereof. Neyther is it striken without a cause. Vnexpected things doe aggrauate the more: noueltie addeth weight to miseries: neyther any man but hath the more grieued at that thing which he hath admired. Therefore nothing ought to be vnprouided for by vs: the minde is to be sent before vnto all things: and wee must thinke, not whatsoeuer is accustomed, but whatsoeuer may be done. For what is it, that fortune cannot when she will, take away euen from the most florishing? which he cannot by so much the more assault and shake, by how much it shineth the more beautifully. What is hard, or what is difficult vnto her? Not alwayes one way, nor all of her ruineth vpon vs. Sometimes she calleth for our owne hands vpon vs, sometimes contented with her owne strength, shee findeth forth dangers without an author. No time is expected, in pleasures themselues causes of dolour doe arise. Warre ariseth in the middest of peace, and the helpes of securitie passe ouer into feare. He is an enemie from a friend, a foe from a fellow. The calmes of summer is driuen into sudden tempests and those which be greater the winter storms. Without an enemie we suffer hostile things; and too great felicitie hath found forth causes of slaughter vnto it self, if other things faile. Diseases set vpon the most temperate, the consumption vpon the strongest, punishment vpon the most innocent, tumult vpon the most secret. Chance chuseth some new thing, by which as it were forgetting, she reneweth her owne strength. Whatsoeuer long continuance of many labours, and much fauour of God hath builded vp, one day scattereth and dissipateth it. He gaue long delay to euils hasting on, who hath said that a day, an houre and a moment of time sufficeth for the ouerthrowing of Empires. There were some comfort to our weakenesse, and to our affaires, if all things were repaired with so great speed as they be finished by. Now increasings goe softly, but they make hast to losse: nothing in priuate, nothing in publique is firme: as well the destinies of men as of Cities are turned about. Feare neerly attendeth the choysest pleasure; & although there are no occasions of troubles outwardly, mischiefes breake forth from such places where they were least expected. These Kingdomes which stood both in ciuill and forraine warres, are ruined without any opposition. What Common-wealth could support her felicitie? Al things therefore are to be thought vpon, and the minde is to be confirmed against those things that may happen. Thinke vpon exiles, torments, warres, sickenesses and ship-

ſhipwrackes. Fortune may bereaue thee of thy countrey, and thy countrey of thee: ſhe can caſt thee into a deſert, ſhe can make that place deſolate, wherein the people is almoſt ſtifled with thronging. Let the whole condition of mans life be ſet before our eyes, and let vs conſider in our mindes (if we would not be oppreſſed, neither ſtupified with any vnuſuall miſeries, as if they were new) not how much happeneth oftentimes, but how much may for the moſt part fall out. We muſt wholly apprehend the inconſtancie of the affaires of this world. How often haue the Cities of Aſia & Achaia bin ruinated by one earthquake? How many Cities in Syria, and how much hath the earth deuoured in Macedon? How often hath this miſerie afflicted Cyprus? how often hath Paphos beene buried in her owne ruines? Oftentimes haue wee heard newes of the deſtructions of whole Cities, and we amongſt whom theſe rumours are ordinarily ſpread; how ſmall a part are we of all things? Let vs therefore erect our ſelues againſt aduerſities, and whatſoeuer thing may happen, let vs know that it is not ſo great as is reported. A rich Citie, the ornament of all thoſe Prouinces, into the which it was inſerted and receiued by them, being built vpon a hill, and that not ouer-high is burned. And time alſo ſhall conſume the very foundations of all theſe Cities, which now thou heareſt praiſed for their magnificence and riches. Seeſt thou not how in Achaia the foundations of famous Cities are conſumed? and that nothing is extant wherby it may be knowne that in times paſt they haue beene. Not onely thoſe things which are framed by hand doe periſh. Not onely ſuch things as mans Art and induſtry hath planted doth time ouerturne, but the mountain tops moulder, and whole regions are come to nought. Thoſe places are couered with the ſea that ſtood far off from the ſight of the ſame. The fire hath conſumed the Mountaines from the hollow wher-of it flamed out. And in times paſt hath eaten away the higheſt Promontories which were a ſollace to Sailers, & brought the proudeſt hills to humble ſhoars. The very workes of nature are vexed, and therefore ought we to ſuffer patiently the deſtruction of Cities. All things that ſtand muſt fall, and an end remaineth to all things: whether the windes ſhut in by an internall force and blaſt haue ſhaken of the weight vnder which they be held; or the force of flouds in ſecret, hath throwne downe thoſe things that ſtand againſt them; or the violence of flames hath broken the ioyning together of the ground; or oldneſſe, from which nothing is ſafe, hath by little and little ouercome them: or the vnwholeſomneſſe of the skie hath caſt out people, and ſituation hath corrupted deſerts. It is a longthing to reckon vp all the wayes of the deſtinies. This one thing I know, that all the workes of mortall men are condemned by mortalitie. We liue amongſt thoſe things that periſh. Theſe and ſuch like comforts I apply to our *Liberalis*, he being ſet on fire with a certaine burning loue to his countrey; which peraduenture is conſumed, that it might be the better builded vp. Oftentimes iniurie hath made place to greater fortune. Many things haue fallen that they might riſe higher and greater. *Timagines* an enemy to the proſperitie of the Citie, did ſay, that he grieued at the firing of Rome for this one thing, becauſe he knew that better would riſe againe, then had been burned. In this Citie alſo it is very like, that all will ſtriue, that greater and more certaine things may be reſtored then they haue loſt. I wiſh that they may be more long-laſting and builded with better ſignes of lucke for a longer age to come. For the hundreth yeare is ſcarce to this Colonie from the beginning thereof, an age ſcarce long enough for a man. It being lead forth into this frequencie, waxed well againe with the oportunitie of the place: which notwithſtanding hath ſuffered

fered moſt grieuous chances within the ſpace of the olde age of a man. Therefore let the minde be framed to vnderſtanding, and to patience of her lot, and let her know, that there is nothing which fortune dare not doe. That ſhe hath the ſame right againſt Empires, which ſhe hath againſt thoſe that doe rule: that ſhe can doe the ſame againſt Cities, that ſhe doth againſt men. None of theſe things is to be fretted at. We haue entred into that world, wherein men liue by theſe lawes. Pleaſeth it? Obey. Pleaſeth it not? Depart which way thou wil. Be angry, if any thing be fooliſhly, vniuſtly reſolued vpon by thy ſelfe. But if this neceſſitie tyeth the higheſt and loweſt, therefore returne into fauour with deſtiny, by which all things are diſſolued. There is no cauſe that thou meaſure vs with Tombes, and with theſe Monuments, which being of vnequall bigneſſe, doe compaſſe the way about. The duſt maketh all equall. We are borne vnlike, we die alike. The ſame I ſay of Cities, that of the inhabitants of Cities. As well was Ardea taken, as Rome. That maker of mankinde hath not diſtinguiſhed vs by birth, nor by famouſneſſe of names, nō longer then we be. But when we come to the end of inortall things: O ambition, ſaith he, depart thou; let there be the ſame law to all things which preſſe the earth. We be alike to the ſuffering of all things. No man is more fraile then another, no man is more certaine of his owne vntill next day. *Alexander* the King of the Macedonians, began like a wretch to learne Geometry, that he might know how little the earth was, whereof he had poſſeſſed very little. Thus, I ſay, like a wretch for this, becauſe he was to vnderſtand that hee did beare a falſe ſirname. For who can be great in ſo ſmall a thing? Thoſe things that were deliuered were ſubtile, and to be learned by diligent attention: not which that mad man could perceiue, who ſent his thoughts beyond the Ocean, Sea. Teach me, ſaith he, eaſie things. To whom his Maſter ſaid; Theſe things be the ſame, and alike difficult vnto all. Thinke thou that the nature of things ſaith this. Theſe things whereof thou complaineſt, they are the ſame vnto all: more eaſie things can be giuen vnto none; but whoſoeuer will, ſhall make thoſe things more eaſie vnto himſelfe. How? With vprightneſſe of minde, It is meet both that thou grieue, and thirſt, and be hungry, and waxe olde, and if longer ſtay amongſt men befall vnto thee, that thou be ſicke, and loſe ſomewhat and doe periſh. Notwithſtanding there is no cauſe that thou mayeſt beleeue theſe things which make a noiſe about thee. None of theſe things is bad, nothing intollerable or hard. Feare is from conſent vnto theſe things. Thus thou feareſt death as report. But what is more fooliſh then a man fearing words? Our *Demetrius* is accuſtomed elegantly to ſay, that the ſpeeches of the vnskilfull are as much eſteemed by him, as is the breaking of winde. For what difference, ſaith he, is there vnto me, whether that theſe doe make a noyſe from aboue or from below. How great madneſſe is it to be affraide, leſt thou be diſcredited by thoſe that haue no credite? As ye haue feared fame without cauſe, ſo alſo thoſe things, which ye ſhould neuer feare, except fame had commanded it. What ſhall a good man ſuffer loſſe, being beſpotted with vniuſt reports? Neither indeed let this hurt death in the iudgement of vs: for this alſo endeuoureth that which is bad. None of them who accuſe it, haue tried it. In the meane ſpace it is raſhneſſe to condemne that which thou knoweſt not. But thou knoweſt that, how profitable to many it is, how many it freeth from torments, from pouertie, from complaints, from puniſhments, from tediouſneſſe. We are not in the power of any thing, ſith death is in our owne power.

Epist. XCII.

That reason rulethin man, and that all things are to be referred to this, and that bleſſed life is in that being perfect. That externall things haue light or no weight. Alſo that pleaſure is of no moment, it is the good of vnreaſonable creatures. And yet that externall things may be aſſumed, which are according to nature; but with iudgement: and that this then is good in them, to be well choſen. Neuertheleſſe alſo without them, that one is bleſſed, yea moſt bleſſed by vertue alone. Theſe things may befall: yet being added, they doe not encreaſe, nor being taken away doe decreaſe bleſſednesse: againſt which no time can doe any thing. That wee are to be made like to God, and that we goe to him.

I Thinke that thou and I agree of this, that externall things are gotten for the body, and that the body is reuerenced for the honour of the minde, that there bee ſeruile parts in the minde, whereby wee bee mooued and nouriſhed, giuen vnto vs for that principall thing. In this principall there is ſomewhat that is vnreaſonable and reaſonable. That ſerueth to this. This is one thing, that is not referred vnto any beſides: but it carrieth all things vnto it ſelfe. For alſo that diuine reaſon is ſet ouer all things, it ſelfe is vnder none. And alſo this of ours is the ſame, becauſe it is from it. If we agree amongſt our ſelues concerning this, it followeth alſo that we agree concerning that, that bleſſed life is placed in this one thing, that reaſon may be perfect in vs. For this alone ſubmitteth not the minde, it ſtandeth againſt Fortune. In euery habit of things, it being preſerued, preſerueth. But that is the onely good, which is neuer broken off. He, I ſay, is bleſſed, whom nothing maketh leſſer; he holdeth the chiefe, and leaneth not indeed vpon any thing, ſaue vpon himſelfe, For he may fall, who is ſuſtained by the helpe of another. If it be otherwiſe, thoſe things that be not ours ſhall begin to preuaile much in vs. But who ſhall ſtand by Fortune, or what wiſe-man admireth himſelfe for thoſe things that bee others? What is bleſſed life? ſecuritie and perpetuall tranquillitie. The greatneſſe of the minde will giue this, and a firme conſtancie of a thing well iudged of. But how come we to this? If all veritie be throughly looked vpon; if an order, manner, comlineſſe, and an hurtleſſe will, or that wich is bountifull, and bent to reaſon, and neuer departing from it, being both louely, and to be admired, be preſerued in the doing of things. Laſtly, that I may briefely write the forme vnto thee, ſuch ought the minde of a wiſe-man to bee, as may become a god. What can he deſire, to whom all honeſt things doe befall? For if things that be not honeſt, can conferre any thing to the beſt eſtate, bleſſed life ſhall be in thoſe things, without which it is not. And what is more fooliſh or more diſhoneſt, then to tie the good of a reaſonable ſoule vnto vnreaſonable things? Notwithſtanding, ſome iudge the chiefeſt good to be encreaſed, becauſe it is ſcarce full, caſuall things reſiſting it. *Antipater* alſo amongſt the great Authors of this ſect, ſaith, that himſelfe giueth ſomewhat to externall things, but very little. But thou ſeeſt what manner of thing it is, not to be contented with day-light, except ſome pettie fire ſhined vnto vs. What moment in this clearenesſe of the Sunne can a ſparke of fire haue? If thou art not contented with honeſtie alone, it is needfull that thou wilt haue quiet to be added thereunto, which the Grecians call *heſychian*, or pleaſure. The one of theſe things howſoeuer may be receiued. For the minde is voide of trouble; being free to the beholding of the vniuerſe, and nothing calleth it away from the contemplation of Nature. That other thing, namely, pleaſure is the good of a beaſt. We adde an vnreaſonable thing to that which is reaſonable, a diſtioneſt thing to that which is honeſt. Doth the tickling of the body cauſe a happy life? Why therefore doubt ye to ſay, that a man is well, if his taſte be well? And numbreſt thou him, I doe not ſay, amongſt men, but amongſt mankinde, whoſe chiefeſt good conſiſteth of taſtes, and colours, and ſounds? Let that creature which is borne to eate, onely depart from that moſt beautifull number of liuing creatures, and next vnto the gods, and let him be numbred with brute beaſts. The vnreaſonable part of the minde hath two parts: the one couragious, ambitious, vnbridled, placed in the affections: the other baſe, languiſhing, giuen vnto pleaſures. They haue left that vnbridled, but better, certainely more valiant and more worthie a man: and haue thought this feeble and abiect to be neceſſarie to a bleſſed life. They haue commanded reaſon to ſerue this, and haue made that which is demiſſe and ignoble, to be the good of a moſt generous creature. Furthermore, it is mixed, and monſtrous, and framed of the diuers agreeing members of liuing creatures. For as our *Virgil* ſaith of *Scylla*:

> *A womans face and virgins breaſts moſt faire*
> *Vntill her middle-part: after ſhe bare*
> *Fiſh-like, a bodie vaſt with Dolphines tailes,*
> *And many a wolniſh paunch with her ſhe trailes.*

But although that fierce, horrible, and ſwift liuing creatures are ioyned to this *Scylla*, yet of what monſters haue theſe men compounded wiſdome? The firſt part of a man is vertue it ſelfe; the brittle and fading fleſh, and apt onely to receiue meates, as *Poſidonius* ſaith, is committed vnto this. That diuine vertue endeth in a mutable thing; and a ſluggiſh and decaying liuing creature is adioyned to the higher, venerable, and heauenly parts thereof. That reſt how quiet ſoeuer gaue of it ſelfe nothing indeed to the minde, but remoued impediments. Pleaſure of it owne accord diſſolueth and mollifieth all ſtrength. What ſodi ſagreeing coniunction of bodies amongſt themſelues ſhall bee found? A moſt ſluggiſh thing is adioyned to that which is moſt valiant; ſcarce ſerious things to that which is moſt ſeuere, euen a diſtemperate and confuſed thing to that which is moſt holy. What therefore, ſaith he, if good health, and quiet, and a wanting of griefes ſhall no wayes hinder vertue, wilt thou not ſeeke for thoſe things? What elſe but that I ſhould ſeeke? Not becauſe they be good, but becauſe they be according to nature, and becauſe with good iudgement they be taken by me. What good then ſhall there be in them? this one, to bee choſen well. For when I take ſuch a garment as is meete, when I walke as is requiſite; when I ſup as I ought: not the ſupper, or walking, or apparell are good things, but my purpoſe in theſe of keeping a meane agreeable vnto reaſon in euery thing. Yea now I will adde, the choice of neat apparell is to bee deſired by a man. For man is by nature a neat and an elegant liuing creature. Therefore neat apparrell is not a good thing by it ſelfe, but the choice of neat apparrell; becauſe it is not good in the thing, but in the choice: becauſe our actions be honeſt, not thoſe things that are acted. That which I haue ſpoken of apparrell, ſuppoſe that I haue ſpoken the ſame concerning the bodie. For Nature hath alſo compaſſed the minde with this, as a certaine apparrell, it is the cloathing

thing thereof. But who at any time hath esteemed his apparrell by a chest? A sheath maketh the sword to be neither good nor bad. I also do answere thee the same concerning the bodie: I would take indeed, if choise be giuen, both health and strength. But my iudgment concerning them, and not they themselues, shal be that which is good. A wise-man is blessed indeed, saith hee; notwithstanding, he obtaineth not that chiefest good, except also that naturall instruments be correspondent vnto him. Thus wretched indeed he cannot be, who hath vertue: but he is not most blessed, who is forsaken of naturall good things, as of health, and of soundnesse of members. Thou grantest that which seemeth more incredible, that one is not miserable in the greatest and in continuall dolors, yea also that he is blessed: thou denyest that which is more light, that hee is most blessed. But if vertue can cause that a man bee not miserable, it will more easily cause that he be most blessed. For lesse distance remaineth from blessed to most blessed, then from miserable to blessed. Or what thing preuaileth so much, that it may place him amongst the blessed, who is taken from calamities: can it not adde that which remaineth, to make him most blessed? Faileth it in the highest top? Commodities and discommodities are in life; both are without vs. If a good man be not miserable, although he be pressed with all discommodities; how is he not most blessed, although he be destitute of some commodities? For euen as he is not depressed with a burthen of discommodities, to be euen a miserable man; so is he not led with want of commodities, from being a most blessed man. But as well he is most blessed without commodities, as he is not miserable by discommodities. Cannot his good be taken from him, if it can be diminished? A little before I said, that a small fire helpeth not the light of the Sunne. For whatsoeuer shineth without it, is hid with the clearnesse thereof. But certaine things, saith he, doe also hinder the Sunne. But the force and the light of the Sunne is whole, euen amongst opposite things: and although somewhat may lie betweene, which may hinder vs from the sight of it, yet is it in worke, and is carried in his owne course. So often as it hath shined amongst the clouds, it is no lesse, nor slow indeede, then when it shineth bright, because there is great difference, whether that somewhat doe only stand against or hinder. After the same sort opposite things detract nothing from vertue. It is not lesse, but shineth lesse: peraduenture it so appeareth not, nor shineth vnto vs: it is the same vnto it selfe, and after the fashion of the obscured Sunne, doth in secret exercise her force. Therefore calamities, and losses, and iniuries, can doe this against vertue, that a small cloud can doe against the Sunne. There is found, who saith, that a wise-man hauing scarce good health, is neither miserable nor blessed. Hee also is deceiued; for hee matcheth casuall things with vertues, and giueth so much to honest things, as to things wanting honestie. But what is more filthie, what is more vnworthie, then to compare venerable things with those that are base? For faith, iustice, pietie, fortitude, prudence, are venerable things: on the contrarie, those bee vile, which doe befall more full to the most base, namely, a sound thigh, and arme, and teeth, and the health and strength of these. Againe, if a wise man who hath a diseased body, shall bee accounted neither miserable nor blessed, but shall bee left in the middest: his life also shall neither bee to bee desired nor to be fled from. But what is so absurde, as that a wise mans life should not bee desired? and what is so without credit, as that there is a life which is not to be desired, or to be fledde from? Then if the losses of the bodie doe not make miserable, they suffer to bee blessed. For they vvhich haue not powver of

translating

translating into a worser estate, haue not power indeede of hindering the best estate. We know, saith he, that somewhat is hot, and somewhat cold: and that luke-warme is betwixt them both. So one is blessed, and another miserable; another neyther miserable nor blessed. I will diligently search this Image that is set against vs. If I shall put more cold into that luke-warme, it will bee made cold: if I shall power on more warme, it shall at last bee made warme. But how much soeuer I shall adde to the miseries of this man, who is neither miserable nor blessed, hee shall not bee miserable, as yee say, therefore this similitude is vnlike. Then I deliuer to thee a man neyther miserable nor blessed: I adde blindenesse to him, he is not made miserable: I adde weaknesse, hee is not made miserable: I adde continuall and grieuous dolours, hee is not made miserable. Whom so many euils translate not into a miserable life, they doe not indeede leade him from a blessed life. If a wise-man, as yee say, cannot fall from being blessed, to bee miserable, hee cannot fall into not blessed. For why should hee, who hath begunne to slide, stay any where? That thing which suffered him not to bee rolled to the bottome, keepeth him in the toppe. But why cannot a blessed life be vndone? indeede it cannot be lessened; and therefore vertue it selfe, by it selfe, is sufficient vnto it. What therefore, saith hee, is not a wise-man more blessed, who hath liued longer, whom no dolour hath called away: then hee who oftentimes hath wrastled with bad successe? Answere mee: Is hee not both better and honester? If these things bee not, hee is not more blessed indeede. It is meete that hee liue more rightly, that hee may liue more blessedly: if hee cannot liue more rightly, hee cannot liue more blessedly indeede. Vertue is not augmented: therefore not a blessed life indeede which is from vertue. For vertue is so great a good thing, that it feeleth not these small additions, namely, shortnesse of life, and dolour, and diuers discommodities of the bodie. For pleasure is not worthie, to which it may haue respect. What is the chiefest in vertue? Not to neede a future thing, nor to reckon his dayes. In whatsoeuer time yee will, eternall good maketh absolutely perfect. These things seeme incredible vnto vs, and running out aboue humane nature. For we measure the maiestie thereof by our weakenesse, and wee put the name of vertue vpon our vices. What furthermore, seemeth it not alike incredible, that one being placed in greatest torments, should say, I am blessed? But this voice is heard in the verie shoppe of pleasure: *I line*, saith Epicvrvs, *this most blessed and last day:* when on the one side difficultie of making water tormented him, and on the other side an incurable dolour of an exulcerated belly tormented him. Why therefore are these things incredible with them, who embrace vertue: sith also they are found amongst them, ouer whom pleasure ruleth? These degenerate also and of a most base minde say, that a wise-man shall not be miserable, nor blessed, in greatest dolours, in greatest calamities. But this also is incredible, yea more incredible. For I see not, how vertue being cast from her owne height, how it may not bee driuen into the lowest. It eyther ought to make blessed; or if it be driuen from this, it shall not forbid to be made wretched. He that standeth cannot be ouercome: it is requisite that eyther hee be ouercome, or ouercome. Both vertue and blessed life befalleth to the immortall gods alone: a certain shadow and similitude of those good things be vnto vs. We come to those things, we attaine them not. But reason is common to gods and men: this is consummated in them, it is consummable in vs. But our vices draw vs to despaire. For that other second man, as one scarce constant to keepe

the beſt things, whoſe iudgement as yet ſlideth and is uncertaine, deſireth the ſenſe of the eyes and of the eares, good health, and no ill-fauoured aſpect of the body, and abiding in his faſhion, and furthermore, a longer ſpace of life. By this he may bee buſied in things not to bee repented of, according as an vnperfect man may. There is a certaine force in this badneſſe, whereby it maketh the minde prone to bad things: he worketh wanting badneſſe, and that working is different from that which is good. As yet he is not good, but is faſhioned for good: but whoſoeuer wanteth any good thing, is bad.

If preſent vertue and a minde
In any man thou ſhalt forth finde;

He matcheth the gods, he ſtriueth thither being mindefull of his originall. No man doth wickedly endeuour to aſcend thither, whence he had deſcended. But what is it, why thou eſteemeſt not, that there is ſome diuine thing in him, who is a part of God? All this wherein we are contained, both is one thing, and is God: and we are the fellowes and the members of him. Our minde is capable; it is carried thither, if vices preſſe it not downe. As the ſhape of our bodies is lifted vp, and looketh towards heauen: ſo the ſoule, to which ſo much as it will, it is lawfull to be ſtretched forth, is faſhioned for this by nature, to will things equall to the gods, and ſo to vſe her ſtrength, and to extend her ſelfe into her owne ſpace. For if it endeuoured to the higheſt by force of another, it were great labour, to goe into heauen: it returneth, when it hath gon this iourney, it goeth boldly, and is a contemner of all things, neither hath it reſpect to mony: gold and ſiluer are moſt worthy of that darkneſſe wherein they haue lien, it eſteemeth not this glittering, wherewith they ſtrike the eyes of the vnskilfull: it knoweth that they be digged out of the mud, from the which our couetouſneſſe hath ſeparated and digged them vp. It knoweth, I ſay, that riches are ſeated ſome where elſe, then where they are heaped vp; the minde, not the cheſt ought to be filled. One may ſet this ouer the rule of all things, one may bring this into the poſſeſſion of nature, as being his owne. Let the Eaſt and Weſt be his limit, and let him poſſeſſe all things after the manner of the gods; let him from aboue deſpiſe rich men with their riches: of whom none is ſo ioyfull in his owne, as ſorrowfull at another mans. When he hath lifted vp himſelfe into this loftineſſe, he is alſo not a louer, but a manager of the bodie, as of a neceſſarie burthen: neither ſubiecteth he himſelfe to that, ouer which hee is ſet. No man is free who ſerueth the bodie: for to paſſe by other maſters, whom too great care for it hath found forth, the command of it is auſtere and delicate. Sometime it departeth from this with an vpright minde, ſometime it breaketh from it with a great minde; neither ſeeketh it what end there ſhall be afterwards to the remainders thereof. But as wee neglect the haires that be ſhauen from the beard; ſo that diuine minde being to depart out of a man, iudgeth that it no more pertaineth to himſelfe, how his receptacle be beſtowed, whether the fire burne it vp, or the beaſts pluck it aſunder, or the earth couer it, no more then the ſecondines pertaine to an infant new borne. Whether when it is caſt out, the birds carry it aſunder, or it be conſumed.

When caſt it is away
To Sea-dogges for a pray,

What is it to him? Who then alſo whileſt he is amongſt men, feareth no threats: ſhall

ſhall he after death feare any threats of them, whom we ſcarce ought to feare vntill death? The hooke, ſaith he, ſhall not teare me, nor the rending of my dead carcaſſe caſt out to reproach, although loathſome to them that ſhall look on. I requeſt no man for a laſt duetie: I commend my reliques to no man. Nature it ſelfe hath prouided that no man ſhould be vnburied. Whom crueltie hath caſt forth, the day ſhall burie. *Metanas* ſaith eloquently:

Leaue not for a Tombe or any Graue,
To bury my remaines Nature will graue.

Thou wouldeſt haue thought that one girded like a man had ſpoken it: for he had both a great and a manly wit, except he himſelfe effeminately had managed it.

Epist. XCIII.

Concerning the death of the Philoſopher Metronactes, *who died a young man. That is of ſmall regard: alſo life is to be meaſured, not by ſpace, but by act. Euerie good life is that which is long: laſtly, nothing here is long.*

IN the Epiſtle wherein thou bewaileſt the death of *Metronactes* the Philoſopher, as though he might & ought to haue liued longer, I haue deſired thy equitie, which is abundant in thee to euery perſon and in euery buſineſſe, but faileth in one thing, wherein it faileth all men. I haue found many vpright towards men, but none towards the gods. We daily chide deſtinie: why was he taken away in the middeſt of his courſe? Why is not he ſnatched away? Why extendeth it olde age grieuous both to himſelfe and to others? Whether I pray thee, iudgeſt thou it to be more fit, that thou obey nature, or that nature obey thee? But what difference is there how ſpeedily thou depart, whence likewiſe thou muſt depart. We muſt not care to liue long, but to liue enough. For there is neede of deſtinie, that thou mayeſt liue long; that thou mayeſt liue enough, there is neede onely of the minde. Life is long if it be full: but it is filled, when the ſoule hath reſtored his owne good vnto himſelfe, and hath tranſlated the power of it ſelfe to it ſelfe. What doe foureſcore yeares ſpent in ſloath helpe him? This man liued not, but made an abode in life; neyther lately, but long agoe did he die. He liued foureſcore yeares. The difference is from what day thou accounteſt his death. But he died young; yet hee performed the duetes of a good citizen, of a good friend, of a good ſonne: he failed in no part: although his age were imperfect, his life was perfect. He liued foureſcore yeares: yea, rather he was foureſcore yeares; except peraduenture thou ſayeſt him to haue liued ſo, as trees are ſaid to liue. I deſire thee my *Lucilius*, that we endeuour this, that euen as pretious things, ſo our life may not lie much open, but may be worth much. Let vs meaſure it by the actions, not by time. Wilt thou knowe what difference there is betweene this couragious man, and contemner of fortune, who hath gone through all the degrees of humane life, and is promoted vnto the higheſt good, and him ouer whom many yeares haue paſſed? The one is alſo after death the other periſhed before death. Therefore let vs praiſe and place him in the number of the happy, to whom how little time ſoeuer hath happe

happened, it is bestowed well. For he hath seene true light, he hath not beene one of the ordinary sort; he liueth, and hath liued, and hath flourished. Sometime he hath vsed prosperous successe: sometime, as it commeth to passe, the brightnesse of a strong Planet hath shined through the cloudes. Why seekest thou, how long he hath liued? He liued euen vntill posteritie: he passed away, and gaue himselfe to the memory of ages to come. Neyther therefore haue I refused that many yeares should befall vnto me. But yet will I not say, that any thing hath beene wanting to a blessed life, if the space thereof be cut off. For I haue not fitted my selfe vnto that day, which greedy hope hath promised to be the last vnto me: but I haue looked vpon euery one as being my last. Why askest thou me, when I was borne? Am I as yet reckoned amongst those that be more young? I haue that which is mine owne. Euen as in a lesser habite of bodie, one may be a perfect man: so in a lesser measure of time, there may be a perfect life. Age is amongst externall things. So long as I am, it is anothers time: so long as I am a good man, it is mine owne time. Exact this of me, lest as it were in darkenesse I measure out an vnnoble age; that I may leade a life, not that I may be carried through it. Seekest thou what is the largest space of life? To liue euen vnto wisdome: He that commeth vnto that, hath touched, not the longest but the greatest end. But let him glorie, and giue thankes vnto the gods; and amongst them, let him impute it to himselfe, and to the nature of things, that he hath beene. Deseruedly shall he ascribe it: for he hath returned a better life then he receiued. He hath set downe the patterne of a good man: he hath shewed what an one and how great he was: if he had added any thing, it had beene like vnto that which was past. And notwithstanding how long doe we liue? We enioy the knowledge of all things. We know from what things the principall Nature lifteth vp it selfe on high, how it ordereth the world, by what courses it recalleth the year, how it hath shut vp all things which were at any time, and hath made it selfe the end of it selfe. We know that the starres goe by their owne force: that nothing but the earth standeth still: that other things with a continuall swiftnesse runne on. We know how the Moone passeth by the Sunne: wherefore being more slow, she leaueth the swifter behinde her: how it receiueth or loseth light: what cause bringeth on the night, what bringeth backe the day. Thither must we goe, where thou mayest beholde these things neerer vnto thee: neither, saith that wise man, do I the more valiantly depart, because I iudge a way to lie open for me vnto the gods. I haue deserued indeed to be admitted, and now haue I beene amongst them: and I haue sent my minde vnto that place, and they haue sent theirs vnto me. But suppose that I be taken away, and that nothing of a man remaineth after death: I haue alike as great a minde, although I depart to passe into no place. He liued not so many yeares as he might haue done. Also it is a booke of a few verses, but to be praised and profitable indeed: thou knowest the Chronicle of *Tamusius*, that it is not fashionable, and what it is called: alike is the long life of certain men, and that which followeth the Chronicle of *Tamusius*. What iudgest thou him to be more happy, who is slain in the last day of the show of *Gladiators*, then he who is slaine in the midst of the dayes? What thinkest thou that any one is so desirous of life, that he had rather haue his throate cut in the vntiring house, then on the Theater? No greater space doe we one goe before another. Death goeth through all; he that killeth, followeth him close who is killed. That is the smallest thing, concerning which men doe most carefully deale. But what pertaineth it to the purpose how long thou auoydest, that which thou canst not auoyde?

Epist. XCIIII.

A discourse, whether the Teaching or Exhorting part of Philosophy be more profitable? and whether the one can suffice without the other? Aristo *preferreth the former, and admitteth it alone: and his arguments be here.* *And other adioyne the other part, and shew the great vses thereof;* and Seneca *distinguisheth finely, wittily, and fruitfully. Reade and delight.*

Some haue receiued that part of Philosophie alone, which giueth proper precepts to euery person, but frameth not the whole man, perswading the husband how to carrie himselfe towards his wife; the father how to bring vp children; the master how to gouerne seruants: and haue left the other as wandring without our profite: as though any one could in part perswade, except first he had comprehended the summe of vniuersall life. But *Aristo* a Stoicke, on the contrary esteemeth this to be a light part, and which descendeth not euen vnto the breast: but that which hath not precepts, he saith, that it profiteth very much; and that the decrees themselues of Philosophie, are the constitution of the chiefest good, which he that hath vnderstood and learned well, himselfe commandeth himselfe, what is to be done on eyther part. Euen as he who learneth to cast a Dart, taketh a fit place, and frameth his hand for the direction of those things which he deliuereth; when he hath gotten this force by instruction and exercise, he vseth it at whatsoeuer he will; for he hath learned not to hit this or that, but whatsoeuer he will: so he who hath instructed himselfe for his whole life, desireth not particularly to be admonished, hee being taught for the whole; not how to liue with a wife or with a sonne, but how he may liue well: in this also it is, how he may liue with his wife and children. *Cleanthes* iudgeth this part also to be profitable indeede, but weake except it flowed from the whole, except one knew the very decrees and heads of Philosophie. Therefore this place is diuided into two questions; Whether it be profitable or vnprofitable, and whether it alone can make a good man, that is, whether it be superfluous, or can make all things else superfluous. They who would haue this part to be thought superfluous, say thus: If any thing set against the eyes hindereth the sight, it is to be remoued; but that not being cast away he hath lost his labour, who hath giuen instructions: thus thou shalt walke, thither shalt thou stretch out thine hand; after the same manner, when any thing blindeth the minde, and hindereth it from discerning the order of dueties, he doth nothing who deliuereth precepts: thus shalt thou liue with thy father, thus with thy wife. For precepts will profite nothing, so long as error is spread before the minde: if that be driuen away, it will appeare what is due to euery duetie. Otherwise thou teachest him what a sound man must doe, thou makest him not sound. Thou shewest to him that is poore, how to play the rich man: but how can this be done, if so be that pouertie remaine? Thou shewest to him that is hungry, what he may do as a man being full: rather take away hunger, which is fastned to the inward parts. The same will I say vnto thee concerning all vices; the things themselues are to be remoued away; we are not to command that which cannot be done, whilst they do remain. Except thou shalt expell false opinions, that we be troubled withall; neyther will a couetous man heare how he must vse money, nor a fearefull man how he may contemne dangers. It is requisite that thou make

him

him know that money is neyther good nor bad: that thou ſhew vnto him moſt miſerable rich men: that thou cauſe,that what ſoeuer we haue feared in publique,he may know that it is not ſo to be feared, as fame relateth it is: no not dolour nor death: that it is a great comfort often in death, which the law conſtraineth vs to ſuffer,becauſe it returneth to no man: obſtinacie of minde ſhall be for a remedie in griefe: he that ſuffered any thing reſolutely,maketh it to be lighter vnto himſelfe: that the nature of griefe is the beſt, becauſe neyther that which is extended can be great; nor that which is great can be extended: that al things are to be valiantly receiued,which the neceſſitie of the world commandeth vs. When thou haſt brought him by theſe decrees vnto the ſight of his owne condition,and he ſhall know that a bleſſed life is, not which is according to pleaſure,but according to nature: when he ſhall altogether loue vertue, the onely good of a man, and ſhall flie from diſhoneſtie as that which is onely bad,he ſhall know that all other things,namely, riches, honours,good health, ſtrength,empire be in the middle part, and are neyther to be numbred amongſt the good,nor reckoned amongſt the euill. He ſhall neede no inſtructor to ſay vnto him,walke thus,ſup after this manner; this becommeth a man, that a woman; this a married man; that a batchelor. For theſe things which they ſo diligently preſcribe,they themſelues cannot do. Theſe things doth the Schoolmaſter teach his ſcholler, the grand-mother her nephew; and the cholericke maſter argues that a man muſt not be angry. If thou enter into the ſchooles, thou ſhalt finde that children are taught all that for their leſſon, which Philoſophers boaſt of with ſuch loftie lookes. Finally, whether wilt thou propoſe ſuch things as are manifeſt,or ſuch as are doubtfull? Thoſe things that are euident neede not to be taught, and he that teacheth ſuch things as are doubtfull, is hardly beleeued. It is therefore a ſuperfluous thing to teach. This learne thus: If thou propoſeſt things that are obſcure and ambiguous, thou muſt confirme them by proofes. If thou wilt proue them,thoſe things by which thou proueſt are more auaileable, and are ſufficient enough of themſelues. Thus vſe thy friend,thus thy fellow Cittizen,thus thy companion. Why? Becauſe it is iuſt. All theſe things the common place as touching iuſtice, will furniſh me with. There finde I that equity is a thing to be deſired of it ſelfe, that feare cannot compell vs thereunto,and that for gaine we will not reſpect it: briefly, that he is not iuſt and vpright who approueth any thing in this vertue, but the vertue it ſelfe. When as I haue perſwaded my ſelfe of theſe things, and learned it perfectly,what doe theſe precepts profite me,which inſtruct the learned man? To giue precepts to a wiſe-man is a ſuperfluous trauaile, to an ignorant man it ſufficeth not. For he muſt heare not onely what is taught him,but why it is taught him: that is to ſay, whether they be neceſſarie to him that hath true opinions as touching goods and euils,or to him that hath not: hee that hath them not, will be no wayes profited by thee, for a common report contrary to thy admonitions hath filled and poſſeſſed his eares. He that hath an exact iudgement of that he ought to flie and follow,knoweth that which he ought to doe,although thou be ſilent. All this part of Philoſophie therefore may be cut off. There are in vs two euils,which make vs commit others. Eyther in our mindes is there a mallice contracted by euill opinions; or although it be not occupied with falſities,yet is it inclined vnto error,and is quickly corrupted by ſome vaine appearance,which draweth him thither whether he ſhould not pretend. It behoueth vs therefore eyther to cure the ſicke minde,and to deliuer it from vices, or that it be not as yet infected,but inclined vnto euill, to preuent it. The decrees of Philoſophy

Philoſophie doe both the one and the other. Therefore ſuch a kinde of teaching doth nothing. Furthermore, if we giue inſtructions to all in particular: we ſhould neuer make an end. For we muſt inſtruct the Vſurer one way,the Huſbandman another way, the Merchant thus, him that affected the friendſhip of Princes,otherwiſe: thus, thoſe that ſhould loue their equals: that way, ſuch as affect their inferiours. In matrimony they muſt teach how a man muſt liue with a wife,whom he maried a maid; how with her that had a huſband before, how with a rich, how with a poore one. Thinkeſt thou there is no difference betwixt a barren and a fruitfull woman,betweene an old, and a yong maiden, betwixt a mother,and a ſtepdame? we cannot comprehend all kindes; and yet euery one of them requireth ſeuerall leſſons and aduertiſements. But the lawes of Philoſophie are ſhort, and containe and write all things. Adde hereunto that a wiſe-mans precepts ought to be limited and certaine; if they are found to bee infinite, they are out of the limits of Philoſophie, wiſedome knoweth what the bounds of all things ſhould be. This part therefore which propoſeth things in particular ought to be remoued,becauſe that what ſhe promiſeth to performe to a few, ſhe cannot performe to all. Contrariwiſe wiſdome embraceth and containeth all men. There is little difference betweene publike madneſſe, and that which the Phiſitians deſcribe, but that the particular is poſſeſſed with a certaine ſickneſſe, the publike is beſotted with falſe opinions: the one hath drawne the cauſes of his furie from the indiſpoſition of the body, the other from the infirmities of the minde. If a man ſhould giue precepts to a furious man, and teach him how to ſpeake, how to walke out, how to behaue himſelfe in publike, how in priuate,he ſhould be more mad, then the mad man he teacheth. He muſt purge the melancholy humor, and the cauſe of furie muſt be remoued. The like muſt be done in this other furie of the minde; it muſt be diſcuſſed and driuen away, otherwiſe all aduertiſement will bee to no end. Theſe things are ſpoken by *Ariſton*. To whom we will anſwere in particular. Firſt to that where he ſaith,that if any thing hindereth the eye and letteth the ſight, it ought to be remoued. I confeſſe that he hath no neede of precepts to make him ſee, but of medicines to purge his ſight, and meanes to driue away that which blemiſheth the ſame. For by nature we ſee,and he that taketh away the obſtacles,her returneth the eye to his ſight. But Nature teacheth not a particular dutie to euery one. Secondly, he that is cured of his ſuffuſion,cannot as ſoone as he hath recouered his ſight, giue ſight to other men likewiſe. He that is rid of an infirmitie recureth alſo. The eye needeth neyther exhortation nor counſell to vnderſtand the proprieties of colours, it will diſtinguiſh white from blacke without any teacher. Contrariwiſe, the minde needeth many precepts to diſcerne what is to be done in life. Albeit the Phiſitian not only cureth the infirme eye, but counſelleth alſo. Thou muſt not (ſaith he) expoſe thy weake eye-ſight ſuddenly to the open aire and brighter light, firſt from an obſcure place ſeeke out a ſhadie,then be more bould, and by little and little accuſtome thy ſelfe to endure the cleare light. Thou muſt not ſtudie after meat,keep thy ſelfe quiet where thine eyes are great and ſwolne. Auoide the winde and force of cold, leſt it beate vpon thy face, and ſuch like, which were no leſſe profitable then the medicines were. In briefe, Phyſicke annexeth counſailes to remedies. Error,ſaith he, is the cauſe of ſinne,which ſinne counſaile acquitteth vs not of, neither conuinceth falſe opinions of good and euill things I grant that precepts ſuffice not of themſelues to driue a peruerſe opinion out of the vnderſtanding: but it followeth not,that being annexed to others,they ſhould be vnprofitable.

Firſt

Firſt of all, they refreſh the memorie. Secondly, by their meanes, thoſe things which in generall ſeemed confuſed, being diuided into parts, are more diligently conſidered. Happily thou after this manner ſuppoſeſt conſolations and exhortations ſuperfluous, but they are not; conſequently not admonitions. It is a folly (ſaith *Ariſton*) to command a ſicke man ſuch a thing as he ſhould doe in his health, whereas his health is to be reſtored vnto him, without which all his precepts are vaine. But haue not both the ſicke and whole certaine things common to them both, whereof they ought to be admoniſhed, as not to eate ouergreedily, nor trauell exceſſiuely? Both poore and rich haue certaine common precepts. Cure auarice (ſaith he) and thou ſhalt haue nothing wherein thou ſhalt admoniſh either the poore or rich: if the couetouſneſſe both of the one and the other bee abated. Is it a different thing not to deſire money, and to know well to vſe it? The couetous haue no meaſure in their deſires, they that are not couetous, know not how to make vſe of money as they ought. Take away the errours (ſaith he) the precepts are ſuperfluous. It is falſe: for ſuppoſe that auarice be moderated, diſſolution reſtrained, raſhneſſe bridled, idleneſſe awakened: although the vices are driuen away, yet ought we learne that which we ought to doe and how. The admonitions ſeruе to no vſe, being applied to enormous vices. I anſwere that Phyſicke healeth not incurable diſeaſes, yet is it miniſtered to ſome for remedie, to otherſome for mitigation: not all the whole power of Philoſophie, although ſhe intend all her forces to this end, can roote out an indurate and inueterate plague out of our mindes: and yet ſhe remedieth ſome euils, though ſhe cureth not all. What profiteth it, ſaith he, to ſhew that which is diſcouered? Greatly, for ſometimes although wee know a thing, yet we regard it not. Admonition teacheth not, but it awaketh and ſtirreth the memorie, and preuenteth forgetfulneſſe. We take little heed of many things, which paſſe before our eyes. To admoniſh is a kinde of exhortation. Oftentimes our mind pretendeth not to comprehend that which is apparent: we ought therefore to refreſh the memory with the knowledge of things beſt knowne. In this place it ſhall not be amiſſe to repeate the notable ſaying of CALVVS againſt VATINIVS, *You know there hath beene bribing, and all men know that you know it.* Thou knoweſt that we ought to entertaine friendſhip religiouſly, but thou doeſt it not. Thou knoweſt him to be a wicked man, that requireth his wife ſhould bee honeſt, and himſelfe hunteth after other mens wiues. Thou knoweſt that as ſhe ought not to acquaint her ſelfe with an adulterer, ſo thou ſhouldeſt not haue to doe with a ſtrumpet, and yet thou vſeſt to proſtitute. For this cauſe oftentimes oughteſt thou to call thy duetie to memorie, for thy memorie muſt not be diſtracted, but at hand and before thine eyes. All holeſome things ought to be oftentimes remembred, and renewed, to the end that beſides the knowledge thereof, wee may haue them readie to aſſiſt vs. Beſides that which is alreadie well comprehended, is vnderſtood and remembred farre better. If thoſe things (ſaith hee) be doubtfull which thou teacheſt. Thou oughteſt to adde proofe vnto them, they therefore be not the precepts will profit. I anſwere, that the authoritie of him that admoniſheth, ſufficeth without any proofe of his ſaying. As the anſweres of the Lawyers are of force although they yeeld no reaſon of their counſell. Moreouer, precepts haue a great waight in themſelues, eſpecially if we intermix them with poeſie, or that in proſe they be ſhut vp together in a few, but graue words. As thoſe of CATOES, *Buy not that which thou needeſt, but that which is neceſſarie. That which thou haſt no need of is deare of a farthing.* And theſe other ſentences proceeding from

from Oracles or other excellent men. *Spare time. Know thy ſelfe.* Wouldeſt thou aske the cauſe thereof, if a man ſhould repeate thee theſe ſentences. *Forgetfulneſſe is the remedie of iniuries. Fortune fauoureth the audacious. The idle man hinders himſelfe.* Theſe ſentences ſeeke no aduocate, they touch the affections and profit, becauſe Nature vnfouldeth vertue in them. Our mindes containe all the ſeeds of vertue, and theſe ſeeds fructifie by meanes of admonitions, no otherwiſe then a ſparkle being aſſiſted with a light blaſt, becometh a great flame: vertue is awakened, when ſhe is either touched or ſhaken. Furthermore, there are certaine things, which buried in our vnderſtanding, beginne to ſhew their worth, when they are quickened by admonitions. There are other ſorts of things which lie heere and there, which a dull vnderſtanding and vnexerciſed cannot recollect. It behoueth therefore to gather them into one, and to ioyne them together, to the end they may be more forcible, and raiſe the minde the more. Or if precepts haue no power, we muſt exterminate all inſtitution, and be contented with Nature her ſelfe. They that ſee this, conſider not that there are ſome that haue a ſtirring and noble ſpirit; the other of a dull and heauie. In briefe, that all are not equally, are not of one ingenuitie. The power of the minde is nouriſhed, and encreaſeth by precepts, and annexeth new perſwaſions to thoſe that are innate, and correcteth thoſe that are depraued. If any man (ſaith he) hath not the true decrees, what ſhall admonitions profit him, that is plagued and drowned in vices? Truely this, that he may be deliuered of them. For the naturall diſpoſition is not extinguiſhed in him, but obſcured and oppreſſed. In purſuite whereof ſhe endeuoureth to raiſe her ſelfe, and to reſiſt euill. As ſoone as ſhe is ſuccoured and aſſiſted by precepts, ſhee receiueth her forces, prouided that this contagion of ſinne, which hath ſo long time infected her, hath not wholly mortified her. For then the whole diſciplines of Philoſophie vniting all her forces, cannot reſtore her. For what difference is there betweene the decrees and precepts of Philoſophie, but that the one are generall, the other particular. Both of them command; the decrees are generall, the precepts particular. If any one (ſaith hee) hath iuſt and honeſt decrees, ſuch a one is admoniſhed in vaine; not ſo. For this man, although hee know that which he ought to doe, yet ſeeth he not exactly all the parts of his duetie. For we are not only hindered by our affections, from executing that which is good, but for want of a knowledge how to finde out that which is requiſite in euerie thing. Sometimes we haue a minde well compoſed, but heauie and vnaddreſſed to finde out the tract of the offices of our life, which is diſcouered vnto vs by admonitions. Driue away (ſaith he) the falſe opinions, as touching goods and euils, ſettle the true in ſtead of the falſe, and then will admonition be profitable. Aſſuredly the minde is gouerned by ſuch meanes, but not by this meanes onely. For although it be by arguments gathered, what are good, and what are euill, notwithſtanding precepts haue their parts, and both Prudence and Iuſtice conſiſt in offices, and offices are diſpoſed by precepts. Furthermore, the iudgement that we haue of goods and euils, is confirmed by the execution of offices, whereunto we are guided by precepts. For they agree together, neither may thoſe goe before, but theſe will follow after, and keepe their rancke; whence it appeareth that the Generall march before. Precepts, ſaith he, are infinite. It is falſe. For they are not infinite in things that are great and neceſſarie, but their differences according to time, place, and perſons are ſmall. But to theſe likewiſe are generall precepts giuen. There is no man (ſaith he) that cureth madneſſe by precepts, and conſequently not malice. There is a difference. For in

curing a mad man of his madneſſe, he is reſtored to his health. If wee haue excluded falſe opinions, we preſently apprehend not that which we ought to doe, and were it ſo, yet our admonition would confirme the right apprehenſion and iudgement we haue of goods and euils. This likewiſe is falſe, that precepts no wayes profite mad men. For as they profite not alwayes, ſo further they the cure. Both threatnings and chaſtiſements haue reſtrained mad men: I ſpeake now of thoſe mad men whoſe wits are altered, but not taken from them. The lawes, replieth he, cauſe vs not to doe that which we ought. And what other thing are they, but precepts intermixed with threatnings? Firſt of all they perſwade not, becauſe they menace; but precepts conſtraine not, but perſwade. Secondly, lawes deterre vs from doing euill: precepts exhort euery one to doe his duetie. Adde hereunto, that lawes are profitable to good manners, prouided, that precepts be vnited to their commandements. In this thing differ I from *Poſidonius*: I allow not the principles that are ſet in the beginning of *Plato's* lawes. For a law ſhould be ſhort, to the end that the ignorant might apprehend it more eaſily, as if it were an Oracle. Let it command, not diſpute. Nothing ſeemeth more impertinent and fooliſh to me, then a law garniſhed with a Preface. Admoniſh, tell me what thou wouldſt haue me do; I liſten not to thee to learne, but to obey. The lawes are profitable, ſo ſee wee that Commonweales, which haue had euill ordinances, haue had worſe manners. But lawes profite not all men; no more doth Philoſophie, and yet it ceaſeth not to be profitable and powerfull in forming mens minds. And what other thing is Philoſophy but the law of our life? But let vs preſuppoſe that the lawes are vnprofitable, it followeth not therefore that admonitions are vnneceſſary: otherwiſe we ſhould ſay that conſolations, exhortations, diſſwaſions, reprehenſions and praiſes, ſerued to no purpoſe. Theſe are ſorts of admonitions, & by their means the ſpirit attayneth his perfection. There is nothing that more reueſteth our vnderſtandings with vertue, nor that retireth them more from an euill cuſtome, and confirmeth them in goodneſſe, then good mens conuerſation. For by little and little it deſcendeth and diſtilleth into the heart, and to be often ſeene and heard, ſtandeth in ſtead of precepts, vndoubtedly the onely meeting with wiſe-men doth great good; and thou mayeſt learne ſomewhat of a vertuous man, euen then when he is ſilent. I cannot ſo well tell thee how it profiteth, as I haue found that it profited me. Some ſmall creatures (as *Phædon* ſaith) when they ſting are not felt, ſo ſmall and ready is their ſtinge to giue the pricke, but the ſwelling is diſcouered although there appeare no wound in the ſame. The like will befall thee in thy conuerſation with wiſe-men, thou ſhalt not perceiue when or how he profiteth thee, but thou ſhalt finde the profite. Whereto (ſaith he) tendeth all this? Good precepts and admonitions, oft-times reiterated, will profite thee as much as good examples. *Pythagoras* ſaith, that they who entred into a Temple, or that ſaw neere vnto them any image of the gods, or heard the voyce of ſome Oracle, changed their mindes and thoughts. Who dare denie, but that the moſt Ideots of the world are powerfully ſtriken with ſome precepts? As for example, by theſe which enſue, which are ſhort, but ſententious, and of great waight, namely, *Nothing too much. The greedy minde is neuer ſatisfied with gaine. Such meaſure as thou meteſt, the ſame ſhall be mete to thee.* Theſe things heare we with ſtrong apprehenſion, neyther may any man doubt or diſpute vpon them: Why? Becauſe truth perſwadeth without any aſſiſtance of reaſon: if the reſpect we beare vnto any man bridleth our ſpirits, and repreſſeth our vices, why ſhould not admonition doe the like? If correction maketh

keth men aſhamed, what ſhould hinder the ſame effect in good admonition, although it were accompanied but with ſimple precepts? But what admonition is more powerfull, and pierceth deeper, which fortifieth his commaundements with good reaſons, that alleageth why a man ſhould doe this or that, and what good may befall a man by his obedience? If commaundement and authoritie ſerue, ſo doth admonition; but authoritie is of great vſe, and conſequently admonition. Vertue is diuided into two parts, into contemplation of truth, and into action. Inſtitution teacheth contemplation, admonition action. A iuſt action both exerciſeth and ſheweth vertue. But if he that perſwadeth profiteth him that is to act, he likewiſe will profite that admoniſheth. If therefore vpright action be neceſſary to vertue, and admonition ſheweth what iuſt actions be, it followeth that admonition is neceſſary. There are two things which greatly fortifie the minde, aſſurance of the truth, and confidence. Admonition produceth both theſe. For there is credite giuen to the ſame, and when ſhe is beleeued, the minde conceiueth high hopes, and is filled with confidence: admonition therefore is not ſuperfluous. *Marcus Agrippa*, a man of great vnderſtanding, and onely happy to the publique good, amongſt all thoſe that were raiſed by ciuill warres, was wont to auow, that hee was very much indebted to this ſentence; *For by concord ſmall things increaſe, by diſcord the greateſt are ruined.* This, ſaith he, made me become a good brother, and a ſure friend. If ſuch ſentences familiarly entertained in the minde do forme the ſame, why ſhould not this part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth of ſuch like ſentences, doe the like? A part of vertue conſiſteth in diſcipline, another in action. Thou muſt learne, and that which thou haſt learned thou muſt confirme by action: which if it be ſo, not onely decrees of wiſe-men are profitable, but alſo the precepts, which reſtraine and oblige our affections as it were with an Edict. Philoſophie, ſaith he, is diuided into theſe, into ſcience and the habite of the minde. For he that hath comprehended any thing and knoweth that which he ought to do and auoide, is not yet wiſe, except his ſpirit be transformed into thoſe things which he hath learned. The third part, conſiſting in precepts, is compoſed of the two precedent, both of decrees and of habite, and conſequently ſuperfluous to make vertue complete, whereas they two are ſufficient. By this reckoning then conſolation is vnneceſſary, for this alſo conſiſteth of both; neyther exhortation, perſwaſion, neyther argumentation. For ſhe taketh her originall from the habite of a compoſed and ſtrong minde, But although theſe parts proceede from that habitude of the minde, the beſt habite of the minde is both of the one, and of the other. Furthermore, all that which thou ſayeſt reſpecteth a perfect man, and ſuch a one as hath attained the ſumme of humane felicitie. But to this a man attaineth very ſlowly; meane while we muſt ſhew an vnperfect man, yet ſuch a one as is toward the way which he ought to hold in his actions. It may be that wiſedome may addreſſe her ſelfe without admonition, conſidering ſhe hath already ledde the ſpirit ſo outward that he cannot be moued but on the right way. But as touching thoſe that are more feeble, they had neede of a conductor that may ſay vnto them, Thou ſhalt ſhun this, thou ſhalt doe this. Beſides, if he expect the time, wherein of himſelfe he may know that which is beſt to be done, he ſhall in the meane ſpace erre, and erring ſhall be hindred from attayning to that whereby he may be contented with himſelfe. He muſt therefore be gouerned till he begin to be able to gouerne himſelfe. Children are taught to forme their letters, their fingers are held, and their hand directed, and led to teach them to faſhion and counterfeit letters, then are they commanded

to follow such and such examples, and by them to reforme their writing. So is our minde strengthned if it be instructed by proposing some example vnto it which she may follow. These are the things whereby it is approued that this part of Philosophy is not superfluous. Furthermore it is demaunded whether she alone sufficeth to make a wise-man. We will answere this question at another time: for the present, omitting those arguments, doth it not appeare vnto vs that we had neede of some aduocate, who may giue vs instructions contrary to the precepts of the people? A man cannot speake any thing that toucheth vs not. They that wish vs good hurt vs, and they also that curse vs: for the imprecation of those impresseth in vs false feares, and the loue of others spoyleth vs, in desiring our prosperitie, because it driueth vs to goods that are forraigne, wandring, and vncertaine, whereas we might draw felicity from our selues. I say that wee are not permitted to follow the right way. Our parents and seruants draw vs vnto euill. No man erreth to himselfe onely, but spreadeth his follie amongst his neighbours, and learneth of theirs likewise. And therefore the vices of the common sort are in euery priuate man, because the people amongst whom he conuerseth hath giuen them him, and in making others badde he becommeth badde himselfe, hee hath learned the worse, and afterwards teacheth the same; and when that which each one knew to be most wicked was gathered and put together, that great heape of iniquitie was made and discouered. Let there bee therefore some guide that may pull thee by the eare, driue thee from the bruite of Cities, and reclaime thee from the flatteries of the common sort. For thou abusest thy selfe if thou thinkest that vices are borne with vs; they steale vpon vs, and were ingested into vs. Let vs therefore represse those opinions which buzze about our eares by frequent admonitions. Nature neither tyeth nor obligeth vs to any vice: she hath ingendered vs intire and free: nothing that might incite our auarice hath she placed in open sight, but hath put both golde and siluer vnder our feete to be kickt and trode vpon, or whatsoeuer it be for which we are kickt and trode vpon. She hath addressed our faces towards heauen, and would that we should beholde whatsoeuer she hath made, either magnificent or wonderfull in the world, the rising and settings of the starres, the sudden course and motion of the heauens, which by day make vs see the goods of the earth, and by night those of the heauens. The slow motion of the starres, if they be compared with the whole, the swift, if thou imagine how great way they make without euer staying; then the eclipses of the Sun & Moone, opposed the one against the other: moreouer, diuers other things worthy admiration, whether they succeed by order, or break forth being moued by their causes; as the pillers of fire in the night, the flashes streaming from the opening heauen without thunder and lightning, the pillers, beams, & other diuers inflamed impressions in the aire: nature disposeth al these things aboue vs. As touching gold, siluer & iron, which by reason of both these hath depriued vs of peace, she hath hid them, as if they had bin badly cõmitted vnto vs. But we haue brought them to light, to the end we might fight for them: we casting the waighty earth frõ off them, haue digged them vp, the only causes & instruments of our dangers. We haue trusted our miseries vnto fortune, neyther are we ashamed that they are in the greatest estimatiõ with vs, which were most deeply buried in the bosom of the earth. Wilt thou see how fallatious the brightnes is that blemisheth & bewitcheth thine eyes? There is nothing more abiect, nor more obscure then these as long as they are buried in their mould. Why not? when as they are drawn out of the darknes of the largest and longest mynes,

mynes, there is nothing more deformed then they are, whilst they are seperated from their excrements, and drawn from their vaines. Briefly, regard a while those that trauell in the myne, by whose hands this sterrill and informed kinde of earth is purged, and you shall see how they are besmeared with smoake. But these doe more defile the mindes then the bodies, and there is more soyle in those that possesse them, then in those that refine them. It is necessary therfore to be admonished, and to haue some Counsellor of good vnderstanding, that in so great confusion and tumult of fallities, may truely speake vnto vs: what shall he speake? Those words and wholsome counsails, which may open our eares, being deafned by so many ambitious cries, and say, Thou hast no cause to enuy these whom the people termeth great and happy men. There is no cause that a vaine applause should rauish from thee the setled habitude and health of thy soule. There is no reason that this great Lord, so gaily attended and clad in purple, should driue thee from the height of thy peace. Thou hast no more cause to iudge him more happy, to whom euery man giues place, then him whom the Sergeant enforceth to giue way. If thou wilt exercise a power that may be profitable vnto thee, and hurt no man, driue vice from thee. Many there are that set fire on Cities, that leuell huge Fortresses with the ground, which so many hundreth yeares were held impregnable, that raise Plat-formes as high as Castles, who by Engines of batterie ouerturne marueilous high wals, who cause armies to march before them, that meerely pursue their flying enemies, who couered with the bloud of conquered Nations, haue gotten countries as farre as the bounds of the Ocean; but these hauing defeated their enemies, haue themselues bin ouercome by their own desires. No man might make head against their armies, no more then they knew how to resist their ambition and cruelties. Euen then when they seemed to pursue others, they were pursued themselues. The cursed desire of spoiling other mens countries afflicted vnhappy *Alexander*, and sent him to countries vnknown. Doest thou think him a man of vnderstandling, or in his right wits, who began to ruinate Greece, where first he was brought vp and instructed, did afterwards pillage all that which euery one possessed and esteemed best? He imposed a yoke on *Sparta*, and silence to *Athens*. And not content with the spoile of many Cities, either subdued or bought by *Philip* his father, he scattered them from one place to another, made war vpon al the world without remitting ought of his wonted cruelty, imitating herein the sauage beasts, who bite more then hunger enforceth them to. Furthermore, he ioyned diuers kingdomes in one, he made himselfe dread full to the *Greeks* and *Persians*, he subdued the free Nations that were vnder *Darius* his Dominion; yet would he beyond the Ocean, and the Sun being displeased that *Hercules* and *Bacchus* pillers should confine his victories. He addresseth himselfe to inforce Nature; he will not march, neyther will hee stay in a place resembling those fardels which are cast from the top to the ground, which cease not to tumble down vntill they fall to the bottom. Neyther did vertue nor reason counsaile *Pompey* to enterprise his forraine and ciuill warres, but a disordinate loue of flattering greatnesse droue him now into *Spaine* against *Sertorius*, then to make warre against the Pirats, and to assure the Seas. These were his pretexts to maintaine his authoritie, who drue him into *Africa*, into the North, into *Armenia*, and through all the corners of *Asia* against *Mithridates*. It was an immeasurable desire of greatnesse, being in his owne opinion not great enough. What thing thrust *Cæsar* vpon his owne and his Countreyes ruine? Glorie and ambition, and no measure of eminencie aboue others: for hee could not

endure that one ſhould be before him, when as his Common-wealth endured two Maſters. Thinkeſt thou that *Marius* who was once Conſul (for one Conſulate he receiued, the other like he bribed or enforced) was egged on by vertue to hew the *Cimbrians* and *Theutons* in pieces, to follow *Iugurth* thorough the deſerts of Africa, and to expoſe himſelfe to ſo many perils? *Marius* conducted the Army, but ambition conducted *Marius*. Theſe men, whilſt they ſhook all others, were ſhaken themſelues after the manner of whirle-windes, which before they winde in thoſe things they force vp, are themſelues toſſed; & therfore turne they with greater furie, becauſe they haue no holde of themſelues: by which meanes theſe men, after they haue cruelly tormented others, do feele in themſelues this pernicious fury, wherewith they haue offended other men. Thinke not that any man may become happy by another mans misfortune. All theſe examples propoſed both to our eyes and eares, ought to be remembred, and our hearts full filled with euill opinions, ought to be clenſed. Where the place is voyde there muſt we lodge vertue, which rooteth out pleaſing lyes which ſeperateth vs from the people (to whom we giue ouer-much credit) and confirmeth vs in ſincere and good opinions. For this is wiſdome, to be conuerted into nature, and to be reſtored thither whence publique errour hath expelled vs. It is a great part of health, to haue forſaken the counſailors of folly, and to haue far-fled from this company of people which corrupt one another. To know that this is true, conſider how euery man liueth after one ſort in publike, after another in priuate. Solitude of it ſelfe, neither teacheth vs ſimplicity or innocence; the country maketh vs not more frugall or temperate, but when there is no body that may beholde and giue teſtimony, vices retire themſelues. For their good lieth in this to be beheld and ſeene. Who would put on a purple robe if no man ſhould ſee him? Who being couched vnder the ſhadow of ſome ruſticke tree, hath muſtred all the people of his diſſoluteneſſe to himſelfe alone? No man is braue in ſecret, no not in the preſence of two or three of his familiars, but according to the number and quality of thoſe that beholde him, maketh he ſhew of his vanities. So then if any one, eyther know or admire vs, that is the ſpur that pricketh on to diſcouer all theſe things, on which we are mad and beſotted. Take away the ſhew, thou ſhalt abolith couetouſneſſe. Ambition, diſſoluteneſſe and pride will haue themſelues ſeene. Wilt thou recouer them? Hide them. If therefore we are lodged in the midſt of Cities, let vs keep ſome good counſailor about vs: who oppoſing himſelfe againſt thoſe that praiſe great poſſeſſions, priſeth a rich man very little, and that meaſureth his goods by their vſe: againſt thoſe who make reckoning of nothing but credite and humane greatneſſe, let him approue and commend that honeſt repoſe which the ſtudy of good letters giueth; and let him eſteeme nothing ſo much as a conſcience that hath forſaken al tranſitory things, to ground himſelfe vpon the reall good? Let him ſhew that all they who are commonly called happy tremble, and are diſmayed in that high degree ſo much enuied, and haue a farre other opinion of themſelues then the people hath. For thoſe things that are raiſed & highly priſed in other mens eyes, in their iudgments are ſlippery, ſteepy, & vncertain. For this cauſe they are heartleſſe and fearfull as often as they looke into this ſteepe mountain of mightines, whereupon they are mounted. Then ſuſpect they thoſe things they deſired, and their felicity which hath beene ſo odious vnto others, is more hatefull to themſelues: Then praiſe they a peaceable and retired life: authority is diſtaſtefull vnto them, they ſeeke to be diſcharged of their proſperitie; then ſhalt thou ſee them play the Philoſophers for feare, and take good counſaile

counſaile from their aduerſitie. For as if proſperitie and a good minde were appointed contraries, we are moſt wiſe in our miſeries, contrariwiſe proſperitie bereaueth vs of our iudgement.

Epist. XCV.

It adhereth or dependeth of the former, and the queſtion is, whether the Exhortatorie part of Philoſophie may alone ſuffice? When as eſpecially he hath ſhewed ſo many and ſo cleare vſes thereof. He denieth, ſetteth downe, and refelleth the arguments which are vrged. Therefore he praiſeth the doctrinall part, and ſheweth that precepts flow from that fountaine, and that life is contained therein. He intermixeth worthy things, and by the way maketh an excurſion againſt riot, luſt, and vnlawfull affection of honors. The whole Epiſtle is excellent and fruitfull.

THou requireſt me to repreſent that which I had remitted, till another time, and that I ſhould write vnto thee, if that part of Philoſophie which conſiſteth in precepts, which the Greekes call παραινετικὸν, wee preceptiue bee ſufficient to make a man perfectly wiſe. I know thou wilt take it in good part, if I deny the ſame, and for that cauſe the rather doe I renue my promiſe, and will not ſuffer that my word ſo expreſly and ſolemnly engaged ſhould be broken. Hereafter aske me nothing which thou wilt not obtaine, for ſometimes wee inſtantly require that, which wee would refuſe if it were offered vnto vs. This, whether it bee lightneſſe or familiaritie, is to bee puniſhed with a facilitie of promiſing: wee ſeeme to will many things which we would not. A certaine Reciter brought a great hiſtorie written in a ſmall hand, and ſtraitly foulded, and hauing red ouer a great part thereof: *I will giue ouer* (ſaith he) *if you will.* To this it is anſwered with a loud voice. *Reade on, Reade on*, by thoſe who would willingly that hee ſhould preſently hold his peace. Oftentimes we will owe things, and wiſh another, and to the gods themſelues wee ſpeake not truth; but the gods either heare vs not, or haue mercie vpon vs. But I ſetting apart all fauour will redeeme my ſelfe, and will cloy thee with a long Epiſtle, which if thou reade vnwillingly, ſay that thou thy ſelfe art the cauſe, and number thy ſelfe amongſt thoſe whom a wife continually tormenteth to get her ſelfe ſome new gowne daily: amongſt thoſe that haue no ioy of the goods they haue gotten with great labour: amongſt thoſe whom honour torments, being gotten by all induſtrie and labour, and the reſt who are partakers of their owne euils. But leauing this Preface, I come to the point. A bleſſed life (ſay they) conſiſteth of iuſt actions, whereunto we are led by precepts; conſequently precepts are ſufficient to make the life happie. Yet precepts doe not alwayes lead a man to iuſt actions, but when as the minde is capable and conformable to inſtructions. Sometimes they are propoſed in vaine, to wit, when the vnderſtanding is beſieged with falſe opinions. Againe, although they doe right, yet know they not that they doe right. For no man can performe that which he ought euerie way, nor vnderſtand when hee ought to doe a thing, nor how much, nor with whom, nor how, if from the beginning he hath not beene addreſſed and faſhioned exactly in all reaſon. By meanes whereof he cannot with his whole minde conſtantly and willingly endeuour vnto vertue, but ſhall be doubtfull and look backe. If an honeſt action (ſay they) proceedeth from precepts, precepts ſhall ſufficiently

ſufficiently ſuffice to make the life happie, but the one is true, conſequently, therefore ſo is the other. To theſe we anſwere, that honeſt actions proceed not onely from precepts and particular inſtructions, but alſo from maximes and generall rules. If other artes (ſaith he) are content with precepts, wiſdome alſo will be contented, which is the art of life, but he maketh a maſter of a ſhip that inſtructeth him thus. Steere after this manner, ſtrike ſaile after this faſhion, take the benefit of a good winde thus, reſiſt a contrarie that way, and make vſe of ſuch a meanes to warrantiſe thee from a croſſe winde. Precepts likewiſe confirme other ſorts of Artiſts. Cannot therefore Philoſophers teach others to liue; cannot they doe the like? All theſe arts are employed about the inſtruments of life, not about the whole life, and therefore many things hinder and let them externally, ſuch as are hope, couetouſneſſe, and feare. But Wiſdome the miſtris of life cannot be hindered by any thing from continuing her exerciſe, for ſhee preuenteth impediments, and temperateth obſtacles. Wilt thou know wherein they differ in condition? In mechanique arts it is more excuſable to ſinne for want of aduice, then caſually, and in wiſdome it is a great fault to ſinne willingly. That which I ſay is ſo. The Grammarian is not aſhamed of a Soleciſme, if he make it willingly, but he bluſheth if he doe it without taking heed. If the Phyſitian foreſeeth not that his patient begins to weare away, he committeth more error in his art, then if he perceiued the defect, and pretended not to know it. But in the art of good life, more ſhamefull is their fault, who offend willingly. Adde hereunto that the moſt kinde of arts, yea of them all the moſt liberall haue not only their precepts, but decrees, as Phyſicke hath. There is therefore one ſect of *Hippocrates*, another of *Aſclepiades*, another of *Themiſon*. Beſides no contemplatiue art is without her decrees, which the Greekes call δόγματα, wee precepts: propoſitions and foundations, which you ſhall finde in Geometrie and Aſtronomie. But Philoſophie is both contemplatiue and actiue, ſhe ſpeculateth and ſetteth hand to the worke. For thou erreſt, if thou thinkeſt that ſhe only promiſeth terreſtriall actions, ſhe aſpireth more high. I ſearch (ſaith ſhee) the whole world, neither containe I my ſelfe incloſed in the company of mortall men, to the onely end to perſwade or diſſwade. Great matters, ſuch as are aboue your reach call and inuite me.

For firſt I will diſcloſe and let thee know
The ſecrets of the heau'ns and higher powers,
Whence Nature formes, and whence ſhe makes things grow,
Whence they encreaſe, and ſpread their ſeeds and flowers,
Ile count thee all their of-ſprings and their ends,
And what in each thing Nature moſt intends.

Lib. 1. de Natura rerum.

As *Lucretius* ſaith. It followeth therefore that being contemplatiue, ſhee hath her decrees. In effect no man ſhall euer performe that which he ought, but he that hath comprehended the reaſon whereby in euery thing he may performe his decrees in all offices; which hee ſhall not obſerue who hath receiued but meere precepts. Thoſe things that are diſtributed by parcels are feeble in themſelues, and if I may ſo ſay, without roote. Thoſe are decrees which defend vs, which maintaine our ſecuritie and tranquillitie, which comprehend at once all life and all nature. The ſame difference is there betweene the decrees and precepts of Philoſophie, as there is betweene letters and whole clauſes. The one depend vpon the other, decrees alſo are the cauſe of precepts and of all things. The

The ancient wiſdome, ſaith he, onely taught nought elſe, but what was to be done, and to be eſteemed. And then were men farre better, after learned men began to flouriſh, good men were ſcant. For that ſimple and open truth is changed into an obſcure and ſubtill ſcience, and we are taught how to diſpute, not how to liue. Without doubt, that ancient wiſdome, as you ſay, was rude and ſimple in the beginning, no leſſe then other arts which haue beene poliſhed by ſucceſſion of time. But at that time alſo the preſent remedies were not neceſſarie, wickednеſſe was not growne to that height, neither had ſhee ſpread her ſelf ſo largely euery where; ſimple remedies were ſufficient for ſimple vices. But now the more ſtrange the miſchifes are which aſſault vs, the more ſolide ſhould our reſiſt and defences be. Phyſicke in times paſt was but the knowledge of a few Simples, whereby a flux of blood might be ſtayed, and wounds by little and little might be healed. Afterwards ſhee attained to this raritie of medicines: neither is it to be wondered at, that in thoſe dayes ſhe had ſo little to doe; ſure then men had more ſtronge bodies, and were contented with eaſie and ſimple diet, and not corrupted by art and pleaſure. Which diet, after it beganne to be ſought, not to take away, but prouoke hunger; and a thouſand ſorts of ſauces were inuented, whereby the appetite might be awakened. Thoſe meats which ſuſtained ſuch men as were hungrie, are become as many burthens to full bellies. From thence proceeded paleneſſe, and the trembling of the nerues, being drowned in wine, and a more miſerable leaneneſſe cauſed rather by crudities, then by hunger. From this exceſſe hath proceeded the weaknes and ſlumbling of the feete, and ſuch a kinde of gate as drunken men vſe. Thence grew the water betwixt the filme and fleſh, thence was the belly diſcended, whileſt it was accuſtomed to receiue more then it could containe. Thence came the blacke Ianders, the diſcoloured face, and the conſumption of ſuch as rotted inwardly. Thence crooked fingers, by reaſon of the ſtifnes of the ioynts, hence the Apoplexie, hence the Palſey: why ſhould I reckon vp the ſwimming and turning of the head, the torments both of eyes and eares, and the vermination of the inflamed braine; and all the paſſages of our bodies, whereby wee are purged, affected with inward vlcers. Beſides an innumerable ſort of Feuours, the one violent and ſudden, the other lent and lingring, the other beginning with much horror and ſhaking of the members? why ſhould I rip vp other innumerable diſeaſes, the iuſt plagues of intemperance? Free were they from thoſe euils, who as yet were not weakened by theſe delicates, who gouerned and miniſtred vnto themſelues. They hardened their bodies with induſtry and true labour, either wearied with running, or hunting, or plowing of their lands; and their meat was ſuch as could not pleaſe any but ſuch as were hungry. There was therefore no need of ſo great a multitude of Phyſitians, neither of ſo many inſtruments and ſubiotaries. There health being entertained by a ſimple cauſe, was ſimple alſo: many diſhes haue bred many ſickneſſes. Behold how many things gormundize the ruine both of land and ſea, intermixeth together to the end they might afterwards be ſwallowed by one greedie gullet. It cannot be, but that things ſo diuers ſhould ſtriue one with another, and after they are ſwallowed downe, ſhould hardly be diſgeſted, by reaſon that the one is a hinderance to the other. It is no maruell, if of meates ſo different, ſuch confuſed and violent ſickneſſes are engendred, nor that the humours being driuen by contrary paſſages, ſhould redound as they doe. See heere the cauſe why we haue ſo many different ſorts of ſickneſſes, as of meats. The greateſt of the Phyſitians, and the Founder of the Science, ſaith, that women are neither bauld nor ſicke

licke of the gout, yet they at this day are both deſtitute of haire and lame in their feet. The nature of women is not changed, but the life. For whereas they haue equalled men in their licentiouſnes, they haue likewiſe had an equall part in their maladies. They watch no leſſe, they drinke no leſſe, and challenge their huſbands in bathing and drunkenneſſe. Both the one and the other hauing, as it were, by force filled their panches, yeeld it vp againe by their mouths, and in vomitting returne backe againe all the wine they haue ſwallowed. The women as wel as the men gnaw vpon the Ice to coole their ouer-hot ſtomacks. But in luſt they ſurpaſſe the males, being borne to ſuffer. The gods and goddeſſes confound them, who haue peruerted the order of habitation both with male and female. Wonder not therefore, though the greateſt amongſt Phyſitians, and Naturaliſts was deceiued in this, that at this time there are ſo many bauld and gowtie women. By exceſſe haue they loſt the benefit of their ſex, and becauſe they haue ſhaken off the habit of women, they are condemned to endure the ſickneſſes of men. The ancient Phyſitians knew not what it was to preſcribe their patients to feed often, and to repleniſh their vaines that were emptied with wine: they knew neither how to cup nor to ſcarifie, nor to bath and ſweat thoſe that had been long time ſicke, they knew not how by binding the legs and armes, to reuoke the hidden heat to the outward parts, which was ſtayed in the center. There was no need to looke about for many kinds of remedies, when as there were but few ſorts of ſickneſſes. But now to what number and height are infirmities growne? This is the vſury which we pay for ſo much pleaſure as we haue wrongfully and inordinately deſired. Maruelleſt thou to ſee ſo many ſickneſſes? Number me the Cookes. All ſtudie is giuen ouer. The profeſſors of liberall ſciences are without auditors, their ſieges void, and their ſchollers gone. Solitude dwelleth in the Schooles of Rhetoricians and Philoſophers. Contrariwiſe, how many famous Kitchins are there: how many yong men fill vp the fires of ſuch as are prodigall and diſſolute. I ſpeake not of the troopes of poore yong children, who at the ſhutting vp of a feaſt attend to ſuffer other villanie in the chambers. I ouerſlip the troopes of thoſe that haue beene abuſed contrarie to Nature, diſtinguiſhed by nations and colours, ſo as on the one ſide, all they of the ſame height are raunged, and they whoſe beards begin to bud, and ſuch as are haired alike, to the end that he who hath the ſtraight and long haire, ſhould not bee mixed amongſt thoſe that are curled. I ouerpaſſe the troopes of Paſtlers, and attendants who ſerue in ſupper when the ſigne is giuen them. Good God, how many men are buſied about one belly. Thinkeſt thou that theſe mulhromes, a ſort of pleaſant poiſon, although they hurt not vpon the preſent, doe they not ſecretly work and wrong at laſt? Thinkeſt thou that this ſnow, which they vſe to refreſh and coole themſelues with in Sommer, hardeneth not their liuers, and that vnſauoury meat of Oyſters, that are fattened with mud, engender they not viſcous and clammie humors? Beleeueſt thou not that the ſauce which is compoſed of Mackerels and other ſort of fiſh that coſts ſo deere, doth it not with his drying ſaltneſſe burne the entrailes? Iudgeſt thou that theſe rotten ioyces which are ſwallowed downe hot, can they without harme be extinguiſhed in the ſtomacke? How filthie and peſtilent belches? What loathing of themſelues? Whileſt they diſgorge their old ſurfets? Know thou, that whatſoeuer they take rotteth, but diſgeſteth not. I remember that in times paſt *Æſopes* diſh was much ſpoken of, wherein this ſweet-lipped fellow running vnto his owne ruine, gathered all that was either rare or daintie from the tables of great men: there were diuers ſorts of

of fiſh-fiſh hand ſomly chewed and ready to ſwallow, athwart whereof were enterlaced Creuiſſes, and aboue them dreſſed Barbels, cut in pieces and ſeuered from their finnes and bones. It loatheth them to feede on euerie diſh apart, all ſauces are mixt in one, and at ſupper-time that is done, that ſhould be done after collation time. Now muſt I expect to haue the minſed meates ſerued in ſo ſmall, as if they had been chewed. What difference is there betweene taking away the ſcales and bones, or to haue a Cooke to execute the office of our teeth? It is too tedious a thing to diſguiſe all ſortes of meates; for once wee muſt make a hochpot, why ſhould I put any hand into a diſh that had but one kinde of daintie? Let me haue many come together. Let the ornaments of many diſhes be united and ioyned together. Let them forthwith know, who ſay that this prodigality at mens Tables is done to make them to be talked of and eſteemed, that theſe are not publique, but exceſſes done in ſecret. Let thoſe things that were wont to be ſeuerally dreſſed, be ſerued in in one broth. It is all one, as if Oyſters and Sea-crabs, Muſkels and Mullets be mixed together. The meat of thoſe that vomit ſhould not be more confuſed. But as theſe meates and ſauces are confounded the one with the other; ſo likewiſe of ſuch confuſed exceſſe, diuers compounded inexplicable, different, and manifold ſickeneſſes do ariſe, againſt which Phyſique hath begun to arme her ſelfe with many remedies and obſeruations. The ſame ſay I of Philoſophy; it was in times paſt more ſimple, amongſt thoſe whoſe ſinnes were not ſo enormous, but more eaſie and ſlight to be cured. Againſt ſo great corruption of manners all things are to be attempted. And would to God this plague at laſt might be ſo ouercome: we play the mad-men, not onely in priuate but in publique; Doe we repreſſe priuate murthers? What ſhall I ſay of warres and the glorious ſinne of deſtroyed countries? Neyther auarice nor crueltie knew any meaſure; and theſe things as long as they are done by ſtealth, and by priuate men are leaſt hurtfull and monſtrous. By the ordinances of the Senate, and Edicts of the people, thoſe hainous offences which are condemned in priuate men, are permitted vnto all, and committed in ſight of euery man. We praiſe a publique crime, which we would puniſh with death had it beene committed ſecretly. Are not men aſhamed, that by nature are the mildeſt, to take pleaſure in ſhedding their neighbours bloud, to make warre, and leaue this exerciſe to their children? whereas euen the dumbe and ſauage beaſts haue peace amongſt themſelues. Againſt ſo potent and generall a furie Philoſophy was made more effectuall, and aſſumed ſo much power vnto her ſelfe, as they had gathered againſt whom ſhe is addreſſed. It was an eaſie matter to chide and reproue thoſe that were giuen ouer to wine, and beſotted with delicacy and dainties; for there needed no great force to reduce the minde to frugality, from whence by little and little ſhe had reuolted.

Now needes we worke by force and violence,
And then by Art and great experience.

Pleaſure is ſought for on euery ſide. No vice conteyneth it ſelfe in it ſelfe. Diſſolution runs headlong into auarice, honeſty is forgotten: there is nothing filthy if it be priſed or pleaſing. A man, a ſacred thing; a man is now murthered in ieſt. And whereas it was impiety to teach a man to giue and receiue wounds, now expoſe we him in publique both naked and diſarmed, ſuppoſing that his death would be a pleaſing ſpectacle to content an aſſembly. So then in this peruerſitie

peruersitie and corruption of manners there needeth some medicine more eager then was accustomed to dissipate these inueterate euils. We must propose *Maximes* and rules, that the perswasion of falsities too greatly entertained, may be wholly extinguished. To these if we annex precepts, consolations, exhortations, they may preuaile, being scarce powerfull enough of themselues. If we will set them free that are bound, and draw them from those euils wherewith they are now entangled, let them learne what euill is, and what good is. Let them know that all things change their name but onely vertue, and now become euill, and now good. As the first bond of warfare is Religion, and the loue of our Ensigne, and the loathing and hainousnesse to forsake it, and after this all the rest are easily commanded and obtained at his handes who hath solemnly obliged his faith: so also must thou lay the first foundations in those whom thou pretendest to conduct vnto happy life, and to plant vertue in their hearts. Let them be seized with a zealous superstition thereof, let them loue her, let them desire to liue with her, not to liue without her. What then? Are there not some that without any subtill institution, haue become honest, and haue attained to great perfection, whilst they onely submitted themselues to bare precepts? I confesse no lesse. But they had a happy and apprehending spirit, which in a moment apprehended that which is proper for his instruction. For euen as the immortall gods haue learned no vertue, whereas by being and nature they are all good, so some of noble nature comprehend those things which are taught them, and as soone as vertue is shewed vnto them, they embrace it. Whence grew these mindes so greedily catching after vertue, and so fruitfull of themselues? But to those that are dull and hard of vnderstanding, or long time besieged with euill customes, the rust of their mindes must be rubbed off. Euen as we easily draw those vnto perfection who are inclined to good; so on the other side the meanes to redresse the feeble, and to dispossesse them of their euill opinions, is to propose vnto them the rules and *Maximes* of Philosophie, which are marueilous necessary, as thou shalt perceiue by that which ensueth. We haue certaine inclinations which make vs heauy in some affaires, and light and rash in others: neyther may this rashnesse be represt, nor that slownesse awakened, except their causes be cut off, such as are false admiration and fained feare. As long as these haue vs in their possession, thou mayest say, This must thou doe for thy father, this for thy children, this for thy friends, this for thy guests; but auarice will restraine him that would attempt so good a course. He shall know that he ought to fight for his countrey, but feare shall dissuade him. He shall know that he must labour for his friends to the vttermost, but pleasures shall withdraw him. He shall know that it is a most hainous kinde of iniurie towards a wife to entertaine a harlot, yet shall lust compell him to the contrary. It will therfore profite nothing to giue precepts, except thou first of all take away all things that are contrary to them: no more then it will profite to haue laide weapons in sight, and to haue set them neerer, except his hands be vnbound that vseth them. To giue a means vnto the minde to apprehend the precepts which we giue, we must giue it libertie. Let vs suppose that a man doth that which he ought not; he will not doe it continually, he will not doe it equally, for he knoweth not wherefore he doth it. By aduenture or by custome some things will goe well, but a man shall not haue a rule in hand, to know the same whereunto he may trust that they are rightly done, which he hath done. He will not promise to continue good that is casually good. Againe, precepts may happily instruct thee to doe that which thou

thou oughtest, but not in that sort as thou oughtest; and if they performe not this, they bring thee not to vertue. He shall doe that which he is aduised to do: I grant it. But that is little, because the praise consisteth not in the deede, but in the manner how it is done. What is more odious then a sumptuous supper, whereupon a man spendeth a Knights liuing? What is more worthy of censure then if a man (as these gluttons say) bestow this vpon himselfe and his *Genius*? and yet haue there beene some persons, both very sober and temperate, that in such extraordinary banquets haue spent the summe of seuentie fiue thousand crownes. If for gormandize sake a man lauisheth in this expence, it is hatefull; if it be to honour any great and noble assembly, it may be borne withall, for it is no excesse but a solemne expence. The Emperour *Tiberius* hauing receiued a Barbell of a wonderfull greatnes: (shall I set downe the weight to awake gourmands? for it is said that it weighed more then foure pounds & a halfe) commanded it to be carried to the market and sould, saying to those that kept him company at that time; *My friends, I am much deceiued, but eyther* APICIVS *or* P. OCTAVIVS *will buy this Barbell.* But there fell out farre more then he expected; for they set the Barbell to be cried, and it was sold to him that offered most. *Octauius* bare it away, and was highly prised amongst his adherents, because he had bought a Barbell which the Emperour had solde, and *Apicius* could not buy it for two hundreth crowns, or thereabouts. It was a shame for *Octauius* to disburse so much money, not for him that bought it to send it to *Tiberius*; although I would not excuse him. He admired the thing which he thought *Cæsar* worthy of. A man sits by his friend that is sicke: I allow it; but if he doe it in hope to be his heire, he is a Vulture, he expecteth carrion. The same things are both honest and dishonest: but it importeth to know wherefore, or how. But all things will be done honestly, if we addict our selues thereunto, and iudge it with the dependances thereof, to be the onely good of humane life, the rest are good but for a short time. We must therefore imprint in our hearts a lesson that extendeth it selfe to the whole life: this is that which I call a decree. Such as this perswasion is, such shall those things be which shall be eyther done or thought. And such as these shall be, such shall be the life. It is but a small matter for him that would rule the whole, to giue counsaile that it should be distributed into parts. *M. Brutus* in his booke he intituled Περὶ καθήκοντος, giueth many precepts both to father and mother, children and brothers, which no man shall performe as he ought, except he haue some rule whereunto he may haue relation. Let vs propose vnto our selues a scope or soueraigne good, at which we ayme, and to which we addresse al our thoughts and life, as the Marriners ought to shape their course vnder the aspect of some certaine starre. Life without a limit is extrauagant: if this limit must be proposed, the rules that shew vs the same, begin to be necessarie. Thou wilt confesse this, as I suppose, that there is nothing more shamefull, then to see a man that is doubtfull, irresolute, fearfull, that now sets forward, and then slides backward. This will befall vs in all things, if we doe not rent away that imprisoneth and restraineth our vnderstandings, and that hindereth them from stirring at their pleasure. It is a vsuall thing to teach the manner how to serue the gods. We forbid men to light lamps on the Sabboth dayes, because the gods haue no want of light, and men take no pleasure in smoake. We forbid men from doing their reuerences and salutations in the morning, and permit no man to sit at the Temple gates; for humane ambition is baited and caught by these offices. He that knoweth God, serueth and honoureth him. We forbid men to bring sheets & bathing-combs

to *Iupiter*, or to hold a glasse before *Iuno*. God seeketh no Ministers. Why not? He ministereth to mankind. Each where is he readie and addressed to helpe all men. Although he heare, how he ought to behaue himselfe in sacrifices, and estrange himselfe from curious and troublesome superstitions; yet would all this bee nothing to his perfection, except hee haue conceiued in his vnderstanding a god, such as he ought to apprehend him, namely, such a one as hath all things, that giueth all things, and bestoweth his benefits gratice. But who inciteth the gods to doe all these goods for men? Their nature. He erreth, whosoeuer thinketh that they will doe hurt. They cannot, neither can they receiue or doe iniurie. For to hurt, and to be hurt, are things conioynt and haue relation the one vnto the other. That soueraigne and faire nature aboue all hath exempted those men from dangers, which are not dangerous. Moreouer, the first seruice due vnto the gods, is to beleeue that they are next to acknowledge their maiestie and bountie, without which their maiestie were nothing. To know that they are those that gouerne the world, who temper all things as their owne, who haue all men vnder their protection, and are sometimes curious of priuate men. These neither giue, nor haue euill, although they chastise, represse, and afflict, and punish likewise some men at sometime, vnder appearance of euill. Wilt thou haue the gods fauourable vnto thee? Bea good man. He giueth them sufficiently that imitateth them. Heere followeth another question, how we ought to vse and serue men. What doe we? What precepts giue we? To shed no humane bloud? How small a matter is it not to hurt him, whom thou oughtest to profit? Truely it is worthie much praise for one man to be kinde vnto another. Shall we command him to succour the shipwracked, to bring the wanderer into his way, to diuide his bread with the hungry? What need I to specifie all that which it behoueth him to doe or flie, when as in three words I will propose a forme of humane offices? All this world, in which all diuine and humane things are inclosed, is but one: we are the members and parcels of this great bodie. Nature hath created vs akin, in forming vs of the same elements, and in the same enclosure. She hath planted mutuall loue in our hearts, and made vs sociable. She it is that hath composed iustice and equity, and by her ordinance it is a more miserable thing to doe, then to suffer iniurie. By her command are his hands addressed, that helpeth and comforteth another. Let vs haue this verse in our hearts, and in our mouthes:

I am a man, and thinke this true to be,
That nothing humane is estrang'd from mee.

Let vs possesse this common good, that we are borne. Mans society resembleth a vault of stone, which would fall except the stones resisted one another; so that by this meanes it is sustained. After gods and men, let vs behold how we ought to vse these things: vnprofitable should our precepts be, if first of all we knew not what opinion we ought to haue of euery thing, as of pouertie, riches, glory, ignominie, our country and banishment. Let vs esteeme euery one of them without respect of common apprehension, and let vs examine what they be, not what they are called. Let vs passe ouer to vertues. Some one would require that we should prise prudence, that we should respect valour, that we should loue temperance, and that (if it might be) we should ioyne our selues vnto iustice more strictly, then vnto the rest. But this would be to no purpose, if we be ignorant what vertue is, if there be one or many, if they be separated or vnited, if

if he that possesseth one of them hath all, and how the one differeth from the other. It is not needfull now for a Smith to enquire what the beginning and vse of his arte is, nor for a Iester to examine what the arte of dancing is. All these occupations know themselues, they want nothing, because they appertaine not to the whole life. But Vertue is the science both of others and of her selfe; we must learne of her, to the end we may vnderstand what we ought to will. If the will be not good, the action which proceedeth from the same shall neuer be. Furthermore, the will shall be peruerse, if the habitude of the spirit be not vpright, because that from that the will hath his being; and this habite of minde shall not be in the best state, if it comprehendeth not all the rules of life (considering the iudgement which a man ought to haue of euery thing) and shut them all within the circle of truth. The contentment of the spirit is a good that befalleth no man, except those that are endowed with a certaine and vnmoueable indgement. The rest of men slip, fall, and sometimes or other rise againe, and doe but float betwixt that which they haue omitted, and that which they desired. The cause of this tossing and shaking is, because hauing builded vpon common report, which is a wonderous and vncertaine manner of liuing, they are assured and confident in nothing. If thou wilt alwaies haue the same will, thou must will those things that are true. There is no way to attaine truth without Maximes, for they containe life, good and euill, honest and dishonest things, iust and vniust, pious and impious, vertue and the vses of vertue, the possession of things commodious, existimation and dignitie, health, force, forme, and sagacitie of the sences; all these require such a one as can iudge of them, and knoweth at what price they ought to be taxed. For thou abusest thy selfe, and thinkest that some things are of greater value then they be, and the more art thou deceiued, in prising riches, credit, and power (as many other of thy ranke doe) which are not to be accounted worth any thing. Thou shalt not know this, if thou respectest not rule, whereby these things are estimated amongst themselues. Euen as leaues cannot flourish by themselues, but require a bough whereunto they may cleaue, and from whence they may draw iuyce and nourishment: so these precepts decay and vanish, if they be alone, they will be affixed and grounded vpon Maximes. Besides, they vnderstand not who take away decrees, that they are confirmed by that very meanes, whereby they are extinguished? For what say they? that life is sufficiently addressed by precepts: and that the decrees and principall rules of wisdome are superfluous. But this which they say is a decree as true, as if I should now say that we ought to giue ouer precepts, and onely rely vpon Maximes, in denying the vse of precepts, I should recommend the same by this precept of mine. Some things there are that content themselues with a simple admonition of Philosophie, otherwise that would be proued: and some there are, that are so confused, that hardly and without great search a man cannot vnderstand their true sence: if proofes be necessarie, so are decrees likewise, which gather the truth by arguments. Some matters are easie, other some are obscure. Those are easie and open, which are comprehended by sence and memorie, and those obscure which are not subiect thereunto. But Reason contenteth not her selfe with things that are manifest. The greatest and most beautifull part therof, is grounded on that which is hidden. Those things that are hidden require proofe, proofe is not without decrees; decrees therefore are necessarie. The perswasion and apprehension of certaine things, without which all our thoughts are vncertaine and without stay, is that which perfecteth the common sence, and

maketh it accomplished. Whence it followeth that decrees are necessary, which giue vnto the minde an inflexible iudgement. In briefe, when we exhort any man to esteeme his friend as much as himselfe, let him thinke that his enemie may be made his friend, that he encrease more and more the friendship he beareth vnto the one, and moderate his hatred towards the other; we adde thereunto that it is iust and honest. But this honestie and equitie is comprised, in the reason of our decrees or rules. It is therefore necessarie, without the which the other cannot be. But let vs ioyne the generall rules and precepts together, for both without the root the boughes are vnprofitable, and the rootes themselues are aided by those branches they haue produced. No man can be ignorant what profit the hands haue in them, for they manifestly helpe. That heart whereby the hands liue, from whence they take their forces, by which they are moued, lieth hidden. The same can I say of precepts; they are open, but the decrees of wisdome are hidden. As there are none but such as professe, that know the mysteries of sacred things: so likewise in Philosophie, the secrets of the same are not discouered, but to such persons as are admitted and receiued into her sanctuary: but precepts and such other things, euen those that are prophane know thē *Posidonius* iudgeth, that not only preception (for nothing prohibiteth vs to vse this word) but also perswasion, consolation, & exhortation are necessary. To these he addeth the inquisition of causes, which why should we not be bould to call the character, as wel as the Grammarians, who in their owne right terme themselues the maintainers and keepers of the Latine tongue I see no cause. He saith that the description of euery vertue will be necessary. This doth *Posidonius* call Ænologia, the Grecians χαρακτηρισμον, which expresseth the signes and notes of euery vertue and vice, whereby those things that are alike may be discerned the one from the other. This hath the same force as the proposition of precepts. For he that giueth precepts, saith, Thou shalt doe thus, if thou wilt be temperate. He who describeth, saith, The temperate man is he that doth these things, and abstaineth from those. Askest thou me what the difference is? The one giueth precepts of vertue, the other example. I confesse that these descriptions, and to vse the words of the Publicans, οικονομικὸς, that is to say, markes proceed from vse. Let vs propose laudable things, and we shall finde such as will follow them. Thinkest thou that it is profitable to haue instructions giuen thee how to know a generous Horse, lest thou be deceiued, and thou buy a sluggard and a lade. How much more profitable is this, to know the markes of an excellent minde, whereby thou mayest be able to apply them to thy selfe.

Virgil. 3 Georgicum.

The goodly coult bred from a noble race
Begins to grow amiddest the spacious fields,
And proudly ouer hill and dale doth pace,
His force vnto no threatning torrent yeelds,
The seas vnknowne he swimmes and neuer feares,
The threatning brookes; his force and courage proud,
To further kindes encrease is daily bent,
No sooner tempts his eare the trumpet loud,
Or clattering armes some future warre present:
But straight he startles beating of the ground
With horny hoofe, his eares are prickt vpright,
He shakes his ioynts, he doth coruet and bound,
He snortes and puffes, with some his bit is white.

Our

Our *Virgil*, vnder the similitude of a horse, describeth a man of great minde. For mine owne part, I would not giue any other portraiture of a great personage. If I should represent *Cato* dreadlesse, and assured amongst the noices of ciuill warres, being the first that charged and skirmished with the companies alreadie approching the Alpes, and running before the ruine of the Common-weale, I would assigne him no other countenance, no other habit. Truely no man could engage himselfe further then he, who at one time made head against *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, and defied them both, and shewed that the Common-weale had some partakers. For it is a small matter to say of *Cato*,

Nor feares rumors false.

Why? because he cared not for euident and true conspiracies. Did he not in despight of ten Legions entertained and mustered from France, and from other forren troopes, intermixed with the Romans, speake freely, and exhort his Citizens to maintaine their libertie, and to trie all meanes, yea to hazard death it selfe, rather then to lose their libertie; it being more honest for them to fall into seruitude by constraint, then by their owne wills to go vnto it. How great vigor and spirit was there in him, what confidence when the rest of the Common-weale was confused? He knoweth that the question is not of his estate; that it concerneth not him, that the question is not whether *Cato* be free, but whether he be amongst free-men. Thence groweth it that he disdaineth dangers and drawne swords. In admiration of the inuincible constancie of this person, confirmed in his constancie amiddest the ruines of his Country, I will say in imitation of *Virgil*, that *Cato* had

A mightie minde, high, stout, and generous.

It shall doe well, not onely to expresse who they are, that haue beene accustomed to be good men, and to represent some counterfeit of them, but also to recount and particularly set downe that last and valourous wound of *Catoes*, through the which libertie it selfe lost her life. Likewise the wisdome of *Lælius*, and the good accord betwixt him and his friend *Scipio*. The braue actions both publike and particular of *Marcus Cato*, surnamed *Censor*, the Couches of *Tubero* made of plaine wood, set in open view, couered with Goats skins, and the vessels of earth wherein they were serued at the table, who banquetted before the Chappell of *Iupiter*: what other thing was this, but to consecrate pouertie before the Capitol? Had I no other action of *Tuberos*, but this, to rancke him in the number of the *Catoes*. Thinke you this to be a small matter? This was no banquet, but a Censure. O how little knew these ambitious men what this censure is, and how it ought to be desired! In that day the Roman people beheld many rich and sumptuous moueables, but admired none but the vtensiles of this one man. All their gold and siluer hath beene broken and melted a thousand times, but *Tuberoes* vessels of earth shall endure for euer.

Epist. XCVI.

Against complainers, and that all things should come from Fate and God. Why therefore are we displeased? Let us obey them, or rather assent vnto them.

WHence proceed these despights and plaints? Knowest thou not that in all the euils of this life, there is but one euill, which is when thou art displeased, and complainest? If thou aske mine aduice, I thinke there is not any miserie in a man, except he thinke that there is something miserable in the nature of things. I endure not my selfe that day wherein I can suffer nothing. Am I sicke? it is a part of my destiny. Is my family afflicted with infirmities? Doth vsury offend me, my house cracke ouer me? Am I assaulted by dangers, wounds, trauailes, and feares? This happeneth ordinarily, this is a small matter, this should be done, these are not casuall, they are decreed. If thou thinke me to be a true man, when I discouer freely vnto thee what I thinke, know that in all accidents which seeme aduerse and hard, I am so formed. I obey not God forcibly but freely, I follow him with a free heart, and not enforced. Nothing shall euer befall me, that I will entertaine sorrowfull or with sad countenance, I will pay no tribute vnwillingly. All those things which we grieue at, for which we feare, are the tributes of life: neither hope thou (my *Lucillius*) neither demand thou an exemption from the furie. A paine of the bladder hath tormented thee. This banquet hath little pleasure in it; these are continuall passions. I will come more neere, thou hast beene put in feare of thy life. But knowest thou not that in desiring to be old, thou desirest such incommodities as are ordinarie in a long life; as in a long way we finde dust, dirt, and raine? But I would liue and feele no discommoditie, whatsoeuer. So effeminate a speech becommeth not a man. Consider how thou wilt entertaine this vow of mine, which I protest with a great and generous minde, neuer let the gods and goddesses permit, that prosperitie make thee a wanton. Aske thy selfe, if (by permission of any god) thou mightest haue thy choice which of these two thou wouldest accept, either to liue in a Shambles, or in an Armie. But our life (my *Lucillius*) is but a warfare. They therefore who are tossed, that mount and descend from rockes and high places, that execute dangerous commissions, ought to be reputed valiant men, and chiefest in the Armie. But they, who whilest their companions trauaile, repose themselues at their pleasures in all delights, are effeminate and nothing worth, who liue at pleasure to doe wrong vnto other men, and to meet with it themselues one day.

Epist. XCVII.

That both now and in times past were euill men, he deduceth example from the iudgement of Clodius, *which he corrupted by bribes and adulteries. After this of the force of conscience, and that by her offences are condemned, and also punished by an internall whip and gnawe.*

THou abusest thy selfe, my *Lucilius*, if thou thinkest that dissolutenesse, and neglect of good manners, and other vices which euery man reproueth in the age wherin he liueth, are the imperfections of our age. It is not the time but the men that are to be blamed for this. No age hath beene free from vice; and if thou beginnest to estimate the libertie and looseneesse of euery time I am ashamed to say it. Neuer did the world offend more openly then before *Cato*. Can any man beleeue, that many was stirring in that iudgement, wherein *Cladius* was accused for that adulterie which he had secretly committed with *Cæsars* wife, violating the ceremonies of that sacrifice, which was said to be made for the people, from the sight whereof all men are so much exempted (for onely women are admitted to attend the same) that the very pictures of male beasts were couered likewise. But money was giuen to the Iudges, and (that which is more villainous then all the rest) there were some that exacted in way of salarie, the licence to violate Matrons and young Noblemen. More sinne was there committed in absoluing then acting the crime. He that was guilty of adultery, diuided adulteries; neyther was he secured of his life, before such time, as he had made his Iudges like vnto himselfe. These things were done in that iudgement, wherein *Cato* (if nought else) gaue in testimonie in the cause: I will set downe *Ciceroes* very words, because the thing exceedeth all beleefe; *Hee sent for those persons that were required at his hands, he promised, he intreated, he gaue. But now O good Gods, what wickednesse? Some of the Iudges in ouerplus of their paines, lay with and passed the night with certaine women, and young Noblemen that were brought vnto them.* I haue no minde to enquire how much money they receiued. There was more in that which succeeded. Wilt thou haue the wife of that seuere fellow *Cato*? or of such a one who is rich, that is to say *Crassus*? thou shalt lie with her. When thou hast committed the adultery condemne the crime. That faire lasse which thou desirest shall come vnto thee? I promise thee that she shall accompany thee this night, neyther will I delay thee; I will perform my word within foure and twenty houres. It is more to distribute adulteries, then to commit them. That is to giue summons to all the Matrons, that to delude them. These Iudges of *Cladius* required a guard at the Senates hands, whereof they had no neede except in condemning the faultie, yet was it granted vnto them. By meanes whereof, after they had absolued *Cladius* they were wittily scoffed at by Catvlvs; *To what intent*, said he, *required you a guarde at our hands? Was it for feare lest your money should be taken from you?* Yet amidst all these iests, and before the sentence was giuen, the adulterer remained vnpunished: during the processe this baude maintained himselfe, committing (to the end he might warrantize himselfe from punishment) a more greater wickednesse then the former, for which he should haue beene condemned. Beleeuest thou, that any age was more corrupted then that, wherein lust could neyther be represt by pietie nor by iustice? vnder which in the extraordinary inquiry made by decree of the

the Senate, there was more great villany commited, then that which was then in question. The inquiry was, whether after an adultery any man might liue securely in Rome? And it appeared that he could not be secure without adultery. This was done betweene *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, *Cicero* and *Cato*; that *Cato*, I meane, who sitting by to behold the games, the common people durst not demand that the common sports called *Florales* should be giuen them, wherein common and naked strumpets were publiquely presented. Thinkest thou that men haue beene more seuere to behold, then to giue sentence? Such excesses haue and will be committed, and the libertie and licentiousnesse of Cities (neuer by it selfe) but by good lawes and sharpe punishments shall be extinguished. Thou art not therefore to beleeue that in these dayes onely, the lawes haue little credite, and licentiousnesse much. The yonger sort in this time are not so disordered as in times past, when he that was guilty denied the adultery before the Iudges, and the Iudges confesse the same before him that was faulty, when as in regard of the cause that was to be adiudged, whoredomes and villanies were committed, when *Clodius* being well befriended for those Palliardises that made him guilty for all allegations furnished with harlots to iustifie for him. Can any man beleeue this? He that was condemned in one adulterie was absolued by many. Euery Iudge will affoord vs such as *Clodius*, but not such as *Cato*. All ot vs are pliable to the worst, because therein we shall neyther want a guide or companion; and were it we should faile them, the matter of it selfe goeth ouer-forward without companion: the way vnto vices is not onely ready but headlong. But the greatest euill that I see, and that maketh men vncurable is, that Artsmen and such as are learned are ashamed if they happen to erre in the exercise of their Arts and professions, where contrariwise a wicked man taketh pleasure in his sinnes. The Pilot reioyceth not if his Ship be ouerturned, the Physitian is sad if his Patient die, the Orator is pensiue if for want of good pleading his clyent loose the cause; but contrariwise, all men take pleasure in their sinnes. This man reioyceth in his adultery, especially when he hath compassed the same with great labour: another taketh pleasure in his deceit and theft, it is not the sin that displeaseth him, but the punishment he hath had for committing it. See here the fruit of euill custome: Otherwise to let thee know, that in consciences (yea, euen those that are most corrupted) there remaineth some sense of goodnes, and that shame consisteth not in the concelling, but the neglect of those that doe euill, there is not one that dissembleth and couereth it not: and if he chance to obtaine that which he pretendeth, yet would he not be called a whoremonger or thiefe, although he had both committed adulterie and theft. But a good conscience will appeare and be seene. Wickednesse is afraid of darkenesse it selfe. In my minde therefore *Epicurus* hath spoken very fitly: *A man that is guilty may hide himselfe; but he cannot beleeue that he is hidden.* Or if thou thinkest that this sense may be better explicated by these meanes; *It therefore profiteth not those that sinne to lie hidden: for although they haue the meanes to hide themselues, yet haue they no assurance.* So it is, iniquities may be concealed, but not assured. I suppose that this is not repugnant to our sect if it be thus explicated. Why? Because the first and greatest punishment of wicked men, is that they haue committed wickednesse; neyther is there any hainous crime, though neuer so much bonstred out by humane prosperity, or countenanced and defenced by fortune that remaines vnpunished, because the punishment of wickednesse is in the wickednesse it selfe. Meane while, she and her punishment are seconded and attended by another chastisement,

ment, that is to say, with affright and continuall feare, accompanied with a distrust of his owne securitie. Why should I deliuer impietie from this punishment? Why should I not leaue her alwayes in suspence. Let vs dissent from *Epicurus* in this where he saith nothing is iust by nature, and that crimes are to be auoyded, because the feare may not be eschued. Herein let vs agree with him, that an euill conscience scourgeth these hainous faults, and that she is a terrible torture, being pressed and beaten continually with perpetual care; because she cannot put trust in those that would make her beleeue that she is in repose. For this is the argument of *Epicurus*, that by nature we abhorre from wickednesse, because there is no man how much soeuer he be secured that feareth not. Fortune deliuereth many men from punishment, no man from feare. Why? because there is a certaine hatred infixed in our hearts against that thing which nature condemneth. And therefore it is why those who hide themselues are neuer assured in their lurking places, because their conscience reproueth them, and discloseth them selues to themselues. But the propertie of such as are guiltie, is to tremble. It would be ill for vs, because that diuers enormities escape the lawe and maiestrate, and the written punishments, if these naturall and grieuous punishments did not instantly pay the wicked, and it feare had not taken place and succeeded repentance.

Epist. XCVIII.

That we ought onely to trust internall goods, and that the rest com and go. That this is to be meditated vpon, and that all things ought to be considered and esteemed as transitory. The minde therefore is to be prepared to the losse of such things, and to be confirmed in patience. Why not? Other men haue suffered the like. Follow thou their example, nay more, be thou the example thy selfe. Assuredly this is one amongst his good and profitable Epistles.

NEuer beleeue thou that any man is happy, whose felicity is in suspence. He buildeth vpon vncertainties, that reioyceth in casualties; for the ioy that hath entred will quickly fleete away. But that which proceedeth from it selfe is both faithfull and firme, and increaseth, and prosecuteth euen vnto the end. The rest, which the common sort admire, are good for a time. What then? May not they serue and giue pleasure? Who denyeth it? But so as they depend on vs, not we on them. All what soeuer fortune beholdeth became fruitfull and pleasant in this sort, if he that possesseth them be Master of himselfe likewise, and is not subiect to that which he hath. For they are deceiued, my *Lucilius*, that think that fortune giueth vs eyther any thing that is good or euill. He giueth vs the matter of goods and euils, and the beginnings of things, which shall either haue a happy or vnhappy issue with vs. For the minde is stronger then any fortune, he conducteth his affaires, eyther right or wrong, he is himselfe the cause of his contented or miserable life. An euill man conuerteth all things to the worst, yea, euen those things which happened with appearance of great good. An vpright and good conscience correcteth the infirmities of fortune, and mollifieth those things which are hard and vntoward by his knowledge how to suffer, and the same man most gratefully and modestly entertaineth prosperity, and constantly and couragiously aduersitie, who although he be prudent, although he

he doth all things with an exact iudgement, although he attempt nothing aboue his ſtrength, yet that intire good which is ſetled and exempted from the threats of fortune doth not befall him, except he be aſſured againſt whatſoeuer is vncertaine. Whether it be thou wilt obſerue others (for the iudgement is moſt free in other mens affaires) or whether leauing partiality a part, thou wilt beholde thy ſelfe, thou ſhalt both thinke and confeſſe this, that no one of theſe goods which are deſired and priſed is profitable, except thou arme thy ſelfe againſt lightneſſe, and thoſe things that depend on caſualtie, except that oft and without complaint thou ſpeake thus in euery one of thy loſſes. *It is the pleaſure of the gods that it ſhould goe otherwiſe.* Or rather that I may report a ſpeech more ſtrong and iuſt, whereby thy minde may be more enabled, ſay thus when as any thing hath falne out otherwiſe then thou thoughteſt: *The gods ſend better.* Being thus compoſed, nothing ſhall be caſuall: and ſo ſhall he be compoſed, if they ſhall but imagine what the variety of humane affairs may, before he feele it, if he ſo poſſeſſe his children, his wife and patrimony, as if he ſhould not alwaies haue them, and as if he ſhould not be more miſerable for this cauſe, if he ſhould be forced to loſe them. Wretched is that minde that is tormented with that which is to ſucceed, and before miſeries is he miſerable who is carefull, that thoſe things wherein he taketh delight ſhould continue with him to his end: for he ſhall neuer be in quiet, and in expectation of the future, he ſhall loſe the preſent which he might enioy. But the griefe of the thing that is loſt, and the feare of that which is to be loſt, are both equall. Neyther therefore doe I command thee to be negligent. But decline thou from thoſe things that are to be feared, and foreſee all that which prudence may foreſee: conſider and preuent that thing which may offend thee long time before it happen. To this effect thy confidence will ſeruc thee greatly, and thy certaine reſolution to ſupport all accidents. He can beware of fortune that can ſuffer fortune: vndoubtedly he neuer ſtormeth in his tranquillity. It is a miſery and extreame folly to be alwayes in feare; what folly is this to goe before a mans euill? In briefe, to let thee know that in a word, which I think I will deſcribe vnto thee, theſe bulie-bodies, and tormenters of themſelues: they are as intemperate in their miſeries as they were before them. He grieueth more then he needeth, that grieueth before he needeth; for by the ſame infirmity he eſtimateth not his griefe, whereby he expecteth it not; with the ſame intemperance he faineth to himſelfe perpetuall felicity, he imagineth that all theſe things that haue befalne him, ſhould not onely endure but increaſe and forgetting that all humane things are both toſſed and changed, which is while he promiſeth himſelfe onely an aſſured eſtate in his caſualties. I finde then that *Metrodorus* ſpake very fitly, when in a letter he ſent vnto his ſiſter to comfort her in the death of her ſonne, which was a childe of great hope, he ſaid that all the goods of mortall men are mortall. Of theſe goods ſpeaketh he which men ſo much affect and flocke after; for the true good periſheth not, wiſedome and vertue are certaine and eternall, theſe onely are the immortall goods that haue befalne mortall men. But men are ſo vnhappy, and ſo farre forgetfull whether they goe, whether euery day draweth them vnto, that they wonder if they loſe any thing, being aſſured one day to loſe all. Whatſoeuer it be that thou art called Maſter of, know that it is not thine, although thou poſſeſſe it. Thou art infirme and mortall, there is nothing then in this world that is firme and immortall for thee. It is as neceſſary our goods ſhould periſh as be loſt, and if we take heede it is a great comfort to loſe thoſe goods with a ſetled and reſolute minde, which must

muſt periſh. What remedy then ſhall we finde out againſt theſe loſſes? This, that we may keepe in memorie ſuch things as are loſt, neither ſuffer the fruit of them, which we haue gotten by them, to periſh with them. To haue may be taken from vs; to haue had, neuer. Moſt ingratefull is he, who whom he hath loſt, oweth nothing for that he hath receiued. Caſualty taketh our ſubſtance from vs, but leaueth the vſe and fruit thereof with vs, which we loſe by the iniquitie of our deſire. Say vnto thy ſelfe; Of theſe things that ſeeme ſo terrible, nothing is inuincible. Many there are that haue ouercome each one of them, *Mutius* the fire, *Regulus* the croſſe, *Socrates* poiſon, *Rutilius* baniſhment. *Cato* death enforced by his owne ſword. Let vs likewiſe get ſome victorie: moreouer, thoſe things which allow & entice the cõmon ſort, vnder appearance of beauty & happines, haue by many & oftentimes bin contemned. *Fabricius* being chiefe of the army, reiected riches, and being Cenſor cõdemned them. *Tubero* iudged pouertie to be worthy both of himſelfe & the Capitol, when as vſing earthen pots in his publike ſupper, he ſhewed that man ought to content himſelfe with that, wherwith the gods diſdained not to be ſometimes ſerued. *Sextius* the Father, a man fit to gouerne the affaires of a Common-weale, refuſed all honourable Offices, and would not accept the dignitie of a Senator, which *Iulius Cæſar* had preſented him, knowing well that whatſoeuer may be giuen, may be taken away. Let vs likewiſe doe ſome of theſe things valiantly. Let vs ranke our ſelues as exemplar men among the reſt. Why are we faint-hearted? Why deſpaire we? Whatſoeuer might be done, can be done. Let vs now purge our mindes, and follow Nature, for he that erreth and ſtrayeth from her muſt of force, deſire, and feare; and be a ſlaue to caſualties. We may returne into the way, we haue libertie to recouer our conſtancie. Let vs be reſtored, that we may endure griefes, in what manner ſoeuer they aſſaile our bodies; and ſay vnto Fortune, *Thou haſt to deale with a man, ſearch out ſome other, a man whom thou mayeſt ouercome.* By theſe ſayings and ſuch like, the force of that vlcer is appeaſed, wherof I deſire either eaſe or recure, or ſtrength to ſupport and waxe old with the ſame. But I am ſecure of him; the queſtion is of our loſſe, whereby a worthy old man is taken from vs. For he is full of life, who deſireth that nothing ſhould be added vnto him for his owne cauſe, but for theirs to whom he is profitable. He doth liberally, becauſe he liueth. Another ere this had finiſhed all theſe troubles: this man thinketh it as foule a thing to ſhunne death, as to ſeeke after death. What then, ſhall he not forſake it, if he be perſwaded thereunto? Why ſhould he not forſake it? If no man now hath any further vſe of him, if hee haue no buſineſſe but to waite vpon paine. This (my *Lucillius*) is to learne Philoſophie in art, and to be exerciſed in the truth, to ſee what minde a prudent man hath againſt death, againſt dolor, when the one approcheth, the other preſſeth him. That which is to be done, is to be learned of him that doth it. Hitherto we haue debated by arguments, whether any man may reſiſt paine, or death likewiſe may humble great mindes, when it aſſaileth them. What need many words? The thing diſcouereth it ſelfe, let vs trauell thereunto: neither doth death make him more ſtronger againſt paine, neither paine confirme him againſt death, hee armeth himſelfe againſt both; neither patiently greeueth he in hope of death, neither dieth he willingly thorow the tediouſneſſe of paine; he endureth the one, hee reſpecteth the other.

Epist. XCIX.

A consolatorie Epistle vpon the death of his sonne, vndoubtedly both wise and eloquent.

I Haue sent thee that Epistle which I wrote vnto *Marulus*, when as he had lost his litle son, and was said to be ouerpassionate and grieued for his losse: wherein I haue not obserued my vsuall custome, neither thought I it fit to handle him gently, when as he was more worthy of reproofe then consolation. For to him that is afflicted and vnable to support a great wound, some little way must be giuen. Let him satisfie himselfe, or at least-wise vpon the first brunt powre out teares abundantly. They that giue libertie to themselues to sorrow and lament, let them forthwith be chastised, and taught, that there are some follies euen in teares. Dost thou expect consolations, receiue reproofes. Doest thou endure thy sonnes death so effeminately? What wouldest thou doe haddest thou lost thy friend. Thy yong infant of vncertaine hope, and very little, is departed: a handfull of time is lost. We seeke out occasions to lament, wee exclaime, although vniustly against Fortune, as though she would not afford vs iust causes of complaint. Truely in esteeme that thou wert alreadie as animated sufficiently against solide and great euils, and consequently against shadowes and appearances of miseries, for which men mourne for custome sake. Hadst thou lost thy friend, which is the greatest losse of all others, thou shouldest endeauour to reioyce more because thou hadst him, then to mourne for that thou hast lost him. But many there are that reckon not what courtesies they haue receiued & comfort they haue conceiued by their friends. Amongst other miseries sorrow hath this, that it is not only superfluous, but vngrateful also. Hauing therfore enioied so good a friend, hast thou lost thy time? So many yeares, so great a vnitie, such familiar societie in studie: are all these vanished without effect: Doest thou burie thy friendship with thy friend? Wherefore mournest thou if his presence hath beene so profitable vnto thee? Beleeue, the greater part of those whom we haue loued remaineth with vs, although casualtie hath taken them from vs. The time alreadie passed is ours, neither is there any thing more securely lodged, then that which hath beene. We are vngratefull in regard of those things we haue receiued vnder hope of that to come; as if that which is to come (if so be it proue successefull vnto vs) should not quickely passe into that which is past. To straitly limitteth hee the fruits of humane life, who onely reioyceth in those things that are present. Both those things that are to come, and those things that are past, doe delight the one with expectation, the other in memorie, but that which is to come is in suspence, and may not be done, as touching that which is past, it is vnpossible but that it hath beene. What madnes is it then, to leaue that which is most certaine? Let vs content our selues with that wee haue, prouided that wee haue not drawne with a hollow vnderstanding, which letteth that passe which hee hath already apprehended. There are infinite examples of those, who without teares haue interred their yong children, who vpon their returne from the funerals, haue entered the Senate house, or entertained some publike office, and suddenly occupied themselues about some other businesse, and that vpon good occasion. For first of all it is lost time to grieue, if sorrow profit nothing. Secondly, it is an vniust thing to

to complaine of that which hath befallen one, and must befall all those that are to follow after. Moreouer, it is a folly to wish, or to lament, when there is so little difference betweene death and him that lamenteth the same. For the which cause we ought to haue the more repose in our hearts, because we shall follow them whom we haue lost. Behold with what swiftnesse time posteth away: thinke vpon this short race whither we runne so swiftly. Consider this great company of mankind, which tendeth to the same end, conuersing and liuing together, distinguished by small spaces, euen then when they seeme most greatest. He whom thou thinkest dead, is but gone before. But what madnes is it to bewaile him that went before thee, when as thou thy selfe must trauell the same iourney after him? Doth a man bewaile that thing which hee knew should happen? Or if he thought that man should not die, he deceiued himselfe. Some man bewaileth a thing which he said could not chuse but be done? Whosoeuer bewaileth the death of any man, bewaileth that he was a man. All men are tied to one condition, he that happened to be borne, must die. By spaces we are distinguished, by death equalled. That which happeneth betweene our first and last day, is diuers and vncertaine. If thou estimate the troubles, it is ouer-long for a childe: if the swiftnes, it is too short for an old man. There is nothing that is not incertaine and deceiuable, and more light then the winde. All things are tossed, and are transferred into their contrary by the power of Fortune, and in so great inconstancie of humane affaires, there is nothing certaine to any man but his death. Yet all men complaine of that, wherein no man is deceiued. But he died a childe. I say not yet, that he is better dealt withall that is dead. Let vs passe ouer to him that is old, how short is the time wherein he hath out-stripped an infant? Propose vnto thy selfe this great extent of years, and comprehend all the ages that are past, then make comparison with that which wee call mans life, with that infinitie of yeares, and then shalt thou see how little a thing all that is which we desire, and extend. Consider how much teares, cares, death so oftentimes wished for, before it comes, sicknesses, feares, foolish infancie, wanton youth, and vnprofitable yeares do possesse, and deuour the portions of our life, we lose the halfe in sleeping. Let vs adde hereunto trauels, sorrowes, and perils, and thou shalt see that in the most longest life which a man can obserue, that which is called liuing, is the smallest portion of the same. But who will not grant thee this, that hee is in better state that may quickly turne to dust; whose iourney is at an end before he be wearie? Life is neither good nor euill, it is the place of good and euill. So hath he lost nothing but the eye which is more certaine to our harmes then good. He might haue become both modest and prudent, he might haue beene formed by thy care and instruction to be more vertuous, but (that which may most iustly be feared) he might haue beene made like to the most part of men. Marke me those yong Gentlemen of great houses, who by their intemperance are brought to that miserie that they are become fencers. Consider those others, who lewdly defile both their owne and others bodies, which ouerslip not a day wherein they are not drunke, or defamed for some other notable infamie. Then shalt thou see that there was more to be feared then hoped for. For which cause thou oughtest not summon to thy selfe these causes of sorrow, nor in vexing thy selfe heape vp incommodities, and of light and slight ones, as they be, to make them vnsufferable. I counsell thee to resist thy sorrow, and to vrge it, neither haue I so bad an opinion of thee, that thou wouldest call to aide all thy vertue against those difficulties which present themselues. This is no true griefe, but a slight

touching, thou makeſt it true griefe, vndoubtedly Philoſophy hath done thee great ſeruice, if thou bewaylest with a reſolute heart a childe better known vnto his nourſe then to his father. Well then, will I haue thee ſeized of a heart of iron? and is it my minde that thou ſhouldeſt looke vp cheerely in the funerals of thy ſonne? and will I not ſuffer thee to let thy minde relent a little? By no meanes. For this were inhumanity, not vertue, to beholde the dead with the ſame eye that wee doe the liuing, and not to bee moued when as the one is thus ſeperated from the other. Beholde what it is which I forbid. There are things which in a manner are out of our power. Teares fall from the eyes of certaine men that would faine containe them, and theſe teares thus ſhed doe lighten the heart: what is there to bee done in ſuch a caſe? Let vs ſuffer them to fall, but let vs not commaund them. Let them droppe as long as affection commaundeth them to flowe, but not as much as cuſtome and other mens example doth require. But let vs adde nothing vnto ſorrow, neyther let vs augment it by other mens examples. This oſtentation of ſorrow exacteth more then the ſorrow it ſelfe. How few are ſorrowfull to themſelues? If they ſuppoſe that men heare them, they crie out more earneſtly; but being by themſelues, they are quiet, and as ſoone as any other ſaluteth them, then recommence they their ſorrow, then beate they their head with their handes, which they might haue done more freely when no man forbad them; then wiſh they themſelues dead, then toſſe they vpon their pallets: when the beholder is gone, the ſorrow ceaſeth. In this affaire as in others, we are won by an euill cuſtome, we follow the example of our neighbours, and compoſe our ſelues by their example, and not by that which beſt becommeth vs. We neglect nature, and addict our ſelues to the faſhions of the common people, which are both ignorant and corrupt, and who in this as in all other things, is inconſtant of inconſtanteſt. If they ſee any man confident in his calamitie, they call him impious and brutiſh: if they ſee another diſmayde, that reſpecteth nothing but his body, they tearme him a weake and an effeminate man. All things therfore are to be reduced within the liſt of reaſon. But there is no one more greater folly then to get fame by affected ſadneſſe, and to approue it by tears, which I conſider in two kinds in regard of a wiſe-man, the one iſſuing of themſelues, the others permitted to flow. I will ſhew thee what difference there is: Aſſoone as we heare the newes of our deceaſed friend, when as we behold his body, ready to be tranſported to the fire from our embraces, naturall neceſſity extorteth teares, and the ſpirit being impelled by the ſtroke of ſorrow, euen as it ſhaketh the whole body, ſo ſucketh it, and expelleth from the eyes the teares that are at hand. Theſe teares are extorted as they fall, and flow againſt our wills. Some other there are which we giue way to, when as any man maketh mention of thoſe whom they haue loſt. In this heauineſſe there is found ſome ſweetneſſe, when we remember our ſelues of their pleaſant diſcourſe, of their agreeable conuerſation, of their charitable piety, then doe our eyes open and poure forth teares, as it were in ioy. To theſe we giue allowance, by theſe we are ouercome. Reſtraine not therefore, neyther giue libertie to thy teares, by reaſon of thoſe that aſſiſt thee, or attend vpon thee, be it that eyther they are dried vp, or drop downe, there is no ſhame in them, prouided that they be not fained. Let them flow of themſelues, and they may flow in men temperate and well compoſed. Oft-times they haue flowed without any preiudice to a wiſe-mans authority, with ſo much temperance, that there neyther wanted humanity, or were diſallowed in dignity. It is lawfull, ſay I, to obey nature without the blemiſh of grauitie.

uitie. I haue ſeene men that were venerable in the funerals of their children, in whoſe lookes their loue was teſtified towards their dead children, without any vaine oſtentation of grieuing. There was not any thing which teſtified not a ſimple and naturall affection. There is a certaine *decorum*, euen in ſorrow which ought to be obſerued by a wiſe-man. And as in other things, ſo likewiſe in teares there is ſome what that is ſufficient: vnwiſe men, as in their ioyes, ſo keepe they no meaſure in their ſorrowes. Accommodate thy ſelfe peaceably vnto neceſſitie. What incredible matter or nouelty hath falne out? How many men are there, whoſe funerals haue beene celebrated, whoſe bodies haue beene embalmed and embowelled, and who weepeth for them? As oftentimes as thou ſhalt remember that thy dead childe was an infant, thinke alſo that hee was a mortall creature, to whom nothing certaine was promiſed, whom fortune was not obliged to bring vp to olde age, but to forſake then when it beſt liked her. But ſpeake of him oftentimes, and celebrate his memory as much as thou canſt, which oftentimes will be refreſhed in thee, if it may ſalute thee without bitterneſſe. For no man willingly conuerſeth with a ſorrowfull man, much leſſe with ſorrow. If thou remember any ſpeeches of his, if thou haſt during his infancy, heard any jeſts of his to thy contentment, repeate them often, and conſtantly affirme that he might haue fulfilled thoſe hopes which thy fatherly minde had conceiued of him. It is the act of an vnnaturall minde to forget a mans friends, and to bury their memories with their bodies, and to weepe for them abundantly, and to remember them ſlenderly. So birds and beaſts lotie their young ones with a violent and enraged affection, but with the loſſe of them it is wholly extinguiſhed. This becommeth not a wiſe-man: let him continue his remembrance, forbeare his mourning. This doe I no wayes allow of, which *Metrodorus* ſaith that there is a certaine ioy that is allied to ſorrow, and that this ſhould be affected at this time. I haue ſet downe *Metrodorus* owne words, of which I doubt not what cenſure thou wilt yeeld; for what is more abſurd then in ſorrow to affect pleaſure, nay more, by ſorrow and teares to ſeeke that which may comfort? Theſe are they that obiect againſt vs our too much rigour, and defame our precepts for their hardneſſe, becauſe wee ſay that ſorrow is eyther not to be admitted into the minde, or quickly to be expelled out of it. But whether of theſe two is more incredible and inhumane, eyther not to feele any ſorrow for the loſſe of our friend, or to ſearch pleaſure in ſorrow? But that which we teach is honeſt, when as our affection hath powred forth any teares, and (if I may ſo ſpeake it) hath skummed them, that we ought not abandon our ſelues wholly vnto ſorrow. What ſayeſt thou? That we mixe pleaſure and ſorrow together. So ſtill we our children by giuing them bread, ſo pacifie we our infants by powring in milke. Touching thy ſelfe at ſuch time as thy ſonne burneth, or thy friend expireth thou canſt not permit thy leaſure to ceaſe, but wilt tickle and flatter ſorrow it ſelfe: whether of both is more fitting, eyther to heale the ſoule of all griefe, or to mixe griefe and ioy together, I ſay not onely to mixe, but to take occaſion of pleaſure out of his ſorrow. So farre is it that ſorrow is accompanied with any pleaſure, as *Metrodorus* thinketh. This is lawfull for vs to ſay, but vnlawfull for you: you acknowledge but one good, which is pleaſure, and one euill, which is paine. What alliance may there be betweene good and euill? But ſuppoſe there be; now eſpecially muſt we finde the ſame, and now it is that we muſt ſee whether paine be enuironed with any ioy of pleaſure. Certaine remedies there are which applied to ſome partes of the bodie are wholſome, but by reaſon of their loathſomneſſe and indecency cannot

be applied to others, and that in one place may profite without touch of modestie, is dishonest in another part, where the wound molt appeareth. Art thou not ashamed to heale sorrow with pleasure? This wound must be handled with more seuerity, rather proue that the dead can feele no euill; for if so it were, he should not be dead. Nothing, say I, hurteth him that is nothing. He liueth if he be hurt. Whether thinkest thou him to be in bad case who is no man, or him that as yet is some body? But in as much as he is not any more, there is not any torment that may offend him; for who can feele it that is not? neyther in as much as he is, can he be endamaged; for he is deliuered from the greatest danger, which is death, by being no more. This likewise let vs say to him that bewayleth and wanteth his childe, rauished from him in his young yeares. If thou make a comparison of the shortnesse of all mens liues, with the length of time which is past since the beginning of the world, both young and olde shall finde themselues equall. For both the one and the other of vs possesse as little as nothing of that length and extent of time. A little is yet somthing, but our life and nothing are almost al one, notwithstanding we stretch it out as much as we may, such is our follies. I haue written these things to thee, not because thou shouldest attend from me a remedie, which cometh too late; for I suppose that thou hast tolde thy selfe all that which is contained in my letters. But that I might chastise that little delay, wherein thou hast departed from thy selfe, and in conclusion might exhort thee to arme thy selfe hereafter against aduersities, and to foresee all fortunes assaults, not as they might, but as they ought suddenly to afflict thee.

Epist. C.

His iudgement of Papirius Fabianus *the Philosopher, and of his writings.*

THou writest to me that thou hast very diligently read ouer those books of *Fabianus Papirius*, intituled of things *Ciuill*, but that they answered not thine expectation. And afterwards, forgetting thy selfe that the question was of a Philosopher, thou accusest his composition. But put case it be so as thou sayest, that in stead of well couching his words, he saith all that commeth to memorie: first of all, this discourse hath his grace, and it the proper ornament of a stile, little faultie: for I think there is a great difference whether it escapeth or floweth. Now in this also which I am to speake, there is a great difference: *Fabianus* seemeth not to me to speake much, but to speake to the purpose. To speake truth his stile is fluent, but not inforced, although it be currant enough. He confesseth openly, and letteth vs see that it is not an affected and laboured stile, but such a one as a man may know it was *Fabianus* writing. He pretended not to confront his discourse, but to reforme manners: he laboured not to tickle the eare, but to teach & instruct the minde. Furthermore, at such time as he discoursed, thou shouldest not haue leasure to consider the parts of his discourse, so much would the summary of the whole rauish and detaine thee. And ordinarily that which is pleasing to vs, being pronounced *Viua voce* readily and presently, is not so pleasing vnto vs, being couched in writing. But this also is a great matter, to settle and occupie the sight vpon a book, although a diligent contemplation might find out matter worthy reprehension. If thou ask my opinion, more great is he that rauisheth our iudgement then he that deserueth it. Such a one is more assured, and if I erre not, may more

more boldly promise his writings perpetuitie. A laboured discourse becomes not a Philosopher. What shall becom of a generous and resolute heart? when shall hee make proofe of himselfe, if hee be afraid of wordes? *Fabianus* was not negligent in his discourse, but secure. Thou shalt finde nothing in him that is base and impertinent. The wordes are chosen but not affected, neither couched according to the custome of this time, or disordered. They are words that haue their weight, that haue an honest and magnificent sense, although they be ordinary & vulgar, they are neither constrained nor doubtfull in a sentence, but graue & profound. We shall neither see any thing that is curtalled & shortned, nor any structure vnfit, nothing that is not polished, as the eloquence of this time requireth. Examine this discourse euery way, and when thou hast beheld it on euery side, thou shalt finde no straights emptie. Although it haue no Marbles of diuers colours, nor diuiding or currents of waters running thorow chambers, nor little cloysters of sparing and abstinence, nor what soeuer else dissolutenes, not contenting himselfe with a simple & conuenient decency, hath inuented and mixed together, yet is the house well builded. Let vs now speake of structure and composition, for all men are not of accord herein. Some of harsh will haue it smooth, some are so much affected to rashnesse & austerity, that if a clause do happily end in a pleasing cadence, they purposely dissipate the same, and interrupt the clauses expresly, lest they should be answerable to expectation. Read *Cicero*, his compotition is one, he obserueth his foot, his speech is polished, smooth & not effeminate. Contrariwise, *Asinius Pollio's* discourse is vneuen and skipping, and such as will leaue thee when thou least expectest it. To conclude, in *Cicero* all things end, in *Pollio* they fall, except a few which are tyed to one certaine kind of custom and example. Besides, in thine opinion thou sayest, that all things in his discourse are humble & scarce vpright, of which vice in my iudgement he is freed: for they are not humble but pleasing, and are formed in an equall and composed manner, not tied together but vnited, they want this rhetoricall vigour nor those points, and sudden darted sentences. But examine the whole body, although it be not farded it is honest and wel fashioned. His speech hath no grace: bring me one whom thou mayest prefer before *Fabianus*. If thou producest *Cicero*, who hath almost written as many books in Philophy as *Fabianus*, I will giue place; yet is not that presently little that is lesse then the greatest. Say that it is *Asinius Pollio*, I will yeelde; but to returne thee an answere: To be after these two, is too very high when the question is of eloquence. Name me *Liuie* beside these, for he also hath written Dialogus, which a man may as wel cal Philosophical as Historical: other books likewise, wherin he treateth expresly of Philosophie; to him likewise will I giue place, yet consider how many he exceedeth, who is ouercome by three, & they the three most eloquent. But he performeth not al, his speech is not strong, although alate, it is not violent nor headlong, although abundant in words; it is not perspicuous but pure. Thou desirest a sharpe declamation against vices, a confident discourse against dangers, a bould speech against aduersitie, an inuective against ambition. I will haue wickednesse chidden, lust traduced, impatience bridled. Let the termes of an Orator bee stinging, of a tragique Poet stately, of a Comicke familar and plaine. Wilt thou haue him countenance a small matter with words? He hath addicted himselfe to the gentlenesse of things, he drawes our eloquence, and makes it follow after him, as the shadow doth the bodie. Vndoubtedly all his words shall not be well placed and exactly couched together; neither in euery clause shall there bee a part that may quicken and a-

waken men. I dare promiſe that diuers periods ſhall eſcape him to no purpoſe, and that ſomtimes his diſcourſe ſhal ſlip away without mouing, but in al places his wordes ſhall be agreeable, neyther ſhall there be any pauſe that will be diſpleaſant. In a word, he will make thee know that he beleeued whatſoeuer he wrote. Thou ſhalt ſee that his intention was to make thee know what he approued, and not to flatter thee: he demandeth nothing but thy good, and ſearcheth for nought elſe but to ſee thee endowed with a good conſcience. It is not applauſe which he deſireth. I doubt not but his writings are ſuch, and though I remember not their intents in generall, yet haue I before mine eyes ſome paſſages of the ſame, not in that I haue read them ouer lately, but for that I haue ſeene them in times paſt, and long ſince. At ſuch time as I heard him, his wordes in my iudgement were ſuch, not ſolid but full and natural, which might allure a young and well diſpoſed man to vertue, and giue him hope to attaine the true end; which manner of teaching in my opinion, is more effectuall then any other, for that of another kind maketh the auditors to loſe their harts, and taketh away their hope, which impreſſeth no other deſire in them, but to imitate and follow the ſame. In briefe, *Fabianus* abounded in wordes without the commendation of euery ſeuerall part; but all his diſcourſe in generall was exquiſit and magnificent.

Epist. CI.

Of the ſudden death of one of his acquaintance, and by occaſion that we are to truſt or promiſe nothing to our ſelues. That all things are vncertaine, and therefore good life is not to be deferred, neyther long life to be deſired: in concluſion, he controlleth Mecaenas *his abſurd vow.*

EVery day, euery houre ſheweth vs how vaine and nought worth we be, and by ſome new argument admoniſheth vs that are forgetfull of our frailty, when as it compelleth vs (who meditate vpon eternitie) to looke backe vnto death. Askeſt thou me what this induction meaneth? Thou kneweſt *Cornelius Senecio* a Romane Knight, a man both rich, liberall, and courteous, who from a ſlender eſtate beginning, had raiſed his fortunes, and had attained the ſpeedy meanes alreadie to compaſſe the reſt. For dignity doth more eaſily increaſe then begin. Mony alſo maketh the longeſt ſtay about pouerty, whilſt ſhe creepeth out of it. This *Senecio* aſpired vnto riches, whereunto there were two very effectuall meanes that conducted him, that is to ſay, the knowledge of getting, and the meanes of keeping, whereof the one is ſufficient to make a man rich. This man being wonderfully frugall, no leſſe carefull of his patrimony then of his bodie, when as according to his cuſtome he had ſeene me in the morning, when as from morning to night he had ſitten by his friend that was grieuouſly ſicke, and lay deſperate without hope, after he had ſupped merrily, was ſeized with a ſudden ſickeneſſe, that is to ſay, with the *Squinancy*, which ſtrangled him, and ſet his ſoule at libertie. He departed therefore within a few houres after he had performed all the offices of an able and healthfull man. He that traded with his money both by Sea and Land, that had publique profits alſo, and left no kinde of profit vnſought after, in the very height of his ſucceſſull fortunes, when as money rained on euery ſide into his coffers, was taken out of this life:

Now

Now Maelibeus *graſt thy peares againe,*
And plant thy vines vpon the pleaſant plaine.

How fond a thing it is to promiſe our ſelues long life, whereas we are ſcarcely Lords and Maſters of to morrow. O how mad are they that feede on fained hopes, and long enterpriſes? I will buy, I will build, I will lend, I will recouer my debts, I will haue ſuch and ſuch eſtates, and then when I am fully ſatisfied, I will paſſe my full and weary age in repoſe and quiet. But truſt me, all things are vncertaine, yea euen vnto thoſe that thinke themſelues moſt aſſured. No man ought to promiſe himſelfe any thing of that which is to come. That alſo which we haue ſureſt hold-faſt of, ſlippeth thorow our fingers, and caſualtie cuts that very cord in ſunder whereon we haue greateſt hold-faſt. There is a prefixed ordinance in the reuolutions of the world, although they are marueilouſly obſcured. But what concerneth it me, whether that be certaine to nature, which is vncertaine to me? We purpoſe & intend great voyages by Sea, wherin we ſhall ſee many forraine parts, & reſolue not to return again into our country of a long time: we muſt to the warres, and be richly recompenced after we haue paſſed thorow al the degrees of armes, & haue had commiſſions & honorable charges; more and more, the one after the other, when as in the meane while death ſtandeth by our ſides, and becauſe we neuer caſt our eyes on that which is ours, but only vpon that which is anothers, from time to time the examples of our frailty appeare vnto vs, whereon we neuer thinke, but at ſuch time as they ſtay before our eyes. But what is more fooliſh then to wonder to ſee that done in any day, which may be done in euery day. It is a thing moſt aſſured, that the ſcope of our life is limitted by the inexorable neceſſitie of deſtinie, but no man knoweth how neere it is. Let vs therefore ſo diſpoſe our mindes, as if this preſent time were our laſt houre. Let vs deferre nothing. Let vs daily make euen with life. It is the greateſt errour in life, that it is alwayes imperfect, and that ſome part thereof likewiſe is deferred. Hee that hath euery day laid the laſt hand on his life, needeth not time. But from this indigence proceedeth feare, and a deſire of the future deuouring and eating our mindes. There is nothing more miſerable then the doubt of things to come, why they happen. The ſoule that debateth what it is that remaineth, or of what kind is agitated with an inexplicable feare. How ſhall we auoid this perplexitie? By this one, if we prolong not our life in vaine diſcourſe, but gather it into it ſelfe. For he to whom the preſent time is vnprofitable, cannot haue any repoſe, in regard of the future. But whereas whatſoeuer is due by me vnto my ſelfe, is reſtored to my ſelfe, whereas the confirmed minde knoweth that there is no difference betweene a day and an age: ſhe beholdeth, as it were, from an high tower, all the dayes and affaires that hereafter are to come, and with much laughter thinketh on the ſequele of times. For what ſhould the varietie and mutabilitie of fortunes trouble thee, if thou be aſſured againſt incertainties? Make haſt therefore (my *Lucillius*) to liue, and thinke euery ſeuerall day, a ſeuerall life. Whoſoeuer ordereth himſelfe thus, he that maketh euery day his whole life, is ſecure. They that liue in hope, haue neuer any time of reſt, they are alwayes deſiring and coueting: and the apprehenſion of death a thing moſt miſerable, and which maketh all things moſt miſerable neuer forſaketh them. From thence proceeded that diſhoneſt wiſh of *Mæcenas*, who contented himſelfe to be weake, deformed, and tormented with grieuous and ſharpe ſickneſſe, prouided he might prolong his life amiddeſt the maſſe of theſe miſeries.

Make

Make me weake in thigh and hand,
Make my feet infirme to ſtand,
Shake my teeth, and make them cracke,
Stoope my ſhoulders, bend my backe;
So my life remaine, I care not,
Threaten torture, come and ſpare not.

This is to wiſh an extreame miſery, if it ſhould haue happened, and the length of the puniſhment is deſired, as if it were ſome life. I ſhould repute him a contemptible fellow, if he would liue vntill ſuch time as hee were tied to the gallowes. Yet this man ſaith, weaken me, prouided that my ſoule may remaine in my craſed and vnprofitable bodie: disfigure mee, if this counterfeit and monſtrous bodie of mine may lengthen my life ſome dayes. Torture and crucifie me, if ſo be by that meanes I may liue. It is a ſtrange matter in him to hide his wounds thus, and to be content to remaine hanged and ſtretched vpon a gibbet, vpon condition that death, which is the end of all puniſhment, and the ſoueraigne remedie againſt all euils, ſhould be deferred in his behalfe. See heere a wondrous thing, I would haue a ſoule to die without dying. What wouldeſt thou wiſh for, O *Mæcenas*, but that the gods ſhould haue pitie on thee? Whereto tendeth the villany of this verſe, proceeding from an effeminate mind? What meaneth this couenant inuented by ſenſeleſſe and madde feare? And to what purpoſe is this ſhamefull begging of loathſome life. Thinke you that *Virgil* euer recited this verſe vnto him,

To leaue this life, is it a thing ſo wretched?

He wiſheth the worſt of euils, and thoſe things that are moſt grieuous to be ſuffered, hee deſireth to be grieuouſly tortured and hanged vp: and why, or for what recompence, for ſooth, for a longer life. But what is this mans life? to die long. Is there any man found, who had rather parch himſelfe vp amiddeſt tortures, and to loſe one member after another, and to die ſo oftentimes amiddeſt deſluxions, as to die at one time? Was there euer any man that had rather wiſh to lie couched all at his length vpon a miſerable bed languiſhing, deformed, crooked both before and behind, that beſides his violent ſickneſſes, had other more mortall, that deſireth to retaine a ſoule being tortured and rent in peeces by ſo many torments? Say now that the neceſſitie of death is not a great gift of Nature. Many as yet are readie to vow farre worſe, yea euen to betray their friends that they may liue longer, and to deliuer their children to be deflowred with their owne hands, that they might prolong their life, being guiltie of ſo much wickednesſe. We muſt ſhake off this deſire of life, and learne this, that it skils not when thou ſuffereſt any thing, which thou muſt ſuffer ſometimes: that all in all is to liue well, without taking care how long, and that oftentimes alſo this well liuing conſiſteth in a life which is not long.

Epist. CII.

He ſpeaketh ſomewhat of the immortalitie of the ſoule, and then annexeth a queſtion; Whether renowme doth vs any good after death. Firſt he diſputeth ſenderly and Scholaſtically, then about the end more effectually, and leadeth our mindes to God and celeſtiall things. He approueth that this our bodie is our burthen and couer, that it ought to be deſpiſed and ſhaken off, when God and time ſummon vs thereunto.

IVen as he is troubleſome that awaketh another man, that is ſeazed with ſome pleaſant dreames, although it be fained, for he taketh away the pleaſure, yea ſuch notwithſtanding as hath the effect of truth. So thy Epiſtle hath done me iniurie, for it hath recalled me from a thought and meditation, into which I was ſufficiently entered to the purpoſe, and had engaged my ſelfe further, had I not by this meanes beene diſturbed. I tooke pleaſure to debate vpon the eternitie of ſoules, nay more, I was fully reſolued therein. For I eaſily beleeued the opinions of great men, rather promiſing then approuing ſo gratefull a matter. I gaue my ſelfe ouer to this ſo great hope, and now grow hatefull vnto my ſelfe, and now contemned the reliques of my broken yeares, being readie to be transferred into that immeaſurable time, and poſſeſſion of that infinite eternitie, when as ſuddenly I was awakened by thy letter, which made me diſmiſſe ſo ſweete a dreame, which hereafter I will reuiue and redeeme againe, as ſoone as I haue ſatisfied thy expectation. Thou ſayeſt that in my former letter I did not ſufficiently anſwere that queſtion, wherein I laboured to proue that which they of our ſect doe approue, that the praiſe which a man obtaineth after death is a great good. That I haue not anſwered that queſtion which is oppoſed againſt vs. Of goods that are diſtant (ſay they) there is none good; but this is a thing diſtant and farre off. That which thou propoſeſt (my *Lucillius*) is a part of the queſtion, yet ſuch a part as ought to be debated vpon in another place: and therefore I neither would touch that, neither other things that were dependent thereupon. For ſome Morall queſtions as thou knoweſt are intermixed with the Naturall. And therefore I entreated onely of that part which wholly concerneth manners. That is to ſay, whether it be a fooliſh and ſuperfluous thing to tranſport our thoughts beyond the latter end of this life; whether our goods periſh with vs, and nothing remaineth of his, who is nothing; whether we ſhall feele any fruit of that which ſhall be (what ſoeuer it may be) before we may enioy it. But all theſe queſtions pertaine vnto manners, and therefore are they ranked in their proper place. But thoſe things which are ſpoken by the Logicians againſt this opinion, are to be ſeuered, and therefore are they ſet apart. But now, ſince thou requireſt at this time a reaſon of all, I will examine that which they ſay, and afterwards anſwere their obiections. If I propoſe not ſomething firſt, a man cannot vnderſtand the refutations. What is it that I would foretell? That there are ſome continued bodies, as a man: ſome compound, as a ſhip, a houſe, and all other things whoſe diuers parts are vnited together in one. Some likewiſe that conſiſt of diſtant parts, whoſe members are as yet ſeparate, as an Armie, a People, a Senate. For they of whom this bodie is compoſed, are vnited together either by law or ductie, but by nature they are diſtinct, and each one ſeuerall. What is it likewiſe that now I will foretell? That we ſuppoſe that nothing is good, which is compoſed of things diſtant. For one

good

good muſt be maintained and gouerned by one ſpirit, and that there is but one principall of one good. This is approued by it ſelfe, if thou requireſt it to bee proued, and in the mean while it was to be ſet downe, to the end it might be the ground of our diſcourſe. Thou wilt ſay, you other Stoicks maintaine that no good is compoſed of things diſtant. But this glorie whereof wee entreate, is a fauourable opinion of good men. For as a good fame is not one mans words, neither infamie one mans miſ-report: ſo is it not praiſe to pleaſe one good man, many famous and worthy men muſt conſent herein to make it glorie. But this conſiſteth in diuers mens iudgements, and namely thoſe that are diſtant, therefore it is not good, glory (ſaith he) is a commendation giuen by good men to a good man: commendation is a ſpeech, a ſpeech is a voice that ſignifieth ſomething. But the voice, although it be a good mans voice, is not goodneſſe. For whatſoeuer a good man doth, is not alwayes good. For he clappeth his hands and hiſſeth. But neither will any man ſay that his clapping or hiſſing is good, although he applaud and admire all whatſoeuer is his, no more then he will do his ſneeling or coughing. Therefore glory is not good. In a word, tell vs whether this good concerneth the praiſer, or him that is praiſed? If the praiſer, it is as much as if thou ſhouldeſt ſay, that another mans good health is mine, but to praiſe thoſe that are worthy is an honeſt action, therefore this good concerneth the praiſer, from whom this action commeth, not from vs that are praiſed. But this is that which is in queſtion. I anſwere briefely to theſe obiections. Firſt the queſtion is at this day, whether any good may be compoſed of thoſe things that are diſtant; and both parties haue their reaſons. Secondly, praiſe deſireth not many ſuffrages: for it may be contented with one good mans iudgement, who onely is a competent Iudge, to ſay that all they who reſemble him are good. What then (ſaith he) ſhal fame depend vpon the eſtimate of one man, and infamie tied to the miſ-report of another man? Glory alſo (ſaith he) as I vnderſtand, is ſpread more largely. For it requireth the conſent of many men. The condition of theſe, and of this are different. Why? Becauſe if a good man haue a good opinion of me, I am in the ſame eſtate that I ſhould be, when as all good men ſhould haue like thought of me. For if all of them knew me, they would iumpe in the opinion of this one man. They haue but one and the ſame iudgement, and they that cannot differ, doe neceſſarily agree in their opinions. Therfore, that which one thinketh importeth as much, as if all of them had ſpoken becauſe they cannot be of any other opinion. The opinion of one man (ſaith he) ſufficeth not to giue glory and renowne vnto another. To this I anſwere, that herein the opinion of one auaileth as much as of all, for if euery one of them be demanded, they will anſwere alike. In this place the iudgements of thoſe that diſagree are diuers, the affections different. Thou ſhalt finde all things in this world doubtfull, light, and ſuſpected. Thinkeſt thou that all mens mindes are alike? Vndoubtedly the ſame man is not of the ſame opinion alwayes. Truth is pleaſing to the good, and this truth neither changeth his vigor or colour. Amongſt the wicked there are falſities wherein they accord, but there is nothing but inconſtancie, repugnancie and diſcord in a lie. But praiſe (ſaith he) is but a voice ſpread in the aire, and that a word meriteth not the name of good; when as they ſay that praiſe is the commendation of good men, deliuered by good men; now referre it not to the words, but to the ſentence For although a good man hold his peace, and yet iudgeth any man worthy of commendation, by this is hee commended. Beſides, there is a difference betwixt theſe two words, *Praiſe*, and *Praiſing*, which requireth explication. Deliuering a funerall

funerall Oration, we vſe not this word praiſe but praiſing, which conſiſteth in wordes. But ſaying that ſome one is worthy of praiſe, we vnderſtand by this word the iuſt iudgements of men, rather then their ſpeeches. So then praiſe ſhall be the right opinion of him who without ſpeaking, priſeth in himſelfe any good man. Furthermore as I haue ſaid, praiſe hath relation to the thought, not vnto the words, which expreſſe the praiſe which is conceiued inwardly, and vttered to the knowledge of many men. He praiſeth who iudgeth that he ought to praiſe, when as the Tragique Poet ſaith, *That it is a magnificent thing to be praiſed by a praiſe-worthy man:* he meaneth that this praiſe-worthy man is worthy of praiſe. And when another Poet of the ſame time ſaith that praiſe nouriſheth arts, he ſpeaketh not of a flatterie which corrupteth arts. For there is nothing that hath ſo much foiled eloquence, and all other ſtudies addicted to the eare, as the applauſe of the people. Fame would be publiſhed and bruited, praiſe would not, for ſhe reſpecteth not wordes, but contenteth her ſelfe with iudgement; ſhe is accompliſhed, not onely amongſt thoſe that are ſilent, but likewiſe amongſt thoſe that oppoſe themſelues againſt her. Now will I declare what difference there is betweene praiſe and glorie, Glory conſiſteth on many mens iudgments, Praiſe on good mens. To whom returneth the good of praiſe (ſaith he) eyther to him that is praiſed, or to the praiſer? Both to the one & to the other. It is a great good for me to be praiſed, for nature hath created me a louer of all men: I reioyce that I haue done well, & one of my contentments is to haue met with men which take pleaſure in thoſe vertuous acts which I might haue done. That many are thus diſpoſed is a good which they enioy, but I haue my part in it alſo, being of that mind that I think other mens good be mine, eſpecially thoſe men to whom I am the cauſe of this good which proceeds from vertue. But euery occaſion of vertue is good, which they could not enioy if I were not vertuous. So then a true praiſe is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed, as certainly as a iuſt ſentence is the good and honour both of the Iudge and the partie who obtaineth profit by the cauſe. Doubteſt thou that juſtice is not a good both to the debtor and creditor? It is iuſtice and equity to praiſe a man that meriteth praiſe, and conſequently is a common good, both to him that praiſeth, and him that is praiſed: we haue ſufficiently anſwered theſe cauillers. But this ſhould not be our purpoſe to ſow ſubtilties, and to draw Philoſophie from her majeſtie into theſe ſtraights: how farre better is it to goe the open and direct way, then to finde out by-pathes and looſe our ſelues therein, and be conſtrained to returne backe, to our great trouble and preiudice? For theſe diſputations are nought elſe but the paſtimes of men that would cunningly beguile one another. Rather tell mee how naturall a thing it is to extend the minde to infinitie. A great and generous thing is mans mind, it endureth not to be circumſcribed by any limits, but thoſe which are common to him with God. Firſt of all, he acknowledgeth not himſelfe to be naturally bred in any region or land whatſoeuer, as in *Epheſus* or *Alexandria*, or in any other countrey of the greateſt extent, or moſt peopled. All whatſoeuer is inuironed by the continent of heauen is his countrey, that is to ſay, his round, compoſed of Seas and Lands mixed together, within which the extent of the ayre ſeperateth and vniteth things celeſtiall and terreſtriall, in which ſo many gods diſpoſed in due order are intentiue to execute their commiſſions: ſecondly, ſhe endureth not to be circumſcribed by yeares: all years (ſaith he) are mine, no age is locked vp to great wits, there is no time thorow which humane thought hath not pierced. When that day which muſt make a ſeperation betwixt

twixt the bodie and ſoule thus vnited, as you ſee I will leaue this body, where I found it, and will reſtore my ſelfe vnto the gods; neyther am I now without them, but in ſuch ſort, as I feele my ſelfe detained in this heauie and earthly priſon. By theſe delayes of mortall life we make an entrance to that better and longer life. Euen as our mothers wombe containeth vs nine monthes, and prepareth vs not to remaine therein alwaies, but for another place for which it ſeemeth we ſtriue both hand and foot, as ſoone as we are readie to breathe and liue in the aire; ſo by the meanes of this ſpace of time, which is betwixt our infancy and age, we aſpire vnto another birth of nature. Another originall, another eſtate of things attendeth vs. We cannot as yet ſuffer the heauen, but by means of this great extent which is betweene them and vs: for which cauſe beholde thou with a ſetled eye that determined houre which is not the laſt vnto the ſoule, but onely to the bodie. Whatſoeuer goods of this world thou beholdeſt about thee, look on them as if they were the baggage and moueables of an Inne. We muſt paſſe further; nature leaueth vs as naked at the iſſue of this world, as we were vpon the entry: thou haſt brought nothing with thee, neyther ſhalt thou carry away any thing with thee; nay more, thou muſt leaue in the world a great part of that which thou haſt brought with thee. Thou ſhalt be ſpoyled of that skin that incloſed thee, and the laſt cloth that couered thee; thou ſhalt leaue thy fleſh and bloud, which is diſperſed thorow thy whole body; thy bones and nerues ſhall be taken from thee, which were the ſupporters of ſo many fraile and fleeting things. This day which thou feareſt ſo much, and which thou calleſt thy laſt, is the birth day of an eternity. Lay aſide thy burthen. Why delayeſt thou? Is it ſo long ſince that thou forſookeſt a body, that is to ſay thy mothers womb where thou wert hidden, to enter into this world? Why ſtriueſt thou, and dallieſt thou? Thy mother when thou wert borne laboured hardly to be deliuered of thee. Thou ſigheſt, thou weepeſt, and this is that which the infant doth as ſoone as he is borne. But then wert thou to be pardoned, becauſe as then thou wert but new born, and without the knowledge of any thing. Being iſſued from this hote and ſoft couch of thy mothers entrailes, thou haſt breathed a more freer aire; then feeling thy ſelfe touched with a hand ſomewhat more hard, thou that wert ſoft and tender, couldeſt not endure it without crying: and it is not to be wondered at that thou remaineſt aſtoniſhed and daunted amongſt ſo many things, which were vnſeene before, conſidering that thou neither haddeſt knowledge nor apprehenſion of any thing. Let it not be a new thing now vnto thee to be ſeperated from that, wherof before time thou haſt beene ſome portion: acquit thy ſelfe willingly of theſe members which are now ſuperfectleſſe, and lay aſide this body, wherein thou haſt inhabited ſo long time. It ſhall be cut in pieces, deuoured and brought to nothing. Why art thou agrieued? So goes the world. The caules which infolde the infants in their mothers wombe ſhall be broken and rotten. Why loueſt thou earthly goods, as if they were thine? Theſe are but the foulds that wrap thee in. A day will come that will vnfould them, and will draw thee out of the company of this villenous and ſtinking wombe. Fly now out of this world with a forward courage, eſtrange thy ſelfe from all things, yea, of thoſe things that be neceſſarie. That done, meditate on ſomewhat more high and ſublime. One day the ſecrets of nature ſhall be diſcouered vnto thee, this obſcuritie ſhall be cleared, and a ſhining light ſhall reflect vpon thee on euery ſide. Thinke with thy ſelfe how great this brightneſſe is of ſo many celeſtiall bodies, which mixe their lights together. So faire a cleere ſhall neuer be obſcured by any

any darkeneſſe: the heauen ſhall be as glorious in one part as in another. Day and night are the reuolutions of the regions of the ayre. Thou wilt confeſſe that thou haſt liued in darkneſſe, when as thou ſhalt freely ſee the whole light, which now thou beholdeſt obſcurely thorow theſe narrow circles of thine eyes, and from a farre, yet not without aſtoniſhment. What wilt thou ſay of the diuine light, when thou ſhalt ſee it in his place? Such a thought as this will not ſuffer our ſoules to gather ruſt or durt, it hindereth vs eyther from humbling our hearts too low, or raiſing them too high. Shee maintaineth that the gods are witneſſes of all things, and will that we be approued by them, that we depend on their will, that we haue the day of eternitie alwayes before our eyes. Whoſoeuer hath any apprehenſion hereof in his ſoule, he hath no feare of Armies, the Trumpet amazeth him nothing, there is no threat that may make him feare. He that expecteth death, can he be without feare? whereas the other (who eſteemeth that the ſoule remaineth and ſubſiſteth during his aboad in the priſon of the bodie, in departing from which ſhe is diſſipated) ceaſeth not to demeane himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that after his death he pretendeth to ſerue thoſe that ſuruiue in ſom other ſort: for althogh he be taken from our ſight, yet

The mans great vertue, and his countries glorie,
And wondrous value come to memorie.

Thinke how much good examples profite vs, and thou ſhalt finde that the memorie of worthy perſonages is no leſſe profitable for vs then their preſence.

Epiſt. CIII.

The malice and treaſons of men amongſt themſelues, yet doe not thou ſo, but lay them apart; and be thou curteous and willing to doe good vnto all men.

WHy regardeſt thou on euery ſide thoſe things that may befall thee, and happily may not chance vnto thee? I meane fire or ruine, and other inconueniences which happen vnto vs, but lay not in waite for vs. Rather conſider and auoyde thou the dangers which attend and ſurpriſe vs. Theſe caſualties are rare, although they be grieuous, to ſuffer ſhip-wrack, to be ouerturned out of a Coach. But from a man daily a man expecteth the moſt danger, prepare thy ſelfe againſt this euill, and contemplate it with open eyes. For there is no euill more frequent, more obſtinate, neyther any one more flattering. The tempeſt threatneth before it riſeth: the houſes cracke before they fall: the ſmoake foretelleth that the fire is a kindling. But the miſchiefe that a man doth is ſudden, and the neerer the euillis, the more ſecretly is it hidden. Thou art deceiued if thou truſt their looks that meete thee: they haue the faces of men, but the hearts of ſauage beaſts, but that the firſt aſſault of beaſts is moſt violent, which they cannot auoyde: for nothing but neceſſitie moueth them to hurt; either by hunger or feare they are enforced to fight, but a man taketh pleaſure to deſtroy a man. But thinke thou ſo that the danger is by a man, to the end thou mayeſt thinke what the office of a man is. Conſider the one, to the end thou be not offended; and the other, to the end thou offend not. Reioyce at euery mans profit, and be ſorie for their harmes, and bethinke thy ſelfe what thou oughteſt to performe, and what to a-

uoid. By liuing thus, what getteſt thou? Thou mayeſt alwayes auoide that men doe thee no outrage, but thou canſt not chuſe but be deceiued by them. Eſpecially endeuour thy ſelfe to take thy retreat to Philoſophie, ſhee will defend thee in her boſome. In her Sanctuarie either ſhalt thou be ſafe, or ſafer. Men ioſtle not one another, except they walke in the ſame way. But of all things beware to boaſt of thy Philoſophie. Many men by too proudly boaſting, and vainely vaunting thereof, haue periſhed. Let it ſuffice thee that ſhee ſpoileth thee of thy vices, that ſhe reprocheth not other men of theirs, that ſhe abhorre not from publike manners, that ſhe behaue her ſelfe modeſtly, without cauſing men thinke of her, that ſhe condemneth all that which ſhee doth not her ſelfe. A man may be wiſe without making ſhew thereof, and without enuying any man.

Epist. CIIII.

Of his ſickneſſe and the cure, and the charitie his wife had of him. That he had changed his abode for recreation ſake, and hereupon an excellent diſcourſe vpon trauaile. That it is not profitable of it ſelfe, except it be made ſo by the minde. Let that be amended, and the affections cut off, and that then euery ſtation and eſtate will be pleaſing. That there is likewiſe another kinde of trauaile, to haue recourſe vnto ancient and great men, to behold them in our thoughts, and to imitate them. This rooteth out vices, that planteth vertues, and to this inuiteth he Lvcillivs.

I Fled into my Grange at Momentanum: but why thinkeſt thou? to ſhun the Citie? No, the feuor which began to ſeaze vpon me. And now alreadie ſhe had laid hold on me. Forthwith therefore I commanded my Coach to be made readie, although my wife *Paulina* were againſt it: My Phyſitian hauing touched my pulſe, and finding the arterie beating incertainly and contrary to nature, ſaid that it was the beginning of a feuor. Yet notwithſtanding I reſolued my ſelfe to ſet forward; remembring me of a ſpeech of *Gallio*, my Lord and Maſter, who being in Achaia, and feeling himſelfe ſurpriſed with a feuor, forthwith embarked himſelfe, crying out that this ſickneſſe of his proceeded from the aire of the Country, and not from his bodie. This could I to my *Paulina*, who recommended my health vnto me. For whereas I know that her ſoule is tranſlated and liueth in mine, for her content ſake I begin to haue a care of my health. But although that old age hath fortified me againſt diuers difficulties, yet at this preſent begin I to loſe this benefit of age. I thought that in this old man there was a yong man, that was ouer much tendered. So then, becauſe I cannot require that my wife ſhould loue me more entirely then ſhe doth, ſhe hath begged ſo much at my hands, that now I cheriſh my ſelfe more tenderly then I otherwiſe did. For we muſt giue way vnto honeſt affections, and ſometimes alſo, if vrgent cauſes require it, our ſoule in honor of our friends is to be recalled, though it be to our torment, and retained betwixt our teeth, becauſe a vertuous man is bound to liue, not as long as he liketh, but as long as he muſt. He that without reſpect of his wife and friends, laboureth for nought elſe but to end his life, but demaundeth death is ouer delicate. Let the ſoule haue this commandement ouer her ſelfe, (when the profit of thoſe, to whom ſhe is obliged, requireth the ſame) to ſhunne death, not onely for her owne cauſe, but likewiſe when ſhee is vpon

vpon the point to diſlodge and leaue the bodie, to reenter againe, to the end ſhe may be enabled to doe her friends ſeruice. It is the argument of a great minde to returne vnto life for another mans good, as diuers great perſonages haue many times done. And this alſo eſteeme I to be a great humanitie, to maintaine old age more intentiuely, (the faireſt fruit whereof conſiſteth in maintenance of her health, and in liuing more orderly then he was accuſtomed) if thou knew that to be a thing either pleaſant, profitable, or wiſhed for of any of thy friends. Moreouer, there is a great ioy and profit therein. For what greater contentment may there be, then to be ſo dearely beloued by a mans wife, that for that cauſe thou ſhouldeſt become more louing to thy ſelfe? My *Paulina* therfore cannot only impute her feare vnto me, but mine alſo. Demandeſt thou therfore what ſucceſſe my determination had in going into the country? As ſoone as I had gotten out of the foggie aire of Rome, and from the ſtinck of the ſmookie chimneyes thereof, which being ſtirred, power forth whatſoeuer peſtilent vapours they held incloſed in them, I felt an alteration of my diſpoſition. How much, thinkeſt thou, was my ſtrength encreaſed when I came vnto my Grange? No ſooner entered I the meads, but I beganne to ruſh vpon my meate with a ſtrong appetite. Thus therefore for the preſent haue I recouered my ſelfe, this leanneſſe of bodie which hath no ſecuritie of health, and which beginneth to decline, is vaniſhed from me, and I beginne to ſtudie diligently. The place yeelds little furtherance thereunto, if the minde be not aſſiſtant to it ſelfe, for if he liſt amidſt all affaires and troubles he may haue a place of retirement. But he that maketh choice of the place, and idleth it vainly, ſhall euery where finde a nooke wherein to reſtraine himſelfe. For it is reported that *Socrates* (hearing a certaine man complaine that he had loſt his time in trauelling heere and there) returned this anſwere: not without cauſe hath this befallen thee, for thou trauelledſt with thy ſelfe. O how happie would diuers men be, if they could wander from themſelues. But they are the firſt that ſollicite, corrupt, and terrifie themſelues. What auaileth it to paſſe the ſeas, and to change Cities? If thou wilt flie theſe things wherewith thou art vrged, thou needeſt not be in another place, but become another man. Put caſe thou wert come to Athens, or to Rhodes; chuſe what Citie thou pleaſeſt. What ſkilleth it what manners they haue? Thou ſhalt carry thither thine owne. Thinkeſt thou that riches make men happie? Pouertie (yea the appearance and preſumption thereof, which is a lamentable opinion) ſhall inceſſantly torture thee. For although thou poſſeſſeſt much, yet becauſe another man hath more, thou ſhalt ſeeme vnto thy ſelfe by ſo much the poorer, by how much the other is more rich. Suppoſeſt thou that honours are good? It ſhall grieue thee that ſuch a man is made Conſul, and that ſuch a one hath twice enioyed the Office, it ſhal vex thee when thou ſhalt finde in the publike regiſters any mans name oftener then thine owne. So great ſhall the furie of thy ambition be, that if any one ſhall outſtrip thee, thou wilt not thinke that any marcheth behind thee. Wilt thou ſuppoſe death to be an extreame euill? When as there is nothing euill in it, but the feare which is before it, not only the dangers, but the ſuſpitions wil terrifie thee. Thou ſhalt inceſſantly be tormented with dreames and ſhadowes. For what ſhall it profit thee that thou haſt eſcaped ſo many Cities of Greece, and made thy way by flight thorow the middeſt of thine enemies? Peace it ſelfe ſhall affright thee. Thou ſhalt no wayes truſt thoſe things that are moſt aſſured, as ſoone as thy minde ſhall be ſhaken. For as ſoone as ſhe hath gotten a cuſtome to entertaine improuident feare, thou art no more diſpoſed to entertaine any

reposse or contentment in thy selfe. For he shunneth not, but flieth from the stroake, but if we turne our backes to afflictions, they haue greater holdfast on vs. Thou wilt iudge it a grieuous euill to lose any of those friends thou hast loued, whereas meane while it is as great folly to bewaile them, as to weepe, because the leaues of thy faire shadowing trees, which adorne thy house, are fallen and shaken to the ground. As much flourisheth the one, as the other which delighteth thee. Death will shake downe the one to day, the other to morrow. But as wee suffer patiently the fall and losse of the leaues of our trees, because they will spring againe: so oughtest thou to endure the losse of thy friends, whom thou conceitest to be the ioyes of thy life, because they shall be restored, although they be not now borne. But they shall not be such as they were whilest they remained in this world. Neither shalt thou thy selfe be the same. Euery day, euery houre changeth thee, but in others the nourishment appeareth more easily, heere it lieth hidden, because it is not done openly. Some are carried away; but wee our selues are secretly stolne away. Wilt thou thinke of none of these things. Wilt thou apply no remedies to these wounds, but send vnto thy selfe the causes of thy cares, by hoping something and despairing other? If thou beest wise, mixe the one with the other, neither hope thou without desperation, neither despaire without hope. What can trauell profit any man of it selfe? It tempereth not pleasures, it bridleth not desires, it pacifieth not displeasures, it breaketh not the vntamed assaults of loue. To conclude, it disburtheneth the minde of no euill, neither gineth iudgement, nor shaketh off error, but detaineth the minde for a short time, and entertaineth it with noueltie of things, as we see children stand at gaze, when they behold any thing which they haue not seene. To conclude, this going and comming doth no more but make the inconstant thought more light and stirring, which in the height of his euill, prouoketh and altereth it selfe in such sort, that they who most earnestly trauelled into any countrey, depart from thence more hastily, and after the manner of skipping birds, flie thence more swiftly, then they came thither. Trauell will giue thee knowledge of Nations, will shew thee the new formes of Mountaines, the spacious and vnaccustomed plaines, the Valleyes watered vvith running Riuers, some cloud that hath a certaine notable propertie, as Nilus, vvhich encreaseth in Sommer, or Tygris, vvhich loose th it selfe, then hauing made a long circuit vnder the earth reentereth his channell, and reneweth his swift and spacious course as before, or how *Meander* (the exercise and play of all Poets) maketh an infinite vvindlas of turnes and retures, that oftentimes discharging her selfe from her owne channell streameth along the bedde of her neighbour flouds, and so returneth. But such voyages will neither make thee more healthie, or more vvise. We must conuerse amongst studies, and amongst the authors of wisdome, that wee may learne that which wee desire to know, and seeke out that which is as yet vnfound. By this meanes must the minde bee redeemed from miserable seruitude, and set at libertie. As long as thou shalt bee ignorant of that vvhich thou shouldest flie or followv, of that vvhich is necessarie and superfluous, of that vvhich is iust and honest, this may not bee said a trauaile, but an errour. This turmoyle vvill comfort thee nothing, for thou wandereſt accompanied by thy affections, and thy euils follow thee. Would to God they might follow thee, and were further off from thee: now thou beareſt them on thy back, thou leadest them not. For which cause they euery way weigh thee downe, and feare thee with equall incommodities. The sicke man must

must seeke out for a good medicine, not for a new country. Hath any one broken his leg, or put a member out of ioynt? He gets not to his coach, he embarkes not in his ship, but calleth for a Physitian, to the end he may vnite that which was broken, and set the ioynt in his place that was dislocated. To what end then thinkest thou, that by changing thy country, thou mayest heale thy bruised and broken minde in so many places? This euill is more great then to be cured by being carried hither and thither. Trauell neither maketh a Physitian nor an Orator. There is neither art nor science that is learned by changing place in this sort. What then, is not wisdome which is the greatest treasure of all others learned in trauels? Truth mee, there is no iourney that may retire thee apart from thy desires, thy displeasures, and thy feares, or if there were any, all mankind by troopes would trauell and flocke thither. So long will these euils presse thee and macerate thee whilest thou wandereſt by land and sea, as long as thou beareſt the causes of thine euils in thee. Wondereſt thou at this, that thy flight profiteth thee nothing. Why man, the things thou flieſt are with thee. Mend thy selfe therefore, shake off thy burthens, and at least-wise containe thy desires within compasse. Roote all wickednesse out of thy minde, if thou wilt haue thy trauels delightfull, heale thy companion. Auarice will cling vnto thee as long as thou liueſt with a couetous and base companion. Pride will cleaue vnto thee, as long as thou conuerſeſt with a proud man. Thou wilt neuer lay aside thy crueltie in a Hang-mans company. The fellowship of adulterors will enkindle thy lusts. If thou wilt be discharged of vices, thou must retire thy selfe a farre off from all euill examples. Auarice, dissolution, crueltie, fraud (such enemies that approaching thee, will wound thee grieuously) are within thee. Acquaint thy selfe with the better sort, liue with such as *Cato*, *Lælius*, and *Tubero* were: and if thou take a liking to liue among the Grecians, conuerse with *Socrates* and with *Zeno*: The one will teach thee how to die, if it be needfull, the other how to die before it be needfull. Liue with *Chrysippus* and *Posidonius*: These will teach thee the knowledge of diuine and humane things. These will command thee to put in practise that which thou hast learned, and not to content thy selfe with a polished tongue, which tickleth the eares of the hearers, but to fortifie thy heart, and to confirme it to confront casualtie. For the only port of this troubled and turbulent life is to contemne those things that may happen, to remaine resolute to oppose a naked bosome against all the darts of aduersitie, without playing the coward, or seeking starting holes. Nature hath created vs valiant, and as to some creatures she hath giuen a feirce, to some a subtill, to other some a fearefull: so hath she giuen vs a glorious and high spirit, that seeketh where he may liue most honestly, not most securely; resembling the world, which in as much as humane abilitie will giue him leaue, hee followeth and counterfeiteth. He seeketh nothing but praise, and desireth to be seene. He is the loue of all things, and aboue all things. Hee therefore submitteth himselfe to nothing, nothing seemeth heauie vnto him, nothing that may make a man stoope.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Nothing so, if a man might behold them clearely, and breake thorow the darknesse. Many things that haue beene esteemed dreadfull by night, haue proued trifles and iesting sports by day.

Trauaile and death are vgly to behold.

Worthily wrote our *Virgil*, he saith that they were not terrible indeed, but in semblance, that is, they seeme so to be, but are not. What is there, say I, in these so dreadfull as fame hath reported them? What is there I pray thee (my *Lucillius*) that a man should feare either labour or death? Yet meete I with those men, that thinke all that impossible which they cannot doe, and say that wee speake greater matters then humane nature may sustaine or effect. But how farre better opinion haue I of them? They also can doe these things, but they will not. To conclude, whom haue euer these precepts failed that haue dained to make vse of them, who found them not more ealie in action then in instruction? It is not because they are difficult, that we dare not; but because we dare not, they are difficult. Yet if you require an example, behold *Socrates*, that most patient man, tossed in so many dangers; inuincible in pouertie, which his domestique burthens made more grieuous and cumbersome, inuincible in those labours he suffered in warre, and wherewith at home he was daily exercised: whether you respect his wife fierce in manners, and froward in tongues; or his rebellious and disobedient children, more like their mother then their father. So for the most part he either was in warre, or in tyrannie, or in libertie, more cruell then warres or tyrannies. Seuen and twentie yeares he bare armes, and hauing laid them aside, he saw his Citie enthralled vnder thirtie Tyrants, of which the most part of them were his enemies. The last of these is his condemnation vrged against him for most hainous crimes. The violating of Religion is obiected against him, and the corruption of youth, which he was said to enforce against the gods, against parents, and his Common-weale. After all this, his prison and poison. So farre were these things from mouing *Socrates* minde, that they neuer moued his countenance. He maintained that his wonderfull and singular praise vntill his dying day. No man saw *Socrates* either more merrie or more sad, he continued equall in so great inequalitie of fortune. Wilt thou haue another example? Take me that *Cato* of Vtica, with whom Fortune dealt more cruelly, and more obstinately. Against which, whilest in all places he had made head; and last of all in his death: yet approued he that a constident and valiant man may liue and die in spite of Fortune. All his lifetime was spent in ciuill warre. And although thou say that this man, no lesse then *Socrates*, spent his life in seruitude: except a man may happily thinke that *Cneus Pompey*, and *Cæsar*, and *Crassus*, were confederates to maintaine libertie. There was no man that euer saw *Cato* changed in a Common-weale so oftentimes changed, in all occurrences he shewed himselfe one. In his Pretorship, in his repulse, in his accusation, in his prouince, in his speeches in the Armie, in his death; finally, in that garboyle of the Common-weale, when as on the one side *Cæsar* had trusted his fortunes to ten valiant legions, on that side to the forces of so many forren Nations, and *Pompey* to his owne forces; when some enclined vnto *Cæsar*, other some vnto *Pompey*. *Cato* onely maintained leuied armes for common libertie. If thou wouldest imagine in thy mind the Image of that time, thou shalt see on the one side the people with listening eare, harkening after nothing but nouelties; on the otherside the Senators and Knights and whatsoeuer was either holy and chosen in the Citie: two onely left in the middest, the Common-weale and *Cato*. Thou wilt wonder, say I, if thou shalt obserue.

ATRIDES

ATRIDES *graue, and* PRIAMVS *the olde,*
And Troians greatest feare, ACHILLES *bolde.*

For he condemneth both, and disarmeth both; and this is his opinion of both: he saith, that if *Cæsar* preuaile, he will die: if *Pompey*, he will be banished; what had he to feare which had decreed that against himselfe, eyther if he hapned to be eyther conquerour or conquered, which might haue beene decreed by his most bitter enemies; he died therfore by his owne decree. Seest thou that men can suffer labours? He led his armie on foote thorow the midst of the deserts of Africa. Seest thou that they may endure thirst? Leading the remainder of his conquered Armie along the desert hills, without any baggage, he suffered the want of drink, being soultered in his armor, and as often as occasion offered him water he was the last that drunke. Seest thou that honour and authority may be contemned? The same day he was repulsed from the office he stood for, the same day played he at the ball in the market-place. Seest thou that great mens power may not be feared? He opposed himself against *Pompey* and *Cæsar* at one time; the one of which no man durst offend, except it were to win the fauour of the other. Seest thou that death may be as well contemned as banishment? He both pronounced exile and death against himselfe, & in the Interim warre. We may then haue the same resolution against all accidents, prouided, that we take a pleasure to discharge our necks of the yoake. First of all therefore pleasures are to be despised, for they weaken, disable, and demaund much, and much is to be required at fortunes hands. After these riches are to be despised, which are the recompences of seruitude. Let golde and siluer, and what else soeuer loadeth happie houses be left: libertie is not bought for nothing, if thou highly prise her, thou must misprise and neglect all the rest.

EPIST. CV.

Short and profitable precepts, tending to securitie. Reade them, and make vse of them.

THou shalt know of me what those things are which thou art to obserue, to the end thou mayest liue more secure: yet so heare these precepts I aduise thee, as if I should counsaile thee how to maintaine thy good health in the bad aire of *Adiatinum*. Consider what things they be that prouoke one man to seeke another mans ruine, and thou shalt finde that they are hope, enuy, hatred, feare, and contempt; of all these contempt is the lightest, insomuch as many haue lien hidden therein for the safeguard of their liues. Whomsoeuer a man contemneth, he kicketh at him, but passeth by him. No man purposely hurteth a contemned person, no man diligently. Euen he that is prostrate on the earth in a conflict, is ouerslipped where he that standeth is assaulted. Thou shalt frustrate the hope of the wicked if thou hast nothing that may prouoke another mans wicked desire, if thou possesse nothing that is worthy the hauing. For those things that are of the greatest price, are most desired although they be least knowne. So therefore shalt thou flie enuy if thou makest no shew, if thou boast not of thy fortunes, if thou knowest how to enioy them to thy selfe. But as touching

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt auoide it thus: by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath beene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The meanes not to be feared shall be to liue in a mean and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such a one, whom they may offend without perrill. Let thy reconcilement be both easie and certaine. But to be feared is as dangerous at home as abroad, by thy seruants as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would, not because he ought. The incommoditie hereof both good Arts doe discusse, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mightie man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profite thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome and flattereth, and no otherwise then drunkennesse or loue betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with one mans eares, and to set a watch before his lips, he shal addresse himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengefull men leade a confused and troublesome life: they feare as much as they hurt; neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themselues. Whosoeuer expecteth the stroake is chastised enough, and whosoeuer hath deserued punishment expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh that although he be not discouered, he may be discouered, and midst his dreams he is moued; and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, he thinketh of his owne, he thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced or fully couered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

Epist. CVI.

An idle question, taken out of Chrysippvs, *Whether good be a body. In the conclusion somewhat against subtilties.*

ALittle too late I answere thy Letters, not because I am troubled with much businesse, for beware thou except not this excuse; I am at leisure, and all they that will are at leisure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke businesse to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cause that I did not presently write backe vnto thee, and answer thy question? It was a matter incident to my discourse; for thou knowest that I am determined to intreate of morall Philoso-

Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another; and if any shall occurre of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science therof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question. Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it acteth. That which acteth is a body; good agitateth the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body. It must needes be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is choler, loue, and sadnesse, (lest in this place I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question) if thou doubtest, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not paleneſse: what then? Thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the minde, such as are auarice and crueltie, such as are obstinate and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good; first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour securitie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? *For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie,* as the Poet *Lucretius* saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pusheth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restraine vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and restraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, what soeuer we doe, we doe it eyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou willedst me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plainenesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as we in all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Euen as we are trauailed with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

Epist.

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt auoide it thus: by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath beene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The meanes not to be feared shall be to liue in a mean and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such a one, whom they may offend without perrill. Let thy reconcilement be both easie and certaine. But to be feared is as dangerous at home as abroad, by thy seruants as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would; not because he ought. The incommoditie hereof both good Arts doe discusse, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mightie man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profite thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome and flattereth, and no otherwise then drunkennesse or loue betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with one mans eares, and to set a watch before his lips, he shal addresse himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengefull men leade a confused and troublesome life: they feare as much as they hurt; neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themselues. Whosoeuer expecteth the stroake is chastised enough, and whosoeuer hath deserued punishment expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh that although he be not discouered, he may be discouered, and midst his dreams he is moued; and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, he thinketh of his owne, he thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced or fully couered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

Epist. CVI.

An idle question, taken out of Chrysippvs, *Whether good be a body. In the conclusion somewhat against subtilties.*

ALittle too late I answere thy Letters, not because I am troubled with much businesse, for beware thou except not this excuse; I am at leisure, and all they that will are at leisure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke businesse to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cause that I did not presently write backe vnto thee, and answer thy question? It was a matter incident to my discourse; for thou knowest that I am determined to intreate of morall Philoso-

Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another; and if any shall occurre of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science thereof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question, Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it acteth. That which acteth is a body; good agitateth the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body. It must needes be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is cholor, loue, and sadnesse, (lest in this place I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question) if thou doubtest, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not paleneſse: what then? Thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the minde, such as are quarice and crueltie, such as are obstinate and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good, first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour seueritie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? *For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie*, as the Poet *Lucretius* saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pusheth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restraine vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and restraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, what soeuer we doe, we doe it eyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou willedst me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plaineneſse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as *we in* all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Euen as we are trauailed with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

Epist.

touching the hatred which proceedeth from offence, thou shalt auoide it thus: by prouoking no man without cause, from whence common sense will defend thee; for this hath beene dangerous to many. Some men haue had hatred, but not an enemy. The meanes not to be feared shall be to liue in a mean and humble condition, when as men shall know that thou art such a one, whom they may offend without perrill. Let thy reconcilement be both easie and certaine. But to be feared is as dangerous at home as abroad, by thy seruants as by thy children. There is no man that hath not power enough to hurt. Adde hereunto, that he who is feared, feareth. No man could be terrible securely. Contempt remaineth, the meanes whereof is in his power that is contemned, who is contemned because he would, not because he ought. The incommoditie hereof both good Arts doe discusse, and the friendships of those who are powerfull with any mightie man, to whom it shall be expedient for thee to apply thy selfe, not to entangle thy selfe with them, for feare lest the remedie cost thee more then the danger would. Yet nothing shall more profite thee, then to be quiet, and to conferre the least with many, the most with thy selfe. There is a certaine charming discourse, which creepeth into a mans bosome and flattereth, and no otherwise then drunkennesse or loue betrayeth secrets. Let no man conceale that which he hath heard, neither let any man speake as much as he hath heard: he that will not conceale the matter, will reueale the author. Euery one hath a friend to whom he trusteth as much as is trusted to himselfe. To content himselfe with one mans eares, and to set a watch before his lips, he shal addresse himselfe to the people; so that which now was a secret becommeth to be a rumour. It is a great part of securitie to doe nothing wickedly. Cholericke and reuengefull men leade a confused and troublesome life: they feare as much as they hurt; neither at any time are they in quiet, for they feare and are doubtfull when they haue done it. Their conscience suffereth them to doe nought else, and compelleth them oft-times to looke backe vnto themselues. Whosoeuer expecteth the stroake is chastised enough, and whosoeuer hath deserued punishment expecteth it. There is something in an euill conscience that may settle it awhile, but nothing that may secure it. For he thinketh that although he be not discouered, he may be discouered, and midst his dreams he is moued; and when as any other mans wickednesse speaketh, he thinketh of his owne, he thinketh it neuer sufficiently defaced or fully couered. A wicked man hath sometimes had the fortune to hide himselfe, but neuer had he assurance in his hiding.

Epist. CVI.

An idle question, taken out of Chrysippvs, *Whether good be a body. In the conclusion somewhat against subtilties.*

ALittle too late I answere thy Letters, not because I am troubled with much businesse, for beware thou except not this excuse; I am at leisure, and all they that will are at leisure. Affaires follow no man, but men embrace them, and thinke businesse to be an argument of felicitie. What therefore was the cause that I did not presently write backe vnto thee, and answer thy question? It was a matter incident to my discourse; for thou knowest that I am determined to intreate of morall Philoso-

Philosophy, and to decide all those questions that depend thereupon. I therefore doubted whether I should deferre thee, or giue thee an extraordinary satisfaction before I come vnto the place where this question should be handled. But I thought it a point of more humanitie to delay him no longer, who sent from so farre: by meanes whereof, I will extract this out of the sequell of those things that depend one vpon another; and if any shall occurre of this nature, I will willingly send them thee, although thou requirest them not. Askest thou me what these be? Such things as the science therof is more pleasing then profitable, as that is which thou bringest in question, Whether we call that good which is a body? I answer, that it is a body, for it acteth. That which acteth is a body; good agitateth the minde, and in a manner formeth and containeth it: so then the goods of the body are a body, and the goods of the soule are a body, and therefore the soule is a body. It must needes be that the good of a man is a bodie, considering that a man is corporall. I am abused if those things which nourish the body and keepe it, and restore it to health be not bodies. It followeth then that the good of a man is a bodie. I thinke thou wilt make no question of this, that affections are bodies, such as is cholor, loue, and sadnesse, (lest in this place I should be inforced to intermixe those things, whereof thou makest no question) if thou doubtest, consider if they change not the countenance, if they bend not the brow, if they smooth not the face, or prouoke not blushing, or inforce not paleneſſe: what then? Thinkest thou that so manifest notes are imprinted in the body without a body? If affections be bodies, and the sicknesses of the minde, such as are auarice and crueltie, such as are obstinate and incurable euils, mallice and all the kindes thereof, as malignitie, enuie, pride, shall be bodies likewise, and consequently good, first, because they are contrary vnto these; again, because they produce in thee the same effects. Seest thou not what vigour fortitude giueth to the eyes, how great intention prudence? how much modestie & quiet reuerence? what contentment ioy? what rigour seueritie? what remission mirth? They are therefore bodies which change the habite and colour of bodies, which exercise their dominion in them. Was it euer doubted but that meanes, whereby a bodie is touched is a bodie? *For nothing can touch and be touched, except it be a bodie*, as the Poet *Lucretius* saith. But all these things whereof I haue spoken would not change a bodie, except they touched the same, therefore they are bodies. I likewise say that that part of vs which is so powerfull that it pusheth, constraineth, stayeth and commandeth is a bodie: what therefore? doth not feare restraine vs? doth not boldnes enforce vs? doth not fortitude harden and giue force? doth not moderation bridle and restraine? doth not ioy extoll? doth not sadnesse dismay? To conclude, what soeuer we doe, we doe it eyther by the command of mallice or vertue. That which commandeth the body is a body, that which addeth force vnto the body is a body; the good of the bodie is a bodily good; the good of a man is the good of the bodie, and therefore is it corporall. Because as thou willedst me I haue satisfied thy desire, now will I say that vnto my selfe which I see thou wilt say vnto me: we play at Tables, our subtilty is spent on trifles. These make not men good but learned. There is more plainenesse and simplicitie in true science. We need little learning to haue a good conscience. But as we in all other things are lauish in superfluities, so are we in Philosophy, and abuse it with babill. Euen as we are trauailed with intemperance in all things, so are we in good letters, we learne not to liue but to dispute.

Epist.

Epist. CVII.

He comforteth Lvcilivs, *and animateth him vpon the flight of his seruants. That these and such like are incident vnto life, and therefore not to be reputed as sudden. Suffer that therefore which thou doest not mend. A good and wise Epistle.*

WHat is become of thy wisedome? Where is thy subtiltie in conceiuing things? Where is thy magnanimitie? Art thou trauelled with such trifles? Thy seruants thought that thy occupations were the occasions of thy flight. If thy friends should deceiue thee (for let them haue that name which *Epicurus* gaue vnto them & be so called, what damage shouldst thou receiue? Thou wantest them who both interrupted thy good actions, and made thee troublesome vnto others. There is no noueltie or vnexpected euent herein. It is as ridiculous a thing to be offended hereat, as to complaine that thou art eyther wet with water, or sprinckled with dirt as thou walkest in the streets. The same is our condition in this life, as if we were in a bath, amongst a multitude of people, or in a great high-way, some things will be intermitted, some things will befall. It is no delicate thing to liue. Thou art entered into a long way, wherein perforce thou must slip, thou must iustle, thou must fall, thou must be wearied, and thou must exclaime, O death! that is, thou liest. In one place thou shalt leaue thy companion, in another thou shalt burie him, in another thou shall feare him; with such like inconueniences wee must performe and tread this troublesome iourney. Will he haue me die? Let our mindes be prepared against all accidents, let them know that they are come hether,

Where sorrowes and reuengefull cares doe sleepe,
Where sickenesse pale and weary age doe keepe.

In the company of these must life be led; thou canst not escape these, thou mayest contemne them. And thou shalt contemne them, if thou oftentimes bethink thee on that which is to come, and suppose it present. Whosoeuer hath of a long time prepared himselfe vnto any thing, he performeth the same with greater courage; and if he hath premeditated any aduersities, he maketh head against them afterwards. Contrariwise, the man which is vnprepared starteth backe for feare vpon the least danger that presenteth it selfe. Let vs take order that nothing may befall vs, which may moue vs to say, I had not thought it. And because that noueltie are most distastfull, such continuall thought will bring to passe, that thou shalt not be apprentice to any aduersitie. Haue thy seruants forsaken thee? They haue robbed one, accused another, killed this man, betrayed that, trampled vnder their feete and poisoned that man, and borne false witnesse against another. All those mischiefes which thou canst call to memorie haue befalne diuers, and will hereafter happen. The arrowes that are shot against vs are diuers and great in number. Some are sticking in vs, other some are darted at vs, and approch vs neerely, and other some there are which are shot at our neighbours, which doe no lesse grieue vs then if they were leuelled against our selues. Let vs not wonder at any accident what soeuer, we are borne thereunto, there is no man that hath occasion to complaine him selfe, because that all men haue their parts, yea their equall portion, for if any man hath escaped from an

an inconuenience, he might haue felt it. But an ordinance is equall vnto all those to whom it is proposed, although all men make not vse thereof. Let vs command our soule to continue in her entire, and let vs pay those tributes which we owe vnto Nature without murmure. The Winter bringeth on frosts, wee be cold, the Sommer bringeth heats with her, we shall sweat for heate, the intemperature of the ayre trieth our bodies; we shall be sicke. We shall meete in one place with a sauage beast, or a roarer worse then all beastes whatsoeuer. The one shall be drowned, the other brought to ashes. We cannot alter this condition of things. That which we may is to haue a resolute heart, and worthy of a good man, by meanes whereof we endure all accidents constantly, and content our selues with the order of Nature, which in this present gouernment causeth those reuolutions which thou now obseruest. After raine comes faire weather, after stormes and tempests succeed calmes and faire seasons. The winds blow the one after the other. We see one part of the heauens, and the other is hidden from vs. The world is composed of contrary elements. Let vs apply our soules vnto this law, let her follow and obey the same: let him thinke that all that which happeneth must happen, let her beware in any sort to taske Nature: it is good for thee to endure that which thou canst not amend, and to follow that great God without murmure or complaint, by whose prouidence all things come to passe. The Souldier is not good that vnwillingly followeth his Captaine. And therefore let vs obey her readily and willingly, without intercepting the course of so faire a life, as mans life is, in which is interlaced, all the euill which we suffer: and in conclusion, let vs speake vnto God, by whose ordinance and direction all this round orbe is gouerned in the same termes, as our *Cleanthes* doth in elegant verse; which I will presume to translate into our tongue in imitation of *Cicero*, that thrice eloquent Orator. If they please thee, it shall content me; if they distaste thee, know that herein I am conformable vnto *Cicero*. Heare then that which *Cleanthes* saith;

O soueraigne Father, and eternall Lord
Of highest heauens, conduct me at thy pleasure,
Vnto thy powerfull will I straight accord,
Make me not will; yet mourning without measure.
Ile waite vpon thee, and in being bad
Suffer all that, which if my minde were inst,
I might endure with all the strength I had,
Whither thou wilt, O God, I will and must:
I flie delayes, both heart and feete are willing,
The Fates conduct, the forward draw the willing.

Let vs liue thus, let vs speake thus, let the destinies finde vs alwayes addressed and willing. This courage that is thus bounded within the hands of God, is the greatest in all kindes. Contrariwise, that man is both faint and recreant that starteth backe, that complaineth him of the gouernment of the world, and that had rather censure the gods then himselfe.

Epist. CVIII.

How are the Philosophers either to be read or heard with iudgement, and those things in especiall are to be chosen out of them, and put to memorie, which animate vs to good life. They that seeke delights studie in vaine; studie thou thy amendment. Neither is this hard to be done, for Nature her selfe inciteth vs vnto honestie, for the seedes and incitements thereof are in our mindes, they grow and encrease, when a learned teacher and animater doth aide. This proueth he by his owne example, when he was Attalvs *his scholler. Afterwards he sheweth that we come with diuers ends and mindes to reade Authors, and that we Philosophers should doe the like. Let vs obey him: both reade and heare you that are louers of learning.*

THat whereof thou enquirest, is of the number of those things which it behoueth thee only to know, to the end that a man may say that thou knowest it; yet notwithstanding, since it is pertinent for thee to know it, and thou pressest mee so instantly, and wilt not attend those books which I will shortly finish, that containe in good order all the part of Morall Philosophie, I will presently resolue thee, yet first of all will I write vnto thee how this desire of learning, wherewith I see thee thus transported, should be gouerned, for feare lest it hinder it selfe. Thou must neither ouer-runne, nor greedily inuade all Sciences; by parts we attaine the whole. The burthen must be fitted to the strength, neither ought we to embrace more then we are able to containe. Draw not as much as thou wilt, but as much thou mayest hold. Only haue thou a good courage, and thou shalt comprehend as much as thou pleasest. The more the minde receiueth, the more it is enlarged and greatned. These things, as I remember, our Master *Attalus* taught vs, when as we besieged his Schoole, and came first, and departed last, and prouoked him, whilest he walked, to some disputes; not only addressed to informe those that learned of him, but to meete with them vnprouoked. He that teacheth (saith he) and he that learneth should haue one and the same intention, the one to instruct, the other to profit. He that commeth vnto the Philosophers Schooles, must daily carrie away some good thing with him; either returne more wise vnto his home, or better disposed to wisedome. But he shall returne: for such is the power of Philosophie, that shee not onely helpeth those that studie the same, but those also which frequent her. He that commeth into the Sunne, shall be Sunne-burnt, although he came not to that end. They that sit downe in a perfumers shop, and haue stayed a while therein, beare away with them the odour of such a place: and they that haue conuersed with a Philosopher, must needs draw somewhat, that might profit euen those that are negligent: marke what I say, negligent, but not repugnant. What then? Know we not some men that for many yeares haue conuersed and frequented with a Philosopher, without receiuing any tincture thereof? Why should I not know them? yea and such as were most industrious and diligent, whom I rather call the hostes, then the disciples of Philosophers. Some come to heare, not to learne, as we are drawne into the Theater for our pleasures sake, to delight our eares with Orations, Musick, or Comedies. Thou shalt see a great part of the auditors that make the Philosophers Schoole the Inne of their idlenesse. Their intention is not in that place to dispossesse themselues of some vices, or to receiue some instruction, or rule of life, whereby they might reforme their manners,

manners, but to enioy some delight that tickleth their eares. Some other there are that come to their tables, not to coate downe matter, but words, which they learne as well without other mens profit, as they heard them without their owne. Some rowse themselues when they heare any magnificent speeches, and are affectioned no lesse then the speakers themselues, cheerefull both in lookes and minde: neither are they otherwise moued, then those effeminate French are wont to be, that hand and foote it according to the Phrygian straine; these men are rauished and prouoked by the beautie of things, not by the sound of vaine words. If any thing be spoken bitterly against death, if ought be vrged proudly against Fortune, thou art forthwith addressed to doe that which thou heerest. They are affected, and let them be such as they are commanded, if that forme remaine in the minde, and if the people, which disswadeth all honest things, doe not forthwith extinguish this worthy forwardnesse. Few are they that could bring home with them that minde they had conceiued. It is an easie matter to stirre vp a hearer to the desire of that which is right. For Nature hath giuen vnto all men the foundations and seeds of vertue, all of vs are borne vnto all these things, when as a prouoker inciteth our mindes, then are those goods of the minde, which were in a manner laid asleepe, awakened and reuiued. Seest thou not how the Theaters ring as often as some things are repeated, which we publikely acknowledge, and testifie to be true by consent.

Powertie wanteth many things, auarice all things,
The couetous man is good to no man, and worst to himselfe.

The basest Broaker will applaud this sa vices, and is glad to heare his owne vices blamed. How much greater waight should these things haue, being spoken by a Philosopher, when as verses are interlaced with holesome counsels: thinkest thou not that they will more effectually worke in the minds of the vnlettered. For (as *Cleanthes* said) euen as our breath, yeelded a more cleare sound, when as the trumpet, after it hath driuen the same thorow the straits of a long pipe, doth at last giue him a larger vent at the end thereof, so the strict necessitie of a vice maketh our sences more cleare. Those things are heard more negligently, and perswade lesse powerfully, as long as they are deliuered in prose and ordinary discourse, but when as they are shut vp in numbers and good sence, be inclosed in certaine feet and cadences, that very sentence is darted and deliuered as it were an arrow from a strong arme. Many things are spoken in contempt of money, and in long orations we are taught this; that men should thinke that their riches are in their mindes, and not in their patrimonies, and that he is rich who fitteth himselfe to his powertie, and maketh himselfe rich of a little. Yet are our mindes more moued, when such like things are spoken in verse.

He that coueteth little, hath not need of much,
He hath that which he would, who can wish as much as he would.

When we heare these or such like things, we are constrained to acknowledge the truth. For they to whom nothing is enough, admire, applaud, and publish their hatred to many. When as thou seest this affection of theirs vrge the same, presse and prosecute this laying aside all ambiguities, syllogismes, cauills, and other vaine subtilties of a fruitlesse brabs, speake against auarice, inueigh against dissolutenesse, and when thou perceiuest that thou hast profited, and moued

the hearts of thine auditorie, prosecute it with vehemencie. It is impossible that such a discourse, tending vnto remedie, and intirely intended for the good of the assembly, should be other then profitable. For those minds that are not as yet obdurate may be easily induced to loue right and vertue. If truth finde a fit and conuenient aduocate, she easily seizeth on those that are willing to learne, and lesse peruerted. For mine owne part, when as I heard *Attalus* declaime against vices, errors, and the miseries of this life, I oftentimes deplored the miseries of mankinde, and haue beleeued that he was exalted and raised aboue all other men. He said likewise that he was a King, but I thought him somewhat more, by reason that it was lawfull for him to censure Kings. But when he began to praise pouertie, and to shewe that all that which exceedeth necessary vse is a superfluous burthen, and grieuous to him that beareth the same, I oftentimes wished to depart poore out of his schoole. When he began to traduce our pleasures, to praise a chaste bodie, a sober table, a pure mind, not onely exempted from vnlawful pleasures, but also superfluous, I required no more but to temper my appetite, and gouerne my belly. From thence I gathered some good instructions my *Lucillius*: for with earnest affection I attempted all things, and being afterwards drawne vnto a Citizens life, I haue conserued some few of those faire and good beginnings. From thence it came that for all my life time I renounced oie-fores & mushromes: for these are no meates, but entertain the appetite, and constraine those that are full to eate more, which is very pleasing to those that are gluttons, who desire no more but to fill their panches with such things which easily enter, & are as easily vttered. I haue abstained also euer since from oyntments and perfumes, because the best odour in our bodie is none at all. Thereupon haue I refrained wine, and during all my life time fled from bathing, supposing it to be an vnprofitable and nice custome to soothe the body and consume it with sweating. These other customes in life, which I had giuen ouer, are brought in request, yet so, that I keepe a measure in these from which I had abstained, and vse them very little and with difficulty, because there are certaine things more easie to cut off wholly, then to gouerne well. Because I haue begun to declare vnto thee with how much more greater courage I came to Philosophy being a young man, then now when I am olde, I will not be ashamed to confesse vnto thee what loue *Sotion* ingrafted in me in regard of *Pithagoras*; he taught me why he and *Sextius* after him abstained from eating flesh. Each one of these had a different cause, but both of them were magnificent. The one supposed that man had sufficiency to feede vpon without bloud, and that a custome of crueltie began, when tearing of flesh was drawne to be a pleasure. Hereunto he added, that the matter of dissolution should be contracted and gathered, that multiplicity of meats were contrary to mans health, and nothing healthfull to our bodies. But *Pithagoras* held that there was a communion and consanguinitie of all things, with the one and the other, and that the one is changed into the other, in such sort that (if a man will beleeue him) no soule perisheth neither ceaseth, but for a small time whilst it is infused into another bodie. We shall see by what reuolutions of seasons, and after how many aboades in diuers bodies, the soule shall reenter into a man, meane while this opinion hath made men fearfull, for they haue beene afraid to become murtherers and paricides because that in eating of a beast they might as well seize on their fathers soule, and with knife or tooth offend a thing wherein the soule of any one of their kindred might be lodged. *Sotion* hauing proposed and confirmed this by his arguments, added hereunto, Doost thou not beleeue, saith he, that

that soules are distributed from one body to another, and that which we call death is no other thing but a passage from one body into another? Doost thou not beleeue that in these tame or sauage beasts eyther killed or drowned, there suruiueth somtimes the soule of a man? wilt thou denie that nothing perisheth in the world, but doth but onely change ayre and countrey, and that not onely the heauens turne, but that liuing creatures and soules likewise haue their reuolutions? Diuers great personages haue beleeued these things, and therefore holde thou thine opinion in suspence, yet keepe thou all things intire vnto thy selfe. If these things be true it is innocence to abstaine from liuing creatures: if they be false it is frugalitie; what damage receiueth thy crueltie hereby? I take from thee the meate of Lions and Vultures. Perswaded thus by these arguments, I began to abstaine from flesh, and ere a yeare was finished, the custom was not onely easie vnto me but pleasing. I thought my spirit more free then it was before; neyther can I at this time iustifie vnto thee whether it were so or no. Doost thou aske me how I haue discontinued this manner of life? It was in my yonger dayes, at such time as *Tiberius* was Emperour, when as the Religions of strangers were banished out of Rome, and to proue the superstitions of the same, they alleadged that they abstained from touching the flesh of some creatures. So then vpon my fathers request who feared not reproach, but hated Philosophie I returned to my former custome: neyther was it a hard matter for him to perswade me to begin to sup better. *Attalus* was wont to praise a hard bed, and such as resisteth the body: such a one vse I now in mine olde dayes, wherein you cannot discouer any print where I haue lien. These things haue I related vnto thee, to let thee know how vehement the first apprehensions of yong children be, & how inclined vnto all good things, if any man exhort them or egge them forward. But in some kinde the teachers are deficient, who teach vs to dispute, and not to liue: in some sort the learners who bring vnto their Masters a purpose not to rectifie their iudgments, but polish their tongues; so that which was Philosophie is made Philologie. But it is very pertinent to the matter to examin with what purpose thou addressest thy selfe to any thing. He that examineth *Virgil* to that intent he may become a Grammarian: he readeth not with this intent that worthy verse of his,

Time flies and neuer is to be recald againe.

You must watch: except we make haste we are forsaken. The day that swiftly fleeteth from vs, driueth vs forward and is driuen away. We are rauished before we know it. We dispose of all things as if we were to liue long time, and midst so many dangers we are sluggards. But to obserue that as often as *Virgil* writeth of the swiftnesse of time, he vseth this word flyeth,

The better dayes of wretched mortall life,
First flie then sickenesse rayanes, and irksome age,
And tedious labour rules and waxeth rife,
And lastly death sweepes all with mortall rage.

He that truely addicteth himselfe vnto Philosophie, applieth such sentences as befitteth him: neuer, saith he, that the dayes goe, but that they flie, which is the most swiftest kinde of running, and that the better times are rauished from vs first. Why therefore cease we to spur on our idlenesse, to the end we might outstrip the time which fleeteth away so swiftly. The better dayes flie away,

the worse succede. Euen as out of a vessell the purest floweth out first, and that which is most heauy and troubled setleth in the bottome, so that which is first in our life is the best. We rather suffer others to draw out the purest, to the intent to reserue the dregges vnto our selues. Let this sentence be imprinted in our mindes, and please vs as much as if it were an Oracle sent from heauen,

The best daies of wretched mortall life,
Fly first ———

Why the best? Because that which remaineth is vncertaine. Why the best? Because being young we may learne, and conuert, and addict our tender mindes, and pliable to the better, vnto the best: because this time is fit for labour, fit to exercise our wits in studie, and our bodies with labour: That which remaineth is more slowe and faultie, and neerer to the end. Let vs therfore wholly apply our selues thereunto, and laying aside all these speculations, whereby we haue beene seduced, let vs apply our selues to one onely thing: for feare lest at last we learne ouer-late to our confusion, that it is impossible to stay and recouer the time that fleeteth away so fast, without hope of returne. Let euery first day please vs as if it were the best, and let vs reckon it properly ours, and let vs preuent that which ensueth. This doth not he thinke that reades this verse with a Grammarians eye; that therefore euery first day is the best, because sicknesses succeed, olde age presseth and pearcheth ouer the head of those, who as yet thinke themselues young; but saith, that *Virgil* alwayes vnited sicknesses and olde age together, and in truth not without cause, for olde age is an incurable disease. Besides, saith he, the Poet sirnamed olde age, irksome:

Then sickenesse raignes, and irksome age.

Wonder not that from the same matter euery man gathered that which is agreeable to his conceit. In the same field the Oxe seeketh his grasse, the Dog his Hare, and the Storke his Lizard: when those bookes which *Cicero* wrote of a Common-weale, fall into the hands of him that would know all things, and of a Grammarian, & of a Philosopher, euery one of these three hath his proper and peculiar election & thought. The Philosopher wondereth that so many things may be spoken against iustice. When this loue-prattle comes to the same reading, he noteth this, that there are Romane Kings, whereof the one had no father, and the other no mother: for each man doubteth which was *Seruius* mother, and *Ancus* father, who was reputed *Numaes* Nephew, is not to be found. Besides, he obserueth that he whom we call *Dictator*, and is so intituled in Histories, was by those in former times called the Master of the people, as it manifestly appeareth at this day in the bookes of the Augurs, and that he whom we call the master of the knights, hath taken his name from thence. He noteth likewise that *Romulus* died during the Eclips of the Sun, that there was an appeale from the Kings vnto the people, as also *Fenestella* holdeth that it is contained in the Registers of the Bishops. When a Grammarian explicateth the same books, he first of all noteth in his Commentarie that *Cicero* vsed this word *Reapse* for *Reipsa*, that is to say, indeed, and *Sepse* likewise for *Seipse*, that is to say, himselfe. Then passeth he ouer to those things which the custom of the age hath changed, such are those which *Cicero* vsed, *Because we are recalled by his importunity from the calce hereof*, that is, frō the end of the course: for that which now we cal limits, those in times

times past called *Calcem*, that is to say, the heele or end of the foote. After this he gathereth *Ennius* verses, and especially those which were written by *Scipio* the African,

To whom no friend or enemy in field,
Could lend that helpe which he to them did yeeld.

Hereby he saith that he meaneth that this word *opera*, that is to say labour in times past signified *Auxilium*, that is to say, ayde and succour: for he saith that there was not one eyther Cittizen or enemie could render *Scipio* the reward of his labour. Furthermore, he esteemeth himselfe happie to haue found out this why it pleased *Virgil* to say,

Ore whom the mightie gate of heauen did thunder.

He saith that *Ennius* stole this from *Homer*, and *Virgil* from *Ennius*. We reade in the same bookes of *Cicero* this Epigram of *Ennius*,

If it be free for any one t' ascend the heauenly throne,
The greatest gate of highest heauen is ope to me alone.

But for feare least I my selfe in thinking on other matters should my selfe become a humanist or *Pedant*, I say vnto thee that we ought to referre that which we heare spoken by the Philosophers, and that which we reade in their bookes to this end, that we become vertuous, and not to affect olde and fained words, nor to affect extrauagant and vnaccustomed manners of speaking, but let vs search out those precepts, which may profit vs, and such magnificent and manly sentences, which may be suddenly effected. So let vs apply these things, that those things which were wordes may be workes. But I thinke that no men doe worse deserue of mortall men, then they who haue learned Philosophy as it were some mercinarie occupation, who liue otherwise then they instruct other men to liue: for they themselues carrie about themselues, as examples of vnprofitable doctrine, being otherwise slaues to euery sort of vice which possesseth them. Such a Master can as little profite me as a Pilot that is Sea-sicke in the midst of a tempest: when the billowes are increased the helme must be steered; we must striue with the Sea, and strike and hale in saile: what can a Master of a Ship helpe me that is astonished and vomiteth? With how more greater tempest thinkest thou is humane life tossed more then any ship? We are not to speake, but to gouerne. All that which they say, all that which they boast of before the common sort is to no purpose. *Plato, Zeno, Chrysippus, Posidonius*, and an armie of such Philosophers haue said and resaid it often. I will shew thee how they may approue these things to be their owne; let them act that which they said. Because I haue spoken those things which I would haue carried vnto thee, I will now satisfie thy desire, and I will referre the whole of that which thou requirest at my hands to another Epistle, lest hauing thy head wearied, thou bend thy attentiue and curious eare to heare a difficult matter.

Epist. CIX.

A short question: Whether a wise-man may profite a wise-man, and how? The cause of doubt is, because that all things are high in a wise-man; neyther may any thing be added to him: yet answereth he that he doth profite, and distinctly approueth it. In the end he deteſteth vnprofitable subtilties.

IThou deſireſt to know whether a wiſe-man may be profitable to a wiſe-man: we ſay that a wiſeman is repleniſhed with all goodneſſe, and hath attained to the fulneſſe of perfection. The queſtion is how a man may profite him that hath attained the chiefeſt good. Good men profite one another; for they exerciſe vertue and containe wiſedome in her eſtate, both of theſe require ſome man with whom he may conferre, with whom he may debate; vſe exerciſeth thoſe who are cunning in wraſtling, and warneth the Muſitian who hath learned vniſons. A wiſe-man like wiſe hath neede to haue his vertues ſtirred, ſo that euen as hee moueth himſelfe, ſo is he moued by another wiſe-man. What can a wiſe-man profite a wiſe-man? He will animate him, and ſhew him occaſions of honeſt actions. Beſides theſe, he will diſcouer ſome of his own thoughts, and will teach thoſe things which he hath inuented. For there will be alwayes ſomewhat remayning for a wiſe-man to finde out, and whereon his minde may be employed and occupied. An euill man hurteth an euil man, he maketh him worſe by inciting wrath or feare, by aſſenting to ſadneſſe, by praiſing pleaſures; and euen then are euill men moſt trauailed and troubled, when they haue made a mixture of many vices, and wickedneſſe becommeth compleate. Therfore on the contrary ſide, a good man may profite a good man. But how ſayeſt thou? He will bring him ioy, he will confirme his confidence, and both of their ioyes ſhall encreaſe by beholding their mutuall tranquilitie. Beſides, he ſhall deliuer him the notice of ſome things: for a wiſe-man knoweth not all things; and although he knew them, yet may ſome man inuent more compendious wayes in things, and teach the ſame by which more eaſily the whole worke is compaſſed. A wiſeman ſhall be profitable to a wiſe-man, not onely in regard of his owne forces, but in reſpect of his alſo whom he helpeth. And he himſelfe like wiſe being left vnto himſelfe can expreſſe his owne parts. Let him make vſe of his owne ſwiftneſſe, yet notwithſtanding he helpeth him alſo that encourageth him that runneth. A wiſe-man is not onely profitable to a wiſe-man but to himſelfe. To this thou wilt obiect, Take from him his proper forces, and he doth nothing. In this ſort thou mayſt ſay that there is no ſweetneſſe in honey: for he that eateth the ſame muſt be apt both in tong and pallat to entertain this taſte, that he may be delighted and not offended with the fauor thereof: for ſome there are to whom honey ſeemeth bitter in regard of their ſickeneſſe. Both of them muſt be ſuch, that both the one may teach, and the other be diſpoſed to receiue inſtructions. It were in vaine, ſaith he, to warme him more that hath beene hote to the extremitie, and as vaine is it to better him that hath attained the fulneſſe of goodnes. Doth a huſbandman that is his crafts-maſter in tillage, ſeeke inſtructions from another? Doth a ſouldier that is ſufficiently armed to enter the field deſire any further defence? Therfore not a wiſeman; for he is ſufficiently inſtructed and armed for life. He that is in the height of heat, had no need of heat to warme him: further, heat it ſelfe, ſaith he, containeth it ſelfe; To this I anſwer, firſt

firſt of all, there is a great difference betwixt theſe things which thou compareſt. For heate is one, but to profit is diuers. Againe, heate is not encreaſed in heate by the adiection of heate. A wiſe-man cannot ſtand in the habit of his minde, except hee admit ſome friends like himſelfe, with whom he may communicate his vertues. Furthermore, adde hereunto that there is a certaine friendſhip betweene all vertues. He therefore profiteth that loueth any mans vertues that are equall with his, and giueth order alſo that his may be beloued: Thoſe things that are alike doe delight, eſpecially if they be honeſt, and know how to approue and to be approued. It is true, no other man but a wiſe man can cunningly moue a wiſe-mans minde, euen as no man may reaſonably moue a man, except he be a man. Euen as therefore there needeth reaſon to helpe reaſon, ſo to moue perfect reaſon, there needeth perfect reaſon. They are ſaid to profit vs that giue vs meanes, as money, grace, health, and other things which are neceſſarie and deere to the vſe of humane life, in theſe euen a foole ſhall be ſaid to profit a wiſe-man. But to profit and aide another is to moue his thought by his vertue, and according to Nature, or by the vertue of him that ſhall be moued. And this alſo cannot be done without his good that profiteth; for in exerciſing another mans vertue, hee muſt needs exerciſe his owne. But that thou mayſt remoue theſe things, which either are the chiefeſt goods, or the efficients of the chiefeſt: yet notwithſtanding wiſe-men may profit amongſt themſelues. For it is a thing that of it ſelfe meriteth to be deſired by a wiſe-man, to meete with another wiſe man, becauſe that naturally a good thing is deſired of his like, and a vertuous man acquainteth himſelfe with another vertuous man, as willingly as with himſelf. I muſt needs for argument ſake paſſe ouer from this queſtion to another. For it is demanded whether a wiſe-man will deliberate, or demand counſaile of another man, which is neceſſarie for him to do, when he will entreat of ciuill or domeſtical matters, or to ſpeak more rightly, of mortal things. In this caſe he hath need of anothers couſell, as of a Phyſitian, a maſter of a ſhip, an aduocate & proctor. A wiſe-man ſometimes may be profitable to a wiſeman, for he will perſwade him. But in thoſe great and diuine things alſo, as we haue ſaid, he ſhall be profitable by ordinarily intreating of honeſt things, and by intermixing both their minds and thoughts. Beſides, it is according to Nature, both to embrace friends, and to conceiue as much ioy of a friends good action, as of his owne. For if we doe not thus, vertue ſhall not remaine in vs, which in exerciſing her ſelfe taketh luſtre by vſe. But vertue perſwadeth vs to diſpoſe well of the preſent, to bethinke on that which is to come, to deliberate and intend the minde, and more eaſily ſhall he intend and explicate the ſame, who ſeeketh and entertaineth another vnto him. He ſeeketh therefore either a perfect man, or one that profiteth, or is neere vnto perfection. But that perfect man will profit, if by common prudence the one helpeth the others counſaile. They ſay that men ſee more in other mens buſineſſe then in their owne, and this befalleth thoſe men whom ſelfe-loue blindeth, and to thoſe alſo, whom feare of danger driueth from all conſideration of profit. The man that is aſſured and deliuered from feare, will recouer his courage and become wiſe. Yet notwithſtanding there are ſome things, which euen they who are the wiſeſt doe more diligently diſcouer in others then in themſelues. Moreouer, that which is moſt ſweeteſt and honeſteſt, a wiſe-man will procure a wiſe-man to will and nill the ſame which hee doth. They ſhall beare together a worthie charge; I haue performed that which thou requireſt at my hands, although it were couched in the order of thoſe things, which we haue compriſed in our bookes of morall

Philo-

Philosophie. Bethinke thee of that which I haue tould thee often, that we doe but exercise and whet our wits vpon these questions: for oft-times returne I thither. What doth this thing profit me? will it make mee stronger, iuster, or more temperate? I haue yet no leasure to exercise my selfe, I stand in need of a Physitian. Why teachest thou me an vnprofitable Science? Thou hast promised me great matter, but I see little. Thou saidst I should be dreadlesse, yea although swords glistered about me, although the point were readie to pierce my throate: thou saidst I should be secure, although I saw fires flaming about me, although a sudden whirle-winde should ruinish and beare away my Barke thorow the whole Ocean. Doe thou thus much for me, that I may contemne pleasure and glorie, then shalt thou afterwards teach me how to resolue difficulties, distinguish ambiguities, and prie into those things that are obscure, now teach me those things that are necessarie.

Epist. CX.

That each one of vs haue our Genii, *which he hath fauourable vnto him, whosoeuer hath a good minde. That the vowes and iudgements of those men are wicked, who estimate not things according to their value. That vaine things are wished for, and vaine things feared, and that the remedie of both is from Philosophie, whereunto he summoneth vs, hauing shaken off superfluities. In conclusion, he discouereth excesse, and reproueth it by* Attalvs *worthie speech.*

I Salute thee from my house at Nomentanum, and will thee to haue a good minde, that is, all the gods propitious vnto thee, who are fauourable and well affected towards him, whosoeuer is reconciled vnto himselfe. Lay apart for this present, the opinions of some men, that euery one of vs hath giuen him a Pedagogue or God, not of the ordinary, but those of the inferiour note, and of the number of those whom *Ouid* nameth popular gods. Yet so would I haue thee lay these things apart, that thou remember thy selfe that our predecessours, who haue belecued these things, were Stoickes, for they attributed vnto euerie one his *Genius*, and goddesse *Iuno*. Hereafter we will examine whether the gods haue so much leisure to procure and prouide for particular mens affaires. In the meane while know thou this, that whether we are resigned to a seuerall *Genius*, or else neglected and giuen ouer vnto Fortune, that thou canst wish no man a greater mischiefe, then if thou shouldest desire that hee may bee his owne enemie. Neither needest thou wish any man, whom thou thinkest worthy punishment, to haue the gods displeased with him; for I tell thee they are auerse, although his life seemeth to prosper and flourish vnder their care and fauour. Consider and examine thou diligently what humane affaires be, not what they are called, and thou shalt know that more euils befall vs by our selues, then through the hand of casualtie. For how oft-times hath that which is called calamitie beene the cause and beginning of our felicitie. How oftentimes hath a thing entertained with great applause, builded it selfe a degree from whence it may fall head-long, and hath raised some one high, that was already eminent, as if he should as yet continue in this place, from whence he might safely fall? yet that falling, if thou consider the end, beyond which Nature directeth no man, hath not any euill in it selfe. The end of all things is at hand, it is at hand I say, as

as well that from whence a happie man is driuen by violence, as that from whence a miserable man is happily deliuered. Both these enlarge we, and make them long by feare and hope. But if thou beest wise, measure all things by humane condition, and restraine the occasions that may make thee ioy, or make thee feare. It were better haue no ioy that endureth long, and not to haue a feare likewise that endureth long. But why do I thus restraine this euill? Thinke not that there is any thing that thou shouldest feare. These are but vaine things which moue and astonish vs, none of vs hath as yet examined the truth thereof, but each one hath taught the other to feare. No man hath dared to approch that which procured his feare, or know the nature and good of his own affright. And therefore it is, that a thing so fallacious and vaine is yet redoubled, because no man disprooueth or discouereth the same. Let vs onely bethinke our selues to open our eyes, and it shall presently appeare how sliort, incertaine, and secure things are feared. Such is the confusion of our mindes, as *Lucretius* describeth it.

For euen as in the blinde and darkest night,
Yong children quake for feare, and shake with fright;
So feare we likewise in the clearest light.

What then? are not we more foolish then children that feare at noone dayes? But this is false, *Lucretius*, wee feare not in the light, wee haue made all things darkenesse to our selues: we see nothing, neither that which hurteth vs, nor that which helpeth vs; all our life-time we runne, and wander heere and there, yet for all this we neuer make stop, nor consider at any time where we fix our feete. And yet thou seest how furious a thing it is to run head-long in the darke, yet vndoubtedly we doe this, to the end we may be recalled from a further off, and whereas we are ignorant whither we are carried, yet perseuere we to run swiftly thither, whither we intended. But if we wil that the day may breake, yet but after one manner, that is, if a man receiue the knowledge of these humane and diuine things, if instead of meerely sprinkling himself therewith, he taketh the tincture thereof, if although he know the same, he often debateth thereupon; and relateth it oftentimes to himselfe. If he haue sought what things are good and euill, and what things doe vnworthily challenge this title, if hee enquire what things are honest or dishoneft, and what is prouidence: neither within these bounds is the quicknesse of humane vnderstanding circumscribed. She taketh pleasure to cast her eye beyond the world, to examine whither it is carried, whence it came, to what period so great a swiftnes of things hasteneth. From this so high contemplation haue we drawne our mindes into the consideration of sordide and base things, for to be slaues to auarice, so as ouer-slipping the earth and the bounds thereof, and the gods which gouerne and dispose all things, we haue employed the same in consideration of embowelling the earth, and not content with the goods which were offered, to search out what euill might be diggen out of it. Whatsoeuer is for our good, our good God and Father hath laid by vs. He expected not our inquisition, he gaue it freely, and buried those things that were hurtfull for vs in the bosome of the earth. Wee haue cause to complaine of none other but our selues. We in spite of Nature, and when she had closely hidden them, haue brought those things to light, which are the instruments of our ruine. We haue dedicated our mindes vnto pleasures, the entertainment and allowance whereof is the beginning of all our mischiefes. We

haue giuen it ouer to ambition and fame, and other things as vaine and fruitleſſe as theſe. What therefore now doe I exhort thee to doe? No new thing, for we ſeek no remedies for new euils, but this, eſpecially to conſider in thy ſelfe, what thing is neceſſarie, and what ſuperfluous. That which is neceſſarie, thou ſhalt finde euery where before thee, but as touching thoſe that are ſuperfluous, thou muſt alwaies runne after them, and thou ſhalt hardly finde them. Neither haſt thou cauſe to praiſe thy ſelfe too much, if thou contemneſt golden beds, and houſhold-ſtuffe garniſhed with precious ſtones. For what vertue is it to contemne ſuperfluities? Then admire thou thy ſelfe, when thou contemneſt neceſſarie things. Thou doeſt no great thing, when as thou canſt liue without Kingly entertainment, when thou deſireſt not wilde boares of a thouſand pounds waight, nor the tongues of Phenicopteres, nor ſuch other monſters of gluttonie, which this day taketh no delight in whole beaſts, but deſireth and longeth after the leg of one, and the wing of another, and ſuch and ſuch members of another. Then ſhall I admire thee when thou contemneſt not the browneſt bread: if thou perſwade thy ſelfe that herbes when neceſſitie requireth, do not only grow for the vſe of beaſts, but for the nouriſhment of man. If thou knoweſt that the buds of trees are ſufficient to fill the belly, into which we gather ſo many precious things, as if it were a ſtore-houſe to conſerue them in, we muſt fill the ſame without loathing. For what skilleth it what it receiueth, ſince it muſt loſe whatſoeuer it hath receiued. Thou takeſt pleaſure to ſee a ranke of platters charged with fowle and fiſh. There are meates which pleaſe thine appetite, becauſe they are yong and tender: contrariwiſe there are others leſſe ſauourie vnto thee, if they be not ſo thicke and fat as they melt in their greaſe. The very artificiall ſmell of theſe delighteth thee. But vndoubtedly theſe meats ſo carefully ſought out, and ſo cunningly ſauced, being ſwallowed downe into the belly, conuert themſelues into ordure of the ſame colour, and ſtincke. Wilt thou contemne the voluptuouſneſſe of meates, looke vpon them in thy cloſe-ſtoole. I remember that ATTALVS, not without the admiration of all men, was wont to ſay this: Riches, ſaid he, haue oftentimes deceiued me, when I ſaw any peece of them ſhine heere or there, I ſtood in admiration to behold them. I thought that thoſe which were hidden, were like thoſe which were ſhowen. But in a certaine Circenſian ſhow I ſaw all the riches of the Citie emboliſhed with gold and ſiluer, and thoſe things which exceeded either gold or ſiluer in price, exquiſite colours, and garments that were brought not onely from ouer vttermoſt territories, but beyond the furtheſt confines of our enemies. On this ſide the troopes of children, ſeemely both in their habite and forme: on that ſide of women, and other things, which the fortune of the greateſt Empire hauing ſought out her greateſt riches, had brought forth. What other thing is this (ſaid he) then to irritate the luſts and deſires of men that are too forward of themſelues? What meaneth this pompe of money? We are aſſembled together to learne auarice. But vndoubtedly I carrie hence leſſe couetouſneſſe then I brought with me. I contemned riches, not by reaſon they were ſuperfluous, but becauſe they were things of a ſmall value. Seeſt thou not in how ſmall a time this ſo mightie ſhow paſſed ouer, although they marched but ſlowly, and were rancked orderly? Shall this which could not fill the ſpace of an houre, occupie our whole life? He likewiſe added this. They ſeemed vnto me as ſuperfluous to thoſe that had them, as thoſe that beheld them. I therefore ſay thus to my ſelf, as oftentimes as any ſuch thing encountreth mine eyes, as often as I ſee a rich and ſumptuous houſe, a rich guard of ſeruants, a Litter carried

carried by goodly Lackeyes. Why, wondereſt thou? why art thou amaſed? it is but pompe. Theſe things are ſhowne, not poſſeſſed; and whilſt they pleaſe they paſſe by. Rather conuert thy ſelfe vnto true riches, learne to be content with a little, and with a great and manly minde exclaime thus; *Let vs haue water, let vs haue barley ſteeped in water, and let vs contend with* IVPITER *himſelfe for felicitie.* Let vs, I pray thee, doe thus although theſe things be wanting. It is a baſe thing to build a bleſſed life, eyther on golde or ſiluer, and as baſe to ſound it on water and ſteeped barley; what ſhall I therefore do if theſe things be miſſing? Dooſt thou aske me what remedie there is againſt need? hunger endeth hunger, otherwiſe what importeth it if the things that make thee a ſlaue be great or little? What matters it how much it be that fortune may denie thee? This very water and ſteeped barley is at another mans command, but he is the free man, not ouer whom fortune hath the leaſt power, but he ouer whom ſhe hath no power at all. It is ſo. Thou muſt deſire nothing if thou wilt prouoke *Iupiter* that deſireth nothing. Theſe things ſpake *Attalus* vnto vs, but nature crieth it in all mens eares, which if thou wilt oftentimes thinke vpon, thou ſhalt make thy ſelfe really, not ſeemingly happie, and in effect ſeeme ſuch vnto thy ſelfe, and not vnto others.

EPIST. CXI.

He proueth that cauils are but a vaine and baſe kinde of Philoſophie; and that that part which concerneth manners is true, ſu me, and ſublimed. Counſailing vs to retire to that ſtudie.

THou haſt enquired of me what thoſe things are called in Latine, which the Grecians call *Sophiſmata*, many men haue endeuoured to expreſſe the ſame, but no man hath performed it; and the reaſon is, becauſe the thing it ſelfe was not receiued by vs, neyther had in vſe, and therfore likewiſe was the name of no account: yet that in my iudgement was the moſt fitteſt which *Cicero* vſed, who called them *Cauillationes*, that is to ſay Cauils; to which whoſoeuer addicteth himſelfe, he forgeth ſubtile queſtions, yet doe they profite him nothing vnto life, neyther is he made the ſtronger, more temperate, or more lifted vp. But he that hath exerciſed Philoſophy for his owne remedie ſake is made mighty in mind, full of confidence inuincible, and more great the neerer he approcheth the ſame. That which filleth out in the greateſt mountains, whoſe height appears leaſt to thoſe that behold them from a farre, and the neerer you approach them, the more manifeſtly appeareth it what their immeaſurable height is; ſuch, my *Lucilius*, is a true and no counterfeit Philoſopher; he ſtandeth in a high place, admirable, vpright, and truely great. He raiſeth not himſelfe on his feete, neyther walketh on his tiptoes, after the manner of thoſe that helpe their height by ſhift, and would ſeeme longer then they be, he contenteth himſelfe with his greatneſſe. Why ſhould he not content himſelfe, ſince he is growne ſo tarre, as fortune reacheth not her hand vnto him, and therefore is he aboue all humane things. He is alwayes like himſelfe in all things that may happen, whether the Nauigation of his life floateth vnder a proſperous winde, or be toſſed by ſtormes and aduerſe dangers. This conſtancy theſe cauils (of which I haue ſpoken a little before) cannot affect. The minde dallieth with theſe, but profiteth not: he caſteth

eth Philosophy from her throne, and bringeth her vnto the plaine; neyther would I forbid thee to practise these things sometimes, yet let it be then when thou wouldest doe nothing, yet haue they this one cursed qualitie in them, they leaue a certaine touch of delight behinde them, and possesse and arrest the mind that is induced by the appearance of subtiltie; mean while, infinite and important affaires remaine behinde, and scarcely may our whole life sufficе to learne this one thing, which is how to contemne life. What to gouerne it sayest thou? This is the second worke: for no man euer well ruled it except hee contemned it.

Epist. CXII.

He despaireth the reformation of his friend, olde in yeares and vices.

VNdoubtedly I desire that thy friend according to thy wish should be both formed and instructed; but he is held ouer-hard, or rather (which is more troublesome) he is held ouer tender, and broken by euill and daily customes. I will yeeld thee an example out of the husbandry I professe: It is not euery Vine that is fit for grafting; if it be olde and worme-eaten, if it be weake and slender, eyther it receiueth not the young plant, or nourisheth it not, or it will not ioyne with it, neyther will communicate his qualitie and nature to the same. We therefore are accustomed to cut it aboue the ground, to the end that if it faile, a man may assay another experiment, and set him once more into the earth. This man of whom thou writest, and whom thou recommendest, hath no forces. He hath beene in such sort addicted vnto vices, that he is both dyed and indurate. He cannot receiue or nourish reason, yet is he desirous. Beleeue him not: I say not that he lieth vnto thee, he thinketh he desireth. He is angry with the excesse he hath made, yet will he shortly fall in league with it againe. But he saith that he is offended with his life: I will not denie it; for who is not offended? men both loue and hate their liues. Then therefore will we giue our iudgement of him, when he hath approued vnto vs that his excesse is hatefull vnto him; but now they are greatly at oddes.

Epist. CXIII.

He questioneth whether vertues be liuing creatures. He stoically affirmeth that the vices and affections are no lesse. Then preferred he a dispute, that were ridiculous in these dayes. He dissuadeth vs from such like, and summoneth vs to those things that are profitable to life.

THou desirest me to write vnto thee what I thinke of this question so much canuassed amongst Stoicks, whether iustice, fortitude, prudence, and the rest of the vertues are liuing creatures. By this subtilty, my deerest *Lucilius*, we giue occasion to some to thinke that we wher our wits about vnprofitable things, and that we lose our time in such disputes as serue to no purpose. Yet will I do that which thou desirest, and expresse vnto thee what the opinion of our Stoicks is; yet protest

I that I am of another opinion. I thinke there are some things that become those that weare the hat and cloke amongst the Grecians. I will therefore tell thee what the reasons were which moued antiquitie. It appeareth that the soule is a liuing creature, considering she is the efficient cause whereby we are animated: and for that liuing creatures haue derliued this name from her. But vertue is nought else then a soule possessing her selfe in some sort, it is therefore an animall. Againe, vertue doth something, but nothing can be done without motion; if she haue motion, which none hath except it be a liuing creature, she is a liuing creature: and if she be a liuing creature, then vertue containeth vertue in her selfe, why not? she hath her selfe. Euen as a wise-man doth all things by the assistance of vertue, so doth vertue by her selfe: & therefore saith he, all Arts, and all those things which we thinke, and whatsoeuer we comprehend in our mindes are animals. It followeth therefore that in those narrow breasts of ours there inhabiteth diuers thousands of animals, and that euery one of vs are many animals, or containe many animals in our selues. Aske thou me what is answered hereunto? Each one of these things shall be an animall, and not diuers. The reason? I will tell it thee, if thou wilt heare me patiently & attentiuely: all animals ought to haue each of them a proper substance: all animals haue one soule; they cannot therefore subsist euery one, neyther can they be diuers. I am an animall, and a man, thou wilt not therefore say that I am two. Why? To make them two, they ought to be seuered the one from the other. Euery one of diuers sorts hath but one nature, and therefore is but one. My soule is an animall, and I my selfe am one also; yet for all this are we not two. Why? By reason that my soule is a part of me. Then shall any thing be numbred by it selfe, when it consisteth by it selfe, but when it is a part and member of another, it cannot seeme to be another thing. And why? I will tell thee. Because that which is another must be his own, and properly his owne; and wholly his owne, and absolute within it selfe. I haue declared that I was of another opinion: for not only shall vertues be animals if this be admitted, but those vices and affections which are opposite vnto them likewise, such as are wrath, feare, sorrow and suspition. And yet this thing shall proceed further, all sentences, all thoughts shall be animals, which must in no sort be admitted. For euery thing that a man doth is not a man; what is iustice, saith he? A soule that possesseth her selfe in some sort: if therefore the soule be an animall, iustice is an animall. Nothing so: for this is a habite and certain power of the soule. The same soule is conuerted into diuers figures, and yet is not the soule an animall, so often-times as it changeth thus; neither is that which the soule doth an animall. If iustice, magnanimity and those other vertues be animals, I demand of thee if sometimes they cease to be, or if they begin againe, or if they be alwayes? Vertues cannot cease to be vertues, therfore many liuing creatures are animals, nay, more innumerable animals are in this soule. There are not many (saith he) but this is but one soule assembled of diuers, which are the members and parts of one. By this reckoning we represent vnto our selues such a forme as the Hydra, which hath diuers heads, each one of which fighteth and hurteth by it selfe. But none of those heads is an animall but the head of an animall, yet is she but one animall. No man said that in Chimera the Lion was an animall, or the Dragon; these are the parts of him, but the partes are not animals. Where doost thou gather that iustice is an animall? It acteth, saith he, somewhat and profiteth. But that which doth somewhat and profiteth, and hath force and motion, *Ergo*, that which hath force and motion is an animall. True it is, if it haue his

owne force and motion, but it hath not his owne force and motion, but that of the ſoule. Euery Animal vntill it die is that which it began to be. A man vntill he die is a man, ſo likewiſe a horſe and a dogge, for they cannot paſſe into another forme and ſubſtance. Iuſtice that is the ſoule which poſſeſſeth it ſelfe in any ſort, is an Animal. Let vs beleeue it. Moreouer, Magnanimitie, that is to ſay, the ſoule in any ſort miſtris of her ſelfe, is an Animal. What ſoule is that? That which euen now was Iuſtice, is incloſed in the firſt Animal, and cannot paſſe into another Animal, but muſt remaine in him where ſhe began to be. Furthermore, one ſoule cannot be in two liuing creatures together, much leſſe in many. If Iuſtice, Magnanimitie, Temperance, and thoſe other vertues be Animals. How can they haue but one ſoule, it muſt needs fall out that euery one hath his own, elſe cannot they be Animals. One body cannot be the body of diuers Animals. What is, ſaith he, the bodie of Iuſtice, the ſoule, and of magnanimitie alſo; but one bodie cannot be the bodie of two Animals. But ſome one will ſay, that one and the ſame ſoule hath taken the habitude of Iuſtice, magnanimitie and tem-

creature, and vertue be a good thing, euery good thing is a liuing creature. The Stoickes auow this. It is a good thing for a man to ſaue his fathers life, to ſpeake materially and to the purpoſe, his opinion in publique aſſembly, to giue a ſentence according to the lawes, by this reckoning to ſaue a mans father, ſhall be a liuing creature, and to thinke and debate well, another. In briefe, this Paradox will ſeeme ſo great in the end, that a man cannot containe himſelfe from laughter. To know how to hold a mans peace in time and place, to ſup well is a good thing, and therefore to hold a mans peace, and to ſup well, are liuing creatures. I will not ceaſe to tickle my ſelfe, and make me pleaſure by theſe follies. Truly if Iuſtice and Magnanimitie be liuing creatures, they are terreſtriall, euery terreſtriall liuing creature ſuffereth cold, hunger and thirſt. So Iuſtice hath a cold, Magnanimitie is hungry, and Clemencie drie. Moreouer, I would willingly aske of theſe Doctors, if theſe liuing creatures haue the figure of a man, of a horſe, or of a ſauage beaſt. If they attribute vnto them a round forme, as they doe vnto God, I would aske of them, whether couetouſneſſe, riot, and folly are round? For theſe likewiſe are Animals if they be round. I would deſire them further

magnanimous, except he be resolute against all accidents, if in his thought hee hath not ouercome all aduersities before he felt them. Magnanimitie is the impregnable fortresse of humane infirmitie, whosoeuer is inclosed therein, he remaineth assured in this beleagring of life. For he vseth his owne strength and his owne weapons. In this place I will set downe vnto thee the notable saying of the Stoick POSIDONIVS, *Neuer thinke thy selfe assured with the armes of Fortune, combate against her with thine owne. Casualties doe not arme vs.* They therefore that are armed against their enemies, are disarmed against aduersitie. *Alexander* spoiled and put to flight the Persians, the Hircanians, the Indians, and all those Nations that inhabit the extent of the East Countries vnto the sea. Notwithstanding he himselfe hauing slaine one friend and lost another, lay groueling in a darke chamber detesting his wickednesse, deploring his losse, and this conquerour of so many Kings and Nations, was ouercome by choler and sorrow. For all his endeuours were aimed to this end, to master all other things except himselfe. O how blinde are men, who desire to make their Scepters passe beyond the seas, who thinke themselues happy if they conquer diuers countries and Prouinces by their souldiers, and ioyne new to the old, not knowing that the greatest Empire, and that which is wholly conquered, is to command a mans selfe. Let them teach mee how sacred a thing Iustice is, that it is a vertue that is carefull of another mans good; that seeketh not commodities or aduantages to her selfe. That she hath no alliance with ambition and vaine-glorie, but pleaseth her selfe. Before all things let euery one perswade himselfe this. It behoueth me to be a good man, without hope or desire of recompence. This is a small matter, let him adde more: I am commanded to employ my selfe wholly and freely in the studie of vertue, in such sort as all my thought is as much as in me lieth, to be driuen from the consideration of my priuate profit. Studie thou not whether the reward of vertue, is more great then vertue it selfe. Fix thou that likewise in thy minde, which I haue touched heretofore, it skilleth not whether thy vertue be knowne to few men, or to many. He that wil haue his vertue publisshed, laboureth not for vertue, but for glory. Wilt thou not be iust without glory? But vndoubtedly thou must be iust with infamie, and then, if thou art wise, an euill opinion well gotten doth delight.

EPIST. CXIIII.

He teacheth that eloquence is otherwise different, and pleasing, euen as publike manners are seuere, dissolute and broken. He proueth that they take that colour from the mind, and that by MAECENAS *example, and therefore that that is to be cured and formed, from whence proceedeth sence, and consequently direct words. By the way he argueth against dissoluteneſſe..*

THou askest mee why and whence it commeth to passe, that the speech is corrupted in some times, and why mens minds are inclined to certaine vices, so as sometimes a swelling discourse was applauded, some other times sounding & deliuered after the maner of a song. Why other whiles men tooke pleasure in long & continued periods, other whiles in abrupt sentences & suspitious, in which more is to be vnderstood then heard. Why then was some age that immodestly vsed a figurative discourse. The reason is this which thou hast commonly heard, and the Greekes haue made their prouerb, of such is mens speech as is their life. But as euery mans actiō is answerable to his speech, so sometimes the kind of discourse imitateth

imitateth publike manners. If the discipline of the Common-wealth hath been depraued, the effeminate manner of language is an argument of the dissolution of all estates: I speake of that language which is vsuall amongst all men, and not of that, which some one or two vse. The soule and vnderstanding cannot be of two colours. If the soule be whole, composed, graue, and well tempered, the vnderstanding also is sober and moderate. If the one be corrupted, the other is affected. Seest thou not, that if the mind languish, the members are weakened, and the feet hardly moued? And if it be effeminate, how the infirmitie thereof appeareth euen in the walking? How if it be watchfull and forward, the body doubleth his pace, and if it be furious, or (that which is next to furie) be angry, how all the body trembleth, and how they go not, but are transported? How much more befalleth the vnderstanding thinkest thou, which is wholly intermixed with the soule, which formeth the same, bringeth it in action, and giueth it a law? In what sort *Maecenas* liued, it is better knowne, then that it needed to be expressed at this time, how he walked, how daintie he was, how desirous to be seene, how vnwilling that his vices should be vndiscouered. What then, was not his discourse as dissolute as his life? Had he not as much affectation and vanitie in his speech, as in his equipage, then in his traine, then in his house, then in his wife? He was a man of great vnderstanding, had he not tracted a worser way, had he not affected obscuritie, had he not ouerflowed in his discourse. Thou shalt therefore see the eloquence of a drunken man enfolded, extrauagant and full of libertie. Behold *Maecenas* in his manner of speech. *Quid turpius amne fluuij, ripa comantibus? Vide vt alueum limtribus arent, versoq; vadore mittant hortos. Quid si quis fœmina cirro crispata & labris columbatur? Incipitq; suspirans vt cernice laxa feriatur. Nemo tirāni irremediabilis factio rimantur, epulis laganaq; tentant domos & sæpe mortem exigunt. Genium festo vix suo testem tenuis ceres fila & crepacem molam. Iocum mater & vxor inuestiunt.* Wilt thou not suddenly remember, as soone as thou readest this, that this is the speech of such a man, who alwayes trauersed Rome streets in his loose-gowne. For euen then when in *Cæsars* absence he executed his office, hee deliuered the watch-word in this habit. Thinke that it is the same man, that in the Pallace, in the Tribunall during the time of Orations, in all assemblies of these people alwaies presented himselfe, hauing his face muffeled in his cloake, without discouering any thing but his eares, as they are accustomed to doe, who flie and will not be knowne, according as they are represented in Comedies. Hee it is that in the greatest height of ciuill warres, at such time as Rome was in armes and in feare, marched thorow the streetes, attended by two Eunuches, yet more men then himselfe. He it is that hath had but one wife, and notwithstanding hath been maried a thousand times. These words aboue written so badly builded, so negligently disposed, so repugnant to the manner of all mens writings, shew that his manners were no lesse new, then particular and depraued. Hee hath beene highly prised for the sweetnesse of his nature, in that hee neuer bare armes, or euer tooke pleasure in shedding bloud, or did any thing, except that which the libertie of the time or his credit might permit him. But all this good reputation of his hath beene soyled by the affectations of this his monstrous manner of language: for in this it manifestly appeareth that hee was rather a milke-soppe then mercifull. These obscurities in his composition, these ouerthwart vvords, these conceits oftentimes: loftie, but without pith, discouer vnto him that will obserue the same, that too much felicitie had troubled his head, a vice which is sometimes found in the man, sometimes in the

time. When as repose and felicitie produceth and soweth dissolution on euery side. First of all, a man beginneth more carefully to dresse and adorne his bodie. Afterwards his studie is to haue rich moueables; consequently he bethinketh himselfe of stately buildings, to make them more large, to enrich the walls with Marbles fetched from beyond seas, to embolish the rooses with gold, that the beautie of the pauement be answerable to the richnesse of many beames. Then transferreth he his daintinesse to the magnificence of his table, and there searcheth he glorie in noueltie, and changing the accustomed fashions amongst our predecessors, so that those things which were wont to bee serued in last at supper, are brought in first, and those things that were presented to those that entered to the feast, are giuen to those that depart from it. After that mans minde was accustomed to loath that which was in vse, and things that are ordinarie were accounted contemptible: he goes and seekes out a new language, reuiuing and renuing vnusuall and forgotten words, then forgeth he new, and regrateth the vnknowne: that which is but newly found out is reputed elegant, and figuratiue translations are audacious and frequent. Some thinke to credit themselues by speaking to the halfes, and abbreuiating their speech in such sort, as he that heareth knoweth not what to thinke. Other there are that delate and draw them out, some there are that draw not vnto the vice (for he must needs, that vndertaketh any great thing to doe the same) yet such as loue the same. Where soeuer therefore thou seest that men take delight in an obscure and corrupt speech, hold thy selfe assured that their manners are depraued. Euen as excessiue banquets and superfluous rayments are witnesses that the Commonweale is sicke, so this libertie in coyning new tearmes and words (if so be the custome be continued) sheweth that the spirits of those that speake thus, are entangled and lost. Wonder thou not in any sort, that this corruption is as pleasing to the mightiest, as to the meaner sort, for the greatest and the poorest differ not in iudgements, but in their pompe and estate. Rather wonder thou that men praise the effects of vices, and the vices themselues. For this hath beene alwaies done: there was no pleasing wit that had not his pardon. Giue me whatsoeuer man thou wilt of greatest name, and I will tell thee wherein the age wherein he liued pardoned him, and what they willingly dissembled in him. I will reckon thee vp many, whose vices harmed them not, and some, whose errors profited them. I will, I say, let thee see some of great renowne, and reputed most excellent men, whom if a man will censure, he confoundeth them. For so are their vertues intermixed with their vices, that the one do necessarily draw the other after them. Adde hereunto that language hath no certaine rule. The publike custome which changeth it incessantly, altereth it from yeare to yeare. Some men borrow words from another age. They vse the stile of the Lawes written in the twelue tables. *Gracchus*, *Crassus*, and *Curio* are ouer new for them, they returne as farre as *Appius* and *Coruncanus*. Some other contrariwise, that will haue nothing which is not vulgar and triuiall, speake very barelie. Both of them are corrupted in a diuers manner so much certainlie, as if they would vse pompous wel-sounding and poeticall words, and flie those that are necessarie and in vse: I will say that as well the one as the other doth amisse. The one esteemeth themselues more then is necessary, the other misprizeth themselues ouer much; the one pull the haire frō their legs, the other not from their arme pits. Let vs passe ouer to cōposition, how many defaults may I discouer to thee? The one allow of a crabbed and harsh discourse, they disturbe a smooth and pleasing stile: no period is pleasing to them, if it be not harsh and rough: they

they repute that manly and strong which affecteth the care with inequalitie. The other in stead of speaking, seeme to sing, so flattering and so fluent is the structure of their wordes. What will you say of that where the words are deferred, and after we haue attended a litle long time, hardly returne they vnto their clauses? What shall I say of that which in the issue is moderate (as is that of *Cicero*) and falling and ending afterwards sweetly, and answerable to the fashion, and hath his ending answerable to the manner and fort. There is not onely an errour in the kind of sentences, if either they are too weake and childish, and more proude and bolde then modestie will permit, but they are too flourishing and sweet, if they be deliuered in vaine and without any effect, they doe no more but sound. These vices some one man bringeth in, whose eloquence in that time is applauded, the rest doe imitate him, and the one deliuereth it to the other. So when *Salust* was in request, the sentences were cut talled, and words had their vnexpected cadence, and obscure breuitie with the rest was reputed elegancie, *Arruncius* a man of rare frugalitie, who wrote the Historie of the Carthaginian warres, was a Salustian, and an excellent man in that kinde. There is in SALVST, *Exercitum argento fecit*: that is to say, he made an armie with siluer; that is, he assembled an armie with money. This did *Arruncius*, he planted it in euery page: he saith in a certaine place, *Fugam nostri fecere*, that is to say, our men made a flight: and in another place *Hiero* King of Syracusa, *Bellum facit*, maketh warre: and likewise in another place, *Quæ audita Panormitanos dedere Romanis fecere*, that is to say, which things being heard, they made that the Inhabitants of Panormus rendred themselues to the Romanes. I thought good to giue thee a little taste. All this whole booke is composed of words. Those wordes that were rare in *Salust* are vsuall in him, and almost continued: and not without cause; for the one lighted on them by chance, the other sought for them. But thou seest what followeth him that taketh an errour for an example: *Salust* said, *Aquis hiemalibus*, whilst the waters wintered. *Arruncius* in his first booke of the Carthaginian warre, saith, *Repente hiemalium tempestas*, that is to say, the tempest suddenly wintered. And in another place, when he would say that the yeare was colde, he saith, *Totus hiemauit annus*, that is, the whole yeare wintered. And in another place, *Indè sexaginta onerarias leues præter militem, & necessarios nautarum hiemante aquilone misit*, that is, whilst the *Aquilon* wintered, he sent from that place sixtie ships of small burthen, besides the Souldiers and necessarie Marriners. He neuer giueth ouer in all places to foist in this word. In a certaine place *Salust* saith, *Inter arma ciuilia aquibonâ famas petit*, that is, amidst ciuill armes he sought the renowne of a man good and iust. *Arruntius* tempered not himselfe, but presently in his first booke he inserted this, *Ingentes esse famas de* REGVLO, that is, that the renownes of *Regulus* were great. This therefore and such like vices, which imitation hath impressed into any tokens of dissolution, or a corrupt minde. For they must be proper and conceiued by the vnderstanding, by which thou oughtest to estimate any mans effects. The speech of a cholericke man is hastie, and violent of a man that is moued to much stirring, of a delicate and ciuill man smooth and pleasant, which thou seest those men follow that eyther pull and trim their beards, that cause their mustachios to be cut short, that shaue their vpper lips very neere, and suffer the rest to be as long as is possible, that weare their cloakes of an euill colour, and gownes of pure stuffe, who will doe nothing but that which is seene publiquely, although they offend and displease the whole world. But they care not to be reproued, prouided, that they be beheld. Such is *Mecænis* discourse and

all

all others elſe, which erre not caſually but willingly. This errour proceedeth from an euill conſcience. Euen as in drunkennelſe the tongue falſereth not, except reaſon be obſcured or betrayed: ſo this maner of ſpeech (which is a meere drunkeneſſe of the ſpirit) is tedious to no man, except the vnderſtanding of him that ſpeaketh be ſhaken. Therefore we ought to heale the ſame, for from it the diſcourſe, the words, the countenance, the regard, the marching is deriued; if it be whole and ſtrong. The language is robuſt, ſtrong and manly: contrariwiſe, if it be dejected all the reſt grow to wracke,

The King in health then all mens mindes are one,
The King once loſt then all mens faith is gone.

Our minde is our King if it be ſafe, the reſt continue in their ductie, they obey and are gouerned, if he be neuer ſo little ſhaken, they droope with him. But when he giueth place to pleaſure, his Arts and his actions alſo doe decay, and all his forces are feeble and fraile. Becauſe I haue vſed this ſimilitude I will perſeuer. Our minde is now a King, now a Tyrant: a King when he beholdeth and aimeth at honeſtie, maintaineth the health of the bodie committed to his charge, and commandeth no filthy or fordid thing: but when he is cholericke, couetous and delicate, he aſſumeth a deteſtable and direfull name, and is called Tyrant. Then doe impotent affections lay holde of him, and ſollicite him inceſſantly, and in the beginning of thoſe that moſt preſſe him ſeeme to yeelde him pleaſure; ſuch as the people is accuſtomed to reioyce at when a tyrant maketh them any larges to intrap them: but this abundance is vaine vnto the vnderſtanding, which manageth that which he cannot diſ-geſt, when the ſickeneſſe hath conſumed his vigor more and more, and delights haue ſtolne into his nerues and marrow, the vnderſtanding being ioyfull to behold theſe things (the vſe whereof is vnprofitable to him, becauſe he hath ouer-earneſtly deſired them) for the ſatisfaction of his delights, he enioyeth the ſight of this or that, he is witneſſe and vnderſeruant of other mens luſts, being depriued of all delights of the ſame, becauſe he is ouer-plunged therein: in briefe, the abundance of worldly pleaſures in ſtead of conceiting him conſumeth him, when he ſees himſelfe depriued of the meanes to let downe by his throate into his belly all the pleaſant morſels he beholdeth, and to tumble himſelfe baſely amidſt the troop of baudes and harlots, he wonderfully grieueth becauſe he is falne from the greateſt part of his felicitie, hauing ſo ſtraight receipt in a bodie ſo little. Is not this a true furie, my *Lucilius*, that none of vs thinketh that he is mortall? That we are inſenſible euery way of our infirmity? yea, that each one ſuppoſeth himſelfe to be more then one. Behold our Kitchins, and our Cookes trauerſing from one fire to another; wouldeſt thou thinke that for the refection of one only belly ſo much ſtirre ſhould be made? Behold our Caues and Cellers repleniſhed with the vintages of many ages; thinkeſt thou that it is for one belly that the wines of ſo many Conſuls and Countries are ſtored vp? Behold in how many places the earth is turned vp, how many thouſands of huſbandmen plough and digge the ſame; thinkeſt thou that it may ſeeme to be for one belly that Sicily and Africa are ſowed? We ſhall be healthfull and deſire little, if euery one of vs numbreth himſelfe, and meaſure his body likewiſe, and know that it neyther can receiue much, nor containe it long; yet is there nothing that will teach thee better to keepe a meaſure in all things, then an ordinarie meditation of the ſhortnes and vncertainty of this life, whenſoeuer thou dooſt look backe vnto death.

Epist. CXVI.

He argueth againſt thoſe that are too curious in their diſcourſe and ſtile, and ſaith it is a token of a weake minde; alleaging that we ought to ſpeake and write confidently without affectation of ornament, and rather expreſſe in our minde. O what a one is he when vertues haue adorned him? He will draw all men into admiration of him, if he might be ſeene. But this externall beautie is cypher falſe or nothing worth: as likewiſe golde and money are, which we ſo much admire. Theſe make not men happy or ſecure, nay rather miſerable and to be pitied.

I Will not haue thee too curious, eyther in thy wordes or compoſition, my *Lucilius*, I haue greater matters for thee to care for, and thinke vpon. Seeke what thou ſhouldeſt write, and not how; and in ſtead of buſying thy ſelfe about wordes, cauſe thy ſelfe to haue a feeling of the ſubſtance thereof in thy heart, to the end thou mayeſt apply the ſame more and more, and as it were ſeale it in thy ſelfe. Whomſoeuer thou ſeeſt that vſeth an affected and laboured kinde of ſpeech, thinke that he hath his ſpirit occupied about vaine things. A vertuous man ſpeaketh more remiſſely, but more ſecurely: whatſoeuer he ſaith, hath more confidence in it then curioſitie. Thou knoweſt diuers young men well barbed and frizeled, who ſeeme as if they newly came out of a boxe; expect thou nothing eyther firme or generous from ſuch kinde of men. The ſpeech is the Image of the minde: if a man mince it, diſguiſe and poliſh it ouer curiouſly, it is a ſigne that he which ſpeaketh it, is an hypocrite, and little worth. It is no manly ornament to ſpeake affectedly. If it were lawfull for vs to prie into the ſoule of a good man, O the faire, O the holy, O the magnificent, gratious, and ſhining face which we ſhould beholde! their iuſtice, their fortitude, their temperance, their prudence giue luſtre on euery ſide. Furthermore, frugalitie, continence, patience, libertie and courteſie, and that rare, and as it were incredible ornament in a man, that is to ſay humanity, would reflect their light vpon them. Furthermore, how much grace, grauity, authority, diſcretion and magnanimitie (which is the higheſt of all other vertues) would annex themſelues vnto the reſt. No man would count him amiable that would not terme him venerable, if any one had ſeene this face more heauenly and reſplendent then mortall eyes are accuſtomed to behold, would he not ſtep backe, being ſtroken with aſtoniſhment, as if he had met with ſome God? Would he not pray in his heart that he might contemplate the ſame? Then approching more neere, allured by the ſweetneſſe of his eyes, would he not humbly kneele downe before her. And hauing aduiſedly conſidered it, how farre more excellent it were and incomparable aboue ours, with a gratious regard, yet ſparkling and filled with liuing light, wholly rauiſhed with zeale and amaſe, would he not crie out with *Virgil*,

O by what ſtile faire Virgin ſhall I ſtriue
To ſet thee forth? for thine vnequal'd eyes
Are mere then mortall, and thy words reuiue
Farre more then humane eloquence implies,
Liue happy, and vouchſafe vs of thy grace,
And end thoſe toyles which haue our life in chace.

Shee will aſſiſt and comfort vs, if we will honour her, but ſhe is not honoured or

ſerued by the offerings of fat ſlaughtered and ſacrificed Bulls, nor by golde, or ſiluer hung vp in the Temple, or by preſents caſt into her treaſure; but by a right and holy affection. There is not any man, as I haue ſaid, that would not be inflamed with her loue, if we could attaine to ſee her. For now there are manie things that hinder and dim our eyes, and dull them by their brightneſſe, or detaine them in obſcuritie. But euen as certaine medicines doe clenſe and ſharpen the ſight; ſo likewiſe if we will take away thoſe impediments that darken the eyes of our ſoules, we may behold vertue, although couered with a body, although pouertie, baſe condition, and infamie be as many couerts to conceale her from vs; although this beautie be clouded by an obſcure thing, yet ſhall we eſpie it. Contrariwiſe, we ſhall diſcouer from a farre the malice and ſtupiditie of a miſerable ſoule, although that riches doe abundantly ſhine and muſter about her, and that in regarding her we haue our eyes dazeled with the falſe light of power and honours. Then may wee learne that which wee admire is contemptible in all ſorts, and that we reſemble little children, that thinke euery trifle of great value; for they preferre their little bracelets, ſcarce worth a peny, before their fathers, mothers, or brothers. What difference then is there betwixt vs and them, ſaith *Ariſton*, but that we are madding after pictures and ſtatues more coſtly fooliſh? They are delighted with little partie coloured ſtones, that haue ſome varietie in them, which are found vpon the Sea ſhore, and we with pillars of Iaſpe and Porphirie, brought from the ſands of Ægypt, or the deſerts of Africa, to ſuſtaine ſom porch or ſom dyning chamber to feaſt the Commons in. We wonder at the walls that are couered with thin marble, and yet we know what that is which is hidden, and we couſen our owne eyes. And when we guild all the roofs of our houſes, what other thing reioice we in but in counterfeit? For we know that worme-eaten wood lyeth hidden vnder that golde: neyther is it onely on our walls and houſe-beames that we beſtow this light ornament, but remember thy ſelfe alſo that the felicitie of all theſe great men whom thou ſeeſt march ſo proudly, is but a felicitie guilded on the out-ſide, and a ſimple leaſe. Obſerue and thou ſhalt ſee, that vnder this thin skin of humane greatneſſe, there is abundance of miſerie and filthineſſe. Thoſe riches which at this day raiſe men to greateſt magiſtracy & place of juſtice, haue bewitched the hearts and ſenſes of the ſame men; and ſince mony hath growne in requeſt, the true honour of things is made no reckoning of: and being become buyers and ſellers both at once, we aske no more what this is, but of what worth this is? In this traffique we are ſometimes good, and ſometimes euill. As long as there is any hope of profite about vertue wee follow her: if vice promiſe vs better aduantage we runne after it, and are for thoſe will giue vs moſt. Our fathers and mothers haue made vs admire golde and ſiluer; this couetouſneſſe being ſowed in our tender ſoules, hath taken deepe roote, and is growne with vs. Againe, all men that in all other things are of different opinions, accord in this point of auarice, euery one embraceth the ſame, deſireth that his may haue a part, & pretending to ſhew himſelfe gratefull to the gods, hee preſenteth them with ſiluer and golde, as the moſt excellent thing in the world. Finally, mans life is brought to that paſſe, that pouertie is held for a hatefull thing, and full of contempt, neglected by the rich, hatefull to the poore. Then haue the Poets annexed their inuentions, which are as it were matches to kindle our affections in prayſing riches as the onely honour and ornament of this life, and that the immortall gods ſeeme to haue nothing better, neyther can giue any thing more exquiſite. One of them ſpeaking of the Pallace of the Sunne, ſaith

The

The Pallace of the Sunne, moſt ſeemely to behold,
Was raiſ'd on pillars of the pureſt gold.

Behold how he deſcribes his Chariot.

The axeltree, the beame, the outward bends,
That arme the wheele, were all of burniſht gold,
The ſpoakes of ſiluer.——

To conclude, they call that the golden age, which they would haue reputed for the beſt. Amongſt the Tragique Poets, there are ſome that preferre profit before innocence, health, and good opinion.

Let me haue wealth and riches to be giuing,
Account thou me the wretcheſt miſer liuing;
All men enquire, if he be rich or no,
But no man learnes what goodneſſe he doth owe.
They aske not why, or whence, but what thou haſt,
And onely that, ſo each man is reputed
As he is landed, monied, and ſuted.
Aſk'ſt thou me what is loathſome to poſſeſſe,
Nothing; for getting doth diſgrace redreſſe.
I either wiſh to liue in rich eſtate,
Or die in pouertie, contempt, and hate:
Full well dies he, that dying getteth gaine.
Mony the greateſt good of humane ſtraine:
The mothers comfort, and the infants pleaſure,
The ſacred parents are but toyes to pleaſures,
In VENVS *face nothing ſo ſweetly ſhines*
As mony doth, nothing her power confines;
The gods themſelues are by her preſents mou'd,
And mortall men her ſight haue euer lou'd.

When theſe laſt verſes of *Euripides* Tragedie were pronounced, all the people aroſe with great tumult, to fling out both the Actor and the Author, till *Euripides* himſelfe ſtepped forth into the middeſt of them, beſeeching them to haue patience, and they ſhould ſee what end he had that ſo much admired gold. In this Tragedie *Beleraphon* receiued the chaſtiſement, which euery one receiueth in himſelfe. For no auarice is without puniſhment, although ſhee her ſelfe be puniſhment enough of her ſelfe. O how many teares and toyles exacteth ſhee at their hands that ſerue her, how miſerable ſhee is both to thoſe that gape after her, and to thoſe that haue got her. Adde hereunto the continuall cares which torment euery man, according to the meaſure of that he hath: mony is poſſeſt with greater torment then ſought. What bitter ſighes are vented from the hearts of couetous men, if they haue any loſſes, which ſometimes are great, and ſeeme alſo to be greater. Finally, although Fortune take nothing from them, yet all that which eſcapeth their fingers, is as much as loſt vnto them. But men ſay ſuch a one is happie and rich, and deſire to haue as much goods as hee. I confeſſe it. What then? Thinkeſt thou that any are in worſe caſe then thoſe

which

which haue both miſerie and enuie. I could wiſh that they who deſire riches, ſhould conſult and take counſell of rich men. I could wiſh that they who affect honors, ſhould confer with ambitious men, and ſuch as haue gotten the height of dignitie, they ſhould vndoubtedly change their vowes, which they doe alſo making new wiſhes, and conſequently condemning their former wiſhes. For there is no one man that contenteth himſelfe with his felicitie, although ſhee

cannot liue, if of it ſelfe it come not, it is diſſoluteneſſe. Let vs therefore make head againſt affections which enter: becauſe, as I ſaid, they are not entertained ſo eaſily as they depart. Permit me in ſuch a meaſure to be ſorrowfull, in ſuch a meaſure to feare: but that meaſure, becommeth without meane, and endeth not there where thou wilt. It is ſafetie for a wiſe-man not to keepe himſelfe o-

doth,it is a bodie. They say that wisedome is good, it followeth then of necessitie that it is corporall. But they thinke that to be wise is not of the same condition. It is a thing incorporall and accidentall vnto wisedome,and therefore it cannot produce any action,neyther profite any wayes. But say we not it is good to be wise? We say so in relation to that whereon it dependeth,that is to say,to wisedome it selfe. Before I begin to retire my selfe, and to vnite my selfe with the contrary parties,heare that which some Stoicks answere vnto the rest. After this manner say they it is no good thing to liue happily: will they, nill they,they must answer that a blessed life is good,and that to liue blessedly is a good thing. Moreouer, it is opposed against those of our sect, Will you be wise? Therefore it is a thing to be desired to be wise: if it be a thing to be desired it is good. The Stoicks are constrained to wrest wordes, and to require the interposition of one syllable,which our speech permitteth not to be inserted,I will if thou wilt suffer me annex the same: That, say they, is to be desired which is good to be desired,which is contingent vnto good, which good when wee haue attained it, is not required as good, but is an accession to the good that is required. I am not of this opinion, and I iudge that the Stoickes agree with mee herein, because the first point bridleth them, and they cannot lawfully change the manner of speech: wee are wont to attribute much to the common and vniuersall opinion of men. Amongst vs it is a testimonie of truth, if it be alleaged that all men beleeue that which is in question. As for proofe that there are goddes, wee alleage that the beleefe that there are gods is ingraffed and planted in all mens minds; neyther is there any Nation how brutish soeuer,that beleeueth not that there are gods? When we dispute of the eternity of soules, the concent of men eyther fearing hell,or reuerencing the same,hath no small moment and authority. I vse this publique perswasion,thou shalt finde no man who thinketh not that both wisdome and to be wise is good. I will not doe as they are accustomed that are ouercome,who seeing themselues in danger to lose their liues, appeale vnto the people,we will begin to fight with our owne weapons, whether is that which happeneth vnto any man without or within him to whom it happeneth? If it be in him to whom it happeneth,it is as well a bodie as that to which it happeneth: for nothing can happen without touch,and that which toucheth is a bodie. If it be without after it hath happened it departeth: that which retireth his selfe hath motion, and whatsoeuer hath motion is a bodie. Thou hopest that I will say,that the course is not one thing, and running another; neyther heate one thing,and to be hote another; neither light one thing, and to shine another. I graunt that there is a diuersitie in these things,but I say that the one are not of a different condition from the other. If health be a thing indifferent, to be in health is a thing indifferent: likewise,if beautie be indifferent, to bee beautifull is indifferent: if iustice be good,to be iust is good: if villainy be euill, to be a villaine is euill. As much assuredly as if lippitude be euill, to haue purblinde eyes is euill. That thou mayest know this, can the one be without the other? To be wise is wisedome, and it is wisedome to be wise. So farre is it from breeding doubt,that the one resembleth the other,that som men suppose that they are one and the same thing.But I would willingly aske this question; Since all things are eyther good, or euill, or indifferent, in what ranke To be wise,thall be placed? They denie that it is good,and euill it is not; it followeth then that it is indifferent: but that repute we to be meane and indifferent that may as well befall an euill as a good man,as money,beauty, and abilitie. But to be

be wise cannot befall any but a wise-man,and therefore it is not indifferent. An euill it is not that cannot betide an euill man,& therfore it is good: it is,saith he, the accident of wisedome. This therefore which thou termest To be wise,whether maketh it wisedome or suffereth it? Whether it doth make it or suffer it,in both kindes it is a bodie; for both that which is made and that which maketh is a bodie: if it be a body it is good. For this one thing was deficient in it, and detained it from being good,which was,because it had no bodie. The Peripatetiques holde that there is no difference betwixt wisdome and to be wise,when as the one is comprehended in the other. For thinkest thou that any man is wise except he that hath wisedome? And thinkest thou that wisedome accompanieth him that is wise? The ancient Logicians distinguished these things,and from them this diuision came vnto the Stoickes. What this is I will tell thee: The field is one thing,and to haue possession of the same another. Why not, when as to haue the possession of the field appertaineth to him that hath the field,and not vnto the field? So wisedome is one thing,and to be wise another. I thinke thou wilt grant me this,that these are two; that which is had, and hee that hath the same: wisedome is had,he that is wise hath it. Wisedome is a perfect minde,or that which attaineth the fulnesse of perfection; for she is the act of life. What is to be wise? I cannot say a perfect minde, but that which befalleth him that hath a perfect minde. So the one is a good minde, the other as it were to haue a good minde. There are,saith he,diuers natures of the body: as for example; this is a man,that a horse: these natures likewise are followed by the motions of the minde,which make shew of the body. These motions haue something proper and considered apart from the bodies, as I see *Cato* walking; this doth the sense shew;the minde beleeue. It is a bodie that I see,on which I haue fixed both mine eye and my mind. I say afterwards *Cato* walketh, I speake not now of his bodie,but of something denounced of the body, that is to say, of his motion,which some call pronounced,some signified,other some denounced. So when we say wisedome we vnderstand some thing that is bodilesse: when we say he is wise,we speake of the body. But there is a great difference whether thou speakest this or of that: for the present, let vs put the case that wisedome and to be wise are two things; for as yet I publish not my opinion, what hindereth both the one and the other to be good? Thou saidst a little before that the field was one thing,& to possesse the field was another. Why not? for he that possesseth the same is in one nature, and that which is possessed is another,the one is a man, the other is a fielde. But in this whereof we now make question,wisdome and to be wise are things of the same nature. Furthermore, the field that is possessed is one thing, and the man that possesseth the same another; but wisedom and to be wise are found in one and the same man. The possession of the field comes by right,that of wisedome comes by nature. A man may alien the field, and giue it vnto another man, wisedome neuer departeth from him that possesseth the same: we must not therefore compare things that are vnlike. I began to say that both these may be two,and yet both of them good. Wisedome and a wise-man are two, and by thy confession both of them are good. But euen as nothing hindereth but that wisedome is a good thing,and he he that hath wisedome is good, so nothing hindereth but that wisedome is good,and to haue wisedome,this is to be wise and good. I will be a wise-man to this end that I may be wise. What therefore? Is not that good without the which the other is not good? Vndoubtedly, you say that wisdom if it be without vse is to be esteemed as nothing. And what is the vse of wisedome?

dome? To be wise. This is that which is most precious in her, which being taken from her she is but meere illusion: if torments be euill, it is euill to be tortured, yea in such sort that if a man were neuer tormented, he should neuer consequently haue any torments. Wisedome is a habitude of a perfect vnderstanding; to be wise the vse of a perfect mind: how can the vse thereof be good, which without vse is not good? I aske thee whether wisedome is to be desired? Thou confessest it. I ask thee whether the vse of wisdom is to be desired? Thou confessest it, protesting likewise not to receiue the same if a man will barre thee of the vse thereof: that which is to be desired is good, so be wise is the vse of wisdom, as the vse of eloquence is to speak, the vse of the eye to see; but the vse of wisdome is to be desired, *Ergo*, to be wise is a thing to be desired, and if it be to be desired it is good. I condemne my selfe for times past, for following those whom I accuse, and for implying arguments in a thing that is manifest. For who can doubt but that extreme heate is euill, and to be extremely hote is euill; and that if colde be euill it is an euill thing to be colde? If life be good, that to liue is good? All these things that are about wisedome are not in the same, but we are to stay our selues vpon her, and if we will discourse she hath ample and spacious retreats to conuerse in. Let vs enquire of the nature of the gods, of the nourishments and diuers motion of the Planets, whether our bodies be desposed according to their reuolutions, or whether their influences haue a hand in all mens bodies and mindes: whether those things which are called casuall are tyed together in a certaine order, and if nothing be done in this world without some speciall prouidence. But these things haue no relation to the present reformation of manners, yet mount they the minde, and raise the same to the greatnesse of those things they intreate of. But those disputes whereof I spoke a little before, doe diminish and depresse the same, neyther as thou thinkest doe they whet but dull the same. But why, I beseech you, employ wee so necessary a care reserued for greater and better things, in a thing if not meerly false, yet truely vnprofitable? What shall it profite me whether wisedome be one thing, and to be wise be another? What shall it auaile mee to knowe whether this be good, or that be badde? At all aduentures see what I desire; I wish thee wisedome, and my selfe that I may be wise, so shall wee be both equall. Rather doe this that thou mayest shewe mee the way how I may attaine vnto these. Tell mee what I must eschue, and what I should desire, by what studies I may confirme my infirme minde; how I may driue farre from mee those vices that carrie and transport mee from the right; how I may surmount so many euils; how I may remoue these calamities that haue broken in vpon mee, and how I may thwart those, in which I haue engaged my selfe. Teach mee how I may endure afflictions without grieuing, felicitie without other mens enuie or distaste, how I may not expect the last and necessarie tearme of life, but of my selfe when I shall so thinke good, speedily seeke it out and flie vnto it. Nothing in my iudgement is more absurd and dishoneſt then to wish for death. For if thou wilt liue, why wishest thou to die? If thou wilt not, to what intent importunest thou the gods for that which they gaue thee when thou wert borne? For euen as it is decreed that thou must die one day whether thou wilt or no, so when thou wilt is in thine owne power: the one is of necessitie, the other of will. Some few dayes past I haue read a shamefull Preface of a certaine man, otherwise learned and eloquent, where these wordes are: *So I may die* (sayeth hee) *incontinently*. O fond man, thou desirest that which is thine owne; *So may I die incontinently*. It may be that in speaking these wordes thou art become olde. Otherwise what stayeth thee? No man holdes thee, escape when thou wilt, chuse such a part of the instruments of nature, as seemeth good vnto thee, and command the same to giue thee issue: for these are the elements whereby this inferiour world is maintained; water, earth and ayre; all these are both the causes of life, and the high-wayes to death. *So may I die incontinently*: but when wilt thou die? What day wilt thou assigne to thine incontinent? It may come sooner then thou wishest. These are the wordes of a weake minde, and of such a one who by this protestation would obtaine mercie and lengthning of his life: he will not die that wisheth for death. Beseech the gods to giue thee life and health: if thou hast a minde to die, this is the fruite of death, to giue ouer wishing. Let vs speake of these things my *Lucilius*, and by them forme our vnderstandings wisedome, and to be wise consisteth in this, not to debate in impertinent questions of vnprofitable disputes. So many questions hath fortune proposed vnto thee, yet hast thou not satisfied her in them: now thou caullest. How fond a thing is it to stand flourishing thy sword in the ayre, when the signall is giuen thee to begin the skirmish? Giue ouer these armes of disport, thou art to fight at sharpe. Tell me by what means no sadnes or feare may trouble the minde? by what meanes I may disburden my selfe of this troublesom weight of secret desires? Let somwhat be don. Wisdom is good, to be wise is not good: be it so. Let vs denie that to bee wise is a good thing, to the end we may draw all that studie into contempt, which is imployed in superfluous matters. What if thou knewest likewise that this is in question, whether future wisedome be good? For what doubt is there, I pray you, whether the barnes doe already feele the harueſt that is at hand, neyther childehood vnderstand his future youth, being destitute of force and vigor? The health that is to com is nothing profitable to him that is sick, no more then rest doth which ought to follow the course and wrestling, comforteth not a man as long as he is running or wrestling. Who knoweth not that that which is to come is not good for this onely cause, because it is yet to come? For that which is good profiteth and forthwith without delay. No things can be profitable but such as are present: if a thing profit not, truely it is not good; if it profite it is presently good. I shall be wise, this shall be good when I shall be so; but in the meane while it is not. First must a thing be, and afterwards it must be such or such. But tell mee, I pray thee, how may that which as yet is nothing, bee perfectly good? For how wilt thou haue me better proue it vnto thee that a thing is not, then if I shall say it is to come: for it is manifest that it is not yet come that is comming. The Spring must follow. I know now that it is Winter, the Sommer shall succeede: I knowe that it is not Sommer-time. The greatest argument I haue that a thing is not as yet present, is that it is to come. I hope I shall bee wise, yet in the meane space I am not wise. If I had that good, I should presently want this euill. It may bee hereafter that I shall be wise, although by this thou vnderstandest that I am not yet wise, I cannot at one time bee in that good and this euill. These two things doe not agree but are disioynted; neyther are at once in the same, good and euill. Let vs passe ouer speedily these ingenious trifles, and hasten our selues to attaine those things which may giue vs any help. There is no man that carefully seeketh for a mid-wife to come vnto his daughter that is in labour, that readeth vnto her the ordinance and disposition of the publicke Playes. There is no man that hastily runneth to quench the fire that hath seized his house, hath not the leasure

to ſtudy how to ſaue his man, that in a game at Cheſts is hemmed in on euery ſide. But thou knoweſt that from all parts, there commeth newes vnto thee both of the burning of thy houſe and the death of thy children, of the ſiege of thy Cittie, of the pillage of thy goods. Adde hereunto, ſhipwracks, earthquakes, and all other dreadfull accidents. Being in the midſt of ſo many troubles, haſt thou no other buſineſſe but to giue thy ſelfe to pleaſure? Thou inquireſt what difference there is betwixt wiſedome and to be wiſe. Thou knitteſt and looſeſt knots, hauing ſo great a mountaine of miſeries hanging ouer thy head. Nature hath not giuen vs ſo fauourable and liberall benefit of time, that we ſhould haue leiſure to loſe any part therof; conſider alſo how much they loſe who are moſt diligent. The ſickneſſe of our ſelues and of our friends carrieth away one part of vs, and neceſſarie and publique affaires another. Sleepe robbeth from vs the halfe of our life. Of this time ſo ſhort, ſo ſwift, and that carrieth vs away, to what purpoſe is it to conſume the greater part thereof in vain? Adde hereunto now that the minde is accuſtomed rather to delight then heale it ſelfe, and that Philoſophie which ſhould be the remedie of euils, ſeemeth nothing but for paſtime. I know not what difference there is betwixt wiſedom and being wiſe, yet know I well that it profiteth me nothing, whether I know theſe things or know them not. Tell me when I haue learned the difference betwixt wiſedome and being wiſe, if I ſhall be wiſe? Why rather detaineſt thou me amongſt the words then the workes of wiſedome? Make me ſtronger, make me ſecurer, make me equall with fortune, make me ſuperiour: but I may be ſuperiour if I doe all that which I learne.

Epist. CXVIII.

That he will write no vaine Epiſtles, but rather ſuch as are full of profitable leſſons. He perſwadeth to handle our priuate not forraine buſineſſes, to require nothing of fortune, neyther to depend vpon her. That the true good is to be ſought, and the definition what it is: and likewiſe what it differeth from honeſtie. That euery good is according to nature, neyther yet is euery thing good which is according to nature.

THou requireſt me to write vnto thee oftentimes, if we enter into account thou canſt not ſufficiently ſatisfie me. It was agreed betweene vs that thou ſhouldeſt write firſt, and that I ſhould anſwer thee, I will not be behinde hand with thee, I know that there is nothing loſt that is lent thee. I will pay thee therfore before thy day: neyther will I doe that which eloquent *Cicero* was wont to counſell *Atticus* to doe, that is, to write whatſoeuer came into his minde, although he had no matter whereupon to write. I can neuer want matter to write vnto thee, although I omit all that diſcourſe wherewith *Cicero* ſtuffeth his Epiſtles, to wit, who it is that laboreth for offices, who fighteth with his own or forraine forces, who laboureth for the Conſulat, eyther vnder *Cæſars* or *Pompeis* fauour, or of himſelfe. How hard a vſurer *Cicilius* is, from whom his neighbours cannot wreſt a pennie, but a hundreth vpon a hundreth. It were better for a man to ſpeake of his owne miſeries then of another mans, to examine himſelfe, and to conſider how many things a man laboureth for, and obtaineth not one. This my *Lucilius*, is a worthy thing, this a ſecure and free thing, to demaund and purchaſe nothing, and to let fortune poſſeſſe her eſtates, without bribing after any of

of the. How pleaſant a thing is it, thinkeſt thou, when the people are aſſembled, when ſuch as pretend offices giue court to their wel-wiſhers, & the one publikely proteſteth the mony he will giue, the other ſolliciteth by his ſureties & priuat friends, when one man weareth and waſteth another mans hands with kiſſes. Where had he attained what he deſireth, he would loath they ſhould touch his; when all men are aſtoniſhed, & expect the voice of the Crier, to ſtand idle & expect thoſe faires, neither buying nor ſelling any thing? How great ioy enioyeth this man, who beholdeth theſe aſſemblies, where choyce is made of Pretors and Conſuls, but thoſe great eſtates, where the one demaundeth yearely honours, others perpetuall power: the one happie ſucceſſe in battels and triumphes, the other riches: the one marriages and children, the other long and happie life for themſelues and their parents. O how great a minde is it to demand nothing, to make ſupplication to no man, and that ſaith vnto Fortune, I haue nothing to doe with thee, I am not at thy commandement. I know that with thee *Catoes* are repelled, and *Vatinians* aduanced. I demand nothing at thy hands. This is to reduce Fortune into order. For this cauſe therefore ought we to entertaine one another, and to entreat continually on this ſubiect in our letters, beholding on euery ſide of vs ſo many thouſands of men in trouble, who to caſt themſelues headlong into ſome mortall ruine, trauerſe one miſchiefe to findeout another; and ſeeke thoſe things, which they incontinently flie as ſoone as they haue found them, or wherewith they ſhould be likewiſe diſguſted. For who is he that hath contented himſelfe with that which was giuen him, or that ſuppoſed any thing ouer great, when he wiſhed the ſame? Felicitie is not vnſatiable, as men beleeue, but it is weake and ſmall; and therefore ſatisfieth no man. Thou beleeueſt that theſe things are great, becauſe thou art eſtranged from them, but to him that hath gotten them they are but baſe: I lie if ſuch a one ſeeke not to mount higher. That which thou accounteſt higheſt, is but a degree. But the ignorance of truth is the cauſe that men erre thus, and they runne vnto that which hath but the appearance of good, being deceiued by common opinion. Afterwards hauing by much trauell obtained that which they pretended, they ſee that thoſe things are euill, vaine, and leſſe then they expected, and the moſt part of them admireth at one time or another, theſe falſe luſtre of ſuch vanities. In briefe, the common ſort eſteeme thoſe things for good, which are greateſt. But leſt wee fall into this error, let vs enquire that which is good. The interpretation thereof hath beene diuers: ſome haue defined the ſame in one ſort, other ſome in another. Some define it thus. Good is that which inuiteth our mindes, and that calleth vs vnto him. Hereunto ſome pleaſantly obiect: But what if ſuch a good inuite a man vnto his ruine? Thou knoweſt how many euils there are that are attractiue. Truth, and that which ſeemeth true differ thus. That which is good is annexed vnto truth, for it is not good except it be true. But that which inciteth to it ſelfe, and attracteth by his appearance, hath a reſemblance of truth: it inſinuateth, it ſolliciteth, it draweth. Some haue defined it thus. Good is that which moueth a deſire of it ſelfe, or that inciteth the motion of the minde, that tendeth thereunto. And to this it is oppoſed in the ſame ſort. For many things incite the motions of the minde, which are deſired to their confuſion that deſire them. Better haue they done who haue defined it thus. That is good which draweth vnto it ſelfe according to nature, that motion of the ſoule, ſo that we ought to deſire it then, when it is worthy to be deſired. Let vs adde hereunto that this good is honeſt and vertuous, for we ought not to purchaſe an vnperfect good. This place admoniſheth

monisheth me to teach thee the difference that there is betwixt that which is good, and that which is honeſt. Somethings they haue mixed, and inſeparable betweene them: neither can that be good which hath not ſome honeſtie in it; neither that honeſt which is not good. What difference therefore is betwixt them both. Honeſtie is a perfect good, wherein a bleſſed life is accompliſhed, by whoſe attouchment other things are made good alſo. That which I ſay is thus. There are ſome things which are neither good nor euill; as Warrefare, Embaſſage, and Iuriſdiction. Theſe things when they are honeſtly adminiſtred, begin to be good, and become ſo, whereas before time they were indifferent. Good by the ſocietie of honeſtie is made good, and honeſtie by it ſelfe is good. Good floweth from honeſtie, honeſtie is of it ſelfe. That which is good might haue beene euill; that which is honeſt, could not be but good. Some haue propoſed this definition. That is good, which is according to nature. Marke what I ſay. That which is good is according to nature, yet is not that forthwith good, that is according to nature. Many things conſent vnto nature, yet ſo ſmall are they, that they deſerue not to be called good. For they are ſmall and contemptible: no good, no not the leaſt is to be contemned, for as long as it is little, it is not good; when it beginneth to be good, it is not little. Whence is any thing now.. to be good, if it be perfectly according to nature. Thou doeſt confeſſe, ſayeſt thou, that this is good which is according to nature, this is his propertie. Thou confeſſeſt likewiſe that there are ſome things which are according to Nature, and yet not good. How therefore is that good, when theſe are not? How attaineth it another propertie, when as both of them haue this propertie, to be according to nature? That is to ſay, in as much as they are great. Neither is this a new thing, that ſome things are changed by encreaſing. He was an infant; now become a yong man: he hath had at that time ſome other propretie. For the yong man is endowed with reaſon, the infant is depriued of it. Somethings become not only more great in their increaſe, but other things likewiſe. That, ſaith he, is not made another thing, which is made greater. It skilleth not whether thou fil a bottle with wine, or a tonne, the property of wine remaineth in both the veſſels. A little waight of hony and a great differ not in ſauour. Thou ſetteſt down different examples: for in theſe the ſame quality remaineth, and though they be encreaſed, they are alwayes hony and wine. Some things amplified in their kind, continue in their propertie: ſome things after many encreaſings are changed by the laſt, which imprinteth in them a new qualitie, other the that which they had before. One ſtone wil make an arch, that is to ſay, that bindeth in, and faſtneth in the declining ſides, and that tieth them together. Why hath this laſt ſtone, although it be little, ſo great a vſe, becauſe it maketh the worke compleat, although it giue it not any great encreaſe. There are ſome things, which in aduancing themſelues, deſpoile themſelues of their former forme, and inueſt a new. After that our vnderſtanding hath long time trauelled vpon any ſubiect, and that it is wearied in following the greatneſſe thereof, he beginneth to eſteeme it infinit, becauſe it is become farre different from that it was before, when it ſeemed great, but not infinite. In like caſe we haue imagined that a thing may not be cut, which is hardly cut: afterwards the difficulty growing to be greater, we finde that the thing can no more be cut. In like ſort of a thing which is hardly moued, we come vnto a thing which is vnmoueable. According to the ſame reaſon, ſome thing hath beene according to nature, and afterwards the greatneſſe of the ſame hath tranſported it into another propertie, and hath made it good.

EPIST.

EPIST. CXIX.

That we may deſire riches, and enioy them without requiring them as vnneceſſarie. That the end of all things which exceed not nature, is to be conſidered. She ſeeketh not ſuperfluitie, but ſufficient. At laſt he ſheweth that all they who commonly are reputed rich, are poore. Good God, they are both excellent and true.

AS oftentimes as I haue found any thing, I expect not till thou ſay I crie halfes. I ſay this vnto my ſelfe. Thou askeſt me what it is that I haue found out. Open thy lap, it is meere gaine that I giue thee. I will teach thee how thou mayeſt become rich ſuddenly, which thou art very deſirous to heare of. And not without cauſe I will leade thee the ſhorteſt way to great riches. Yet haſt thou need of a creditor, and to negotiate, thou muſt needes borrow, yet will I not ſuffer thee to haue any Soliciter to borrow for thee, nor Broaker to publiſh thy name. I will beſtow a creditor on thee, that ſhall be at thy commandement. That is to ſay, that ſentence of CATO, *Whatſoeuer it be, it will ſuffice, prouided that we require that of our ſelues, whatſoeuer we want.* For theſe things (my *Lucilius*) are alike not to deſire and to haue. The effect of the matter in both is alike, thou ſhalt not be vexed. Neither doe I command thee this, to deny Nature any thing, ſhe is obſtinate, ſhe cannot be ouercome, ſhe requireth her owne. But ſo that thou mayeſt know, that whatſoeuer exceedeth Nature, is but borrowed, and not neceſſarie. I am an hungry, I muſt eate: whether this bread be browne or white, it appertaineth nothing to Nature. She will haue the belly not delighted but filled. I am a drie, whether this water be fetched from the next lake, or that which I haue cloſed vp in much ſnow, that it might be cooled by forren cold, it concerneth Nature no wayes. She commandeth this one thing, that the thirſt ſhould be quenched: whether the pot be gold or Cryſtall, or Caſſidony, or a pot of Tiuoli, or the hollow of the hand, it skilleth not. Fix thine eye vpon the end of all things, and thou ſhalt forſake ſuperfluities. Hunger preſſeth me. Let thy hand lay hold on whatſoeuer is next thee, the appetite ſhall make that loathſome, whatſoeuer I lay hold of. An hungrie ſtomacke is glad of any thing. Thou demandeſt therefore what thing it is that delighteth me? Me thinkes it is worthily ſpoken. *A wiſe-man is a diligent ſeacher of naturall riches.* Thou payeſt me, ſayeſt thou, with an emptie platter. What is that emptie? I had alreadie prepared my coaſts, and looked about me vpon what ſea I ſhould embarke my ſelfe to follow traffique, what publike eſtate I might rent, what merchandize I ſhould ſend for. It is a deceit in thee to teach me pouertie, when thou haſt promiſed me riches. Doeſt thou then eſteeme him poore that wanteth nothing? Thou anſwereſt that it is by his owne meanes, and by the benefit of his patience, not of Fortune. Doeſt thou therefore iudge him not to be rich, becauſe his riches cannot ceaſe? Whether haddeſt thou rather haue much, or ſufficient? he that hath much, deſireth more, which is an argument that as yet he hath not ſufficient: he that hath enough, hath attained the end which neuer befalleth a rich man. Doeſt thou therefore thinke that theſe are not riches, becauſe for them no man is baniſhed, becauſe for them no ſonne hath giuen his father poiſon, nor wife her huſband? Becauſe in warres they are ſecure, in peace at reſt? Becauſe it is neither dangerous to enioy them, nor troubleſome to diſpoſe them? Hath he but a little, that hath neither cold, nor hunger,

ger, nor thirſt? *Iupiter* himſelfe hath no more. Neuer is that little which is ſufficient; neuer is that much, which is not ſufficient. *Alexander* of Macedon after he had conquered Aſia, and the Indians, is poore, he ſeeketh what he may make his owne, he ſearcheth out vnknowne ſeas, he ſendeth out new nauies vpon the Ocean; and if I may ſay ſo, paſſeth and preſſeth beyond the bounds and limits of the world. That which ſufficeth Nature contenteth not a man. And ſome there haue beene found, that hauing all things, haue notwithſtanding coueted ſomewhat. So great is the blindneſſe of our mindes, and ſo great the forgetfulneſſe of men, that they remember not themſelues of their beginnings, when they ſee themſelues aduanced. This Prince that was Lord of a little angle of Greece, and that not without ſome oppoſition, is ſorie that after he hath diſcouered and conquered ſo many Nations, to heare ſay that he muſt returne vnto his owne. Mony neuer made any man rich: contrariwiſe there is not any man that hath gathered ſtore of it together, that is not become more couetous. Wouldeſt thou know the reaſon hereof? Hee that hath much beginneth to haue a will to haue more. In ſumme, although thou ſet before me whom thou wilt, of thoſe who are reputed as rich as either *Craſſus* or *Licinius*. Let him ſet downe his reuenewes, and account whatſoeuer he hath, and whatſoeuer he hopeth together; yet this man, if thou beleeueſt me, is poore, or if thou truſt thy ſelfe, may be poore. But he that hath compoſed himſelfe to that which Nature requireth at his hands, is not only without the fence, but alſo without the feare of pouertie. But to the end thou mayeſt know how hard a thing it is to reſtraine a mans affaires according to the meaſure of Nature: this man whom we ſuppoſe to be moulded and faſhioned according to his wil, and whom thou calleſt poore, hath ſomething which is ſuperfluous. But riches attract and blinde the common ſort, when great ſummes of money are carried out of any mans houſe, when his roofes are enriched and garniſhed with gold, when his family are either comely in body, or courtly in apparell. All theſe mens felicitie is in publike oſtentation: but he whom we haue exempted both from the eye of the people, and the hand of Fortune, is bleſſed inwardly. For as touching thoſe, with whom pouertie hath taken place, and is ſeazed of them vnder the ſuppoſed name of riches, they haue their goods in ſuch ſort, as we are ſaid to haue the Ague, when the Ague hath vs. Contrariwiſe we muſt ſay, the Ague hath hold of him: and in like manner wee ought to ſay, Riches hold and poſſeſſe him. There is nothing therefore that I would haue thee remember more then this, that no man is ſufficiently admoniſhed, to the end thou mayeſt meaſure all things by naturall deſires which content themſelues with nothing or with little. Onely beware thou to mixe vices with deſires. Askeſt thou me vpon what table, in what ſiluer veſſell, by what ſeruices and ſeruants Nature preſenteth thee thy meate. Know that ſhe requireth nothing but meate.

When parching thirſt doth burne thy iawes throughout,
Seek'ſt thou for gold therein to quench thy drought?
When hunger tempts thee, doſt thou loath each meate,
Except thou Peacocks fleſh or Turbot eate?

Hunger is not ambitious, ſhe is contented to ceaſe, ſhe careth not much by what meanes. Theſe are the torments of vnhappie exceſſe, he ſeeketh how after he is glutted, hee may get an appetite: how he may not fill, but force and ſtuffe his bodie: how he may reuoke his thirſt againe, which is pacified by the former potion.

potion. *Horace* therefore wittily denieth that it appertaineth to thirſt, in what pot or in how cleane a hand water be miniſtred. For if thou thinkeſt that concerneth thee, how well frizeled the page is, and how cleane and neate the pot is which he preſenteth thee with, thou art not a drie. Amongſt other things nature hath eſpecially fauoured vs herein, that he hath taken all diſdaine from neceſſitie: ſuperfluities take pleaſure in variety. This is ſcarce ſeemely, that not well dreſt, this offendeth mine eyes. The Creator of all things, who hath ſet downe vnto vs the lawes of our life, hath giuen order to maintaine vs in health, and not to entertaine vs in delight. All things are readie and at hand for the conſeruation of our healths: if the queſtion be of delights, all that which concerneth them is not recouered, but with much miſerie and difficultie. Let vs therefore make vſe of this benefite of nature, which is, to be numbred amongſt the greateſt, and let vs thinke that the greateſt matter wherein we are moſt obliged vnto her, is, that ſhe hath effected this in vs, that whatſoeuer is deſired in neceſſitie is entertained and embraced without loathing.

Epist. CXX.

How the knowledge of goodneſſe came vnto vs by obſeruation and conference, as alſo by the aſſiſtance of nature. And it commeth likewiſe by the contrary, that is, by the deteſtation of vice. He deſcribeth a wiſe-man, who not onely ſhunneth againſt thoſe things which are commonly to be required or feared, but death: alſo in concluſion ſuch a one as is alwayes one, and conſtant to himſelfe.

THy Epiſtle hath wandred about many pettie queſtions, yet hath ſtaied it ſelfe vpon one, and deſireth to haue my reſolution herein: how the firſt notice of good and honeſt things come vnto vs. Theſe two things in ſome mens opinion are diuers, but with vs that are Stoicks, they are only diuided. I wil tel thee what this is; Some men thinke that that is good which is profitable, and therefore they impoſe this name vnto riches, to a horſe, to wine, to a ſhoe; ſo abiect is the name of good amongſt them, and ſo vnduly applyed vnto ſeruile vſes. They ſuppoſe that honeſt which conſiſteth in the diſcharge of a well-gouerned dutey, as to haue a charitable care of a mans father in his age, to comfort and relieue the pouertie of a mans friend, to behaue himſelfe valiantly in a warlike expedition, to deliuer a mans opinion wiſely and moderately. Theſe make we two, but out of one. Nothing is good except it be that which is honeſt, that which is honeſt is good alſo. I ſuppoſe it a ſuperfluous matter to annex what difference there is betwixt them, when as I haue oftentimes expreſſed the ſame. I will only ſay this, That nothing ſeemeth good vnto vs, which a man may vſe badly. But thou ſeeſt how many there be that vſe their riches, nobilitie and ſtrength badly. I now therefore returne vnto that which thou deſireſt me to reſolue thee in, how the knowledge of that which is good and honeſt came firſt vnto vs. This nature could not teach vs, for ſhe gaue vs but the ſeeds of ſciences, and not ſcience it ſelfe. Some ſay that we caſually come to the knowledge therof, which is incredible, that the image of vertue ſhould caſually appeare vnto any man. But we ſuppoſe that by diligence, obſeruation, and frequent conference of things, eſtimated by that which is good and honeſt, we haue attained to this knowledge. And ſince the Latine Grammarians haue made this word a Citti-

zen

zen of Rome, I will not condemne it, nor return it to the Cittie from whence it came. I will therfore vſe the ſame, not only as a receiued but as a vſuall word: I will ſet downe what the Analogie is; We haue knowne that there is a health of the bodie, and thereby haue we gathered that there is ſome health and vigor of the minde. We haue knowne the ſtrength of the bodie, and by theſe interre we that there is a ſtrength of the minde likewiſe. Some benigne actions ſome humane, ſome ſtrong haue amazed vs; theſe began we to admire as if perfect. Theſe were trauerſed by diuers defaults, which the appearance and brightneſſe of ſome notable deed did couer, by meanes whereof wee haue made a ſhew that we ſaw them not. Nature commandeth vs to amplifie thoſe things which are praiſe-worthy, whereupon euery one hath raiſed glory aboue the truth. From theſe things therefore we haue drawne the appeareance of an excellent good. *Fabricius* refuſed King *Pyrrhus* golde, and iudged it a greater matter then a Kingdome, to be able to contemne Kingly riches. The ſame man when a Philitian promiſed to poyſon *Pyrrhus*, gaue him notice thereof, and wiſhed him to beware of treaſon. It was the ſame vertue in *Fabricius*, neyther to be ouercome with golde, nor to ouercome with poyſon. We haue admired this great perſonage, who neyther ſuffered himſelfe to be won by the Kings preſents, nor by the Phiſitians promiſes againſt the King; conſtant in his vertuous reſolution, innocent in warre, which is a rare thing in a ſouldier, who though that a man might be wicked euen againſt an enemy; who in his greateſt pouerty whereby he had gotten himſelfe the moſt honor, no otherwiſe fled from riches then from poyſon. Liue, ſaid he, by my meanes O *Pyrrhus*, and reioyce, although thou wert diſpleaſed therewith that *Fabricius* could not be corrupted. *Horatius Cocles* himſelfe alone cloſed vp, and defended the ſtrait paſſage of a bridge, and commanded a Trench to be made behinde him, to the end that his enemies might be hindered from entrance. And ſo long reſiſted he thoſe that aſſailed him, vntill ſuch time as he heard the noyſe of the prop and timber that fell vnder him. And after he had looked behinde him, and perceiued that by his danger his countrie was freed from danger: *Let him come*, ſaith he, *whoſoeuer will follow me thither whither I goe*. And hauing ſaid thus, he caſt himſelfe deſperately into the water; and hauing no leſſe care in this violent channell of the riuer to ſaue his conquering armes as his life, and hauing maintained the honor of his victorie, he returned into the Cittie as ſecure as if hee had entred by the bridge. Theſe and ſuch like acts haue expreſſed vnto vs the Image of his vertue. I will adde that which happily may ſeeme admirable: Euill things ſometimes haue preſented themſelues in the ſhape of honeſty, and that which was the beſt hath beene manifeſted by his contrary. Some vices, as thou knoweſt, haue ſome reſemblance of vertues, and thoſe men that are moſt vicious and diſhoneſt, haue ſome appearance of goodneſſe. So doth the prodigall man counterfeit the liberall, although there be a great difference betwixt knowing how to giue, and how to keepe. Many there are, my *Lucilius*, who giue not but caſt away their money; for I call him not liberall that is angrie with his mony. Negligence imitateth facilitie, and raſhneſſe fortitude. This ſimilitude hath conſtrained vs to conſider things, & to diſtinguiſh thoſe things which are neere in appearance, but farre different and contrary in effect, whilſt wee obſerue theſe, whom ſome noble exployt hath made famous, we haue begun to note what he might be that at one time only had reſolutly, and nobly executed ſome enterpriſe. We haue ſeene this man valiant in warre, fearefull in the iudgement ſeat, enduring his pouertie conſtantly, his infamy abiectly: we haue praiſed the act, but

but contemned the man. We haue ſeene another curteous towards his friends, temperate towards his enemies, managing both publique and priuate affaires, both piouſly and religiouſly, not wanting patience in thoſe things which hee was to ſuffer, nor prudence in thoſe things he was to performe: we haue ſeene ſuch a one that gaue bountifully where neceſſitie required, that was diligent and induſtrious where he was to labour, and that relieued the wearineſſe of his bodie with the conſtancie of his minde. Beſides, he was alwayes one, and like himſelfe in euery action, not onely good in wordes and countaile, but by cuſtome brought to this paſſe, that beſides that that he could not doe ill, he could not alſo doe but that which was good. Then vnderſtanding that vertue was perfected in ſuch a one, we haue diſtinguiſhed it into ſome parts. Deſires ought to be reſtrained, feare repreſſed, actions foreſeene, duties diſtributed; we comprehended temperance, fortitude, prudence, juſtice, and gaue euery one of them their particular office. Whereby therefore came we to the knowledge of vertue? It was the order therof, the ſeemelineſſe, and conſtancie, and the vniformitie of all actions, within themſelues, and the greatneſſe thereof, that exalted it ſelfe aboue all things that ſhewed the ſame. Hereby was that bleſſed life vnderſtood that hath a proſperous courſe, and dependeth wholly of it ſelfe. How therefore appeared this thing vnto vs? I will tell thee: neuer did that perfect man who was poſſeſſed of vertue curſe fortune, neuer entertained he any accidents with diſcontent. Beleeuing himſelfe to be a Cittizen and Souldier of the world, he vnderwent labours, as if they had beene enioyned him. Whatſoeuer happened he refuſed it not as euill, or that caſually fell vpon him, but as ſome charge committed vnto him. This, ſaith he, what ſoeuer it be is mine, be it eyther difficult or dangerous let vs trauaile therein: of neceſſitie therefore he appeared great, who neuer groaned vnder the burthen of afflictions, neuer complayned of his deſtinie, gaue vnto many a taſte of himſelfe, and no otherwiſe then a light ſhined in darkeneſſe, and drew all mens minds vnto him, by reaſon he was curteous and gentle, entertaining in good part all affaires both diuine and humane. He had a perfect minde, drawne to the height of his perfection; aboue which there is nothing but the minde of God; a parcell whereof is deriued into this mortall bodie, which is neuer more diuine then when it thinketh on his mortalitie, and knoweth that man is borne to this end, to forſake this life; neyther that this bodie is a houſe but an hoſtrie, yea and a ſhort hoſtrie which muſt be forſaken, when thou perceiueſt that thou art diſpleaſing to thine hoſt. I tell thee, my *Lucilius*, it is a great argument of a minde that is deriued from a higher place, if it repute thoſe things humble and abiect wherein he conuerſeth, and if he feareth to forſake them: for he knoweth whether he ſhall depart that remembreth himſelfe from whence he came. See we not how many incommodities doe torment vs, how badly this mortall bodie doth agree with vs. Sometimes we complaine of our bellies, afterwards of our heads, then of our breaſt and throat: ſometimes we are tormented in our ſinewes, ſometimes vexed in our feete: to day the flux, to morrow the rhume: ſometimes too much bloud, ſometimes too little, euery way are we troubled and driuen from one place to another. This befalleth them who are lodged in another mans houſe; but we that poſſeſſe ſo rotten a bodie, yet notwithſtanding propoſe vnto our ſelues an eternitie, and as far as humane age may extend it ſelfe, ſo farre are we ſeized with hope, contenting our ſelues with no money or power. What can be more impudently or more fooliſhly done then this? There is nothing that contenteth vs that are to die, nay that die euery day: for we daily approach our laſt houre,

and there is not a day or houre that driueth and driueth vs into the graue where we muſt reſt. See into what blindneſſe our mindes are driuen: a greater part of that which I haue ſaid muſt come, is alreadie come, and threatneth vs euery minute, for the time wee haue liued is in the ſame ſtate where it was before wee were liuing. But it is a great folly for vs to feare the laſt dayes of the ſame, becauſe the firſt contribute as much vnto death as the laſt. The degree in which we breath our laſt, is not that which leaueth vs, but onely it ſheweth vs our laſſitude. The laſt day maketh vs touch death, all the reſt to approch. She rauiſheth vs not at once, but ſnatcheth vs away by little and little. A greater minde therefore that knoweth that he muſt be partaker of a better life, endeauoureth it ſelfe in this ſtate wherein he is placed, to demeane himſelfe honeſtly and induſtriouſly. Moreouer, he iudgeth nothing of theſe things that are about him to be his own, but like a ſtranger, and ſuch a one as muſt ſuddenly forſake them, vſeth them as lent him. When wee ſhould ſee a man of this conſtancie, why ſhould we not conceiue in him the image of an vnuſuall vnderſtanding; if, as I ſay, he ſhould make ſhow of ſo true a greatneſſe? True qualities continue in their entire; falſe are flitting. Some men at ſometimes are *Fatimians*, at other times *Catoes*, and ſome whiles *Curius*, in their opinions is a little too ſeuere: *Fabricius* not ſufficiently poore, *Tubero* ſcarce frugall enough, and content with a little, they prouoke *Licinius* in riches, *Apicius* in ſuppers, *Maecenas* in delights. Inconſtancie and a continuall agitation betwixt the diſſembling of vertues, and the loue of vices, is a great token of an euill minde.

Oft-times two hundred men did him attend,
Oft-times but ten; ſometimes his ſpeech did tend
To Kings, to Tetrarches, and to great eſtates,
Sometimes his Fortunes he more baſely rates:
I will, ſaith he, haue a three-footed table,
A homely ſalt, a gowne that ſhall be able,
Though homely, to withſit and the winter cold:
Hadſt thou committed to thie niggards hold,
That is contented with ſo little pelfe,
Ten thouſand crownes to ſecde and cloath himſelfe
Within few dayes, nor he, nor all his meny
Could pay thee one, or bleſſe thee with a peny.

All theſe are ſuch as *Horace* deſcribeth this man, who was neuer himſelfe, or euer like himſelfe; ſo diuerſly changed he. Said I diuers, ſcarcely is there one but is ſuch. There is no man that doth not daily change both his counſaile and his vow: now will he haue a wife, then a Lemman: now will he gouerne, preſently he laboureth for this, that no man may be a more officious ſeruant. Sometimes he exalteth himſelfe ſo much, as he contracteth enuie: ſometimes hee abaſeth himſelfe vnder euery one, and becommeth more miſerable then thoſe that are truely wretched: now ſcattereth he his money abroad, preſently after hee engroſſeth all other mens. Hereby eſpecially is an imprudent minde diſcouered, euery one betrayeth him, and that which in my opinion is moſt baſe, he is vnlike himſelfe. Repute thou it to be a great vertue for a man to be one. But no man but a wiſe man doth one thing, all the reſt of vs haue many ſhapes. To day we will ſeeme to be modeſt and graue, to morrow prodigall and vaine: we oftimes change our maske, and oftentimes take a contrarie to that we haue put off.

off. Exact thou therefore this of thy ſelfe, that to thy laſt breath thou maintaine thy ſelfe ſuch, as thou haſt reſolued to ſhew thy ſelfe. Doe this, that thou mayeſt be praiſed, or approued at the leaſt. A man may iuſtly ſay of him whom thou ſaweſt yeſterday, what is this man? So much is a man changed in a little time.

Epist. CXXI.

He pretendeth ſomewhat for the wittier ſort, and then propoundeth the ſame. Whether euery liuing creature hath a ſence of his conſtitution, that is, whether they willingly and by nature intend thither, whither they ought, and were made. He ſaith that it is ſo, and by diuers reaſons and examples teacheth the ſame.

Thou wilt chide with me, I ſee, when I ſhall reſolue thee of that queſtion, wherein this day I ſpent no little time. For once more wilt thou exclaime what concerneth theſe maners? But exclaime at thy pleaſure, whileſt I firſt of all oppoſe thoſe againſt thee, with whom thou mayeſt contend, I meane *Poſidonius* and *Archidamus*, for theſe ſhall debate the matter with thee, and afterwards I will ſay, that whatſoeuer is morall reformeth not good maners. There is one thing that appertaineth to a man to nouriſh him, another thing to exerciſe him, another thing to cloth him, another thing to teach him, another thing to delight him: yet all theſe things do appertaine vnto a man, although not all of them make him better. Certaine inſtructions concerne manners in ſome ſort, certaine in another. Some correct and gouerne them, ſome ſearch out their nature and beginning: when it is demanded why Nature brought forth man, why ſhee preferred him before all other liuing creatures. Thinkeſt thou that I haue left manners a farre off? Thou art deceiued. For how ſhalt thou know what manners are to be ſought after, except thou findeſt out what is the beſt for man, except thou examine his nature? Then at length thou ſhalt vnderſtand what thou art to doe, and what to auoid, when as thou haſt learned what thou oweſt to thy nature. I, ſaueſt thou, will learne how I may deſire leſſe, how I may feare leſſe. Shake off from me this ſuperſtition: teach me that this which is called felicitie, is but a ſlight and vaine thing, and that the acceſſion of one ſyllabble will make it infelicitie. I will ſatisfie thy deſire, and exhort thee vnto vertues, and will whip vices: and although ſome men repute me too immoderate in this kind, yet will I not deſiſt to perſecute wickednеſſe, to reſtraine vnbridled affections to temperate deſires and pleaſures that ſhould terminate in ſorrow; and to oppoſe my ſelf againſt wiſhes. Why not? When as we haue deſired the extreameſt of euils, and that from the ioy which we haue, our ſorrow hath proceeded. In the meane while ſuffer me to vnfold thoſe things which ſeeme ſomewhat too much remoued from vs. The queſtion was, whether in all creatures there were a ſence of their conſtitution. But that they haue a ſence, it hereby moſt manifeſtly appeareth, becauſe they fitly and readily moue their members, as if they had bin faſhioned thereunto. Euery one of them hath an agilitie in his parts. A workman handleth his tooles readily. The maſter of a ſhip knoweth how to ſteere his helme of his ſhip fitly. A Painter doth quickly diſcerne thoſe diuerſities of colours which are laid before him, to the end he may apply them in his worke, and with a readie hand and eye he paſſeth betwixt the wax, and the ſimilitude or reſemblance which he would draw: ſo liuing creatures moue themſelues in

euery sort, according as it becommeth them. We are wont to wonder at these cunning actors, who haue their hands so nimble, that they are able to represent all things, and effect readily by their gesture, whose fingers are as nimble as their tongues. That which Art vouchsafed them, Nature alloweth these. There is no man but stirreth his members without paine, there is no one restrained, when he hath need to moue himselfe, being borne vnto this motion: they performe it readily; they come into this world with this science, and are borne so instructed. Therefore, saith he, shall liuing creatures most fitly moue their parts, because if they moued them otherwise, they should feele paine. So as you say, they are compelled, and feare and not will maketh them moue aright, which is false. For they are slow which are enforced by necessitie, agilitie is a voluntarie motion. But so farre off is it that feare of paine drieueth them hereunto, that they endue themselues in their naturall motion, although paine doe prohibite them. So the infant that meditateth how to stand, and is accustomed to keepe himselfe on his feete, as soone as he beginneth to trie his forces, he falleth, and crying riseth againe, so often vntill by meanes of griefe he hath exercised himselfe in that which Nature requireth at his hands. There are some liuing creatures of a harder backe, which turned vpon the same, so long time tumble themselues, and stretch out their feete and bow them in, till such time as they haue recouered their ordinarie custome and place. The Tortuise being cast vpon her backe feeleth no torment, notwithstanding she ceaseth not to struggle and stirre her selfe, vntill such time as she feeleth her selfe in her naturall estate, and that she hath recouered her feete. Each of them therefore hath a sence of his constitution, and thereby a readie vse of their members: neither haue wee any more greater token that they came to liue with this knowledge, then for that there is no liuing creature that is ignorant how to vse his bodie. Constitution, saith he, as you define it, is the principall and fairest part of the soule, that in some sort hath some power ouer the bodie. This definition so perplexed and subtill, and such as you your selues can scarcely discouer. How doth an infant vnderstand it? All liuing creatures should haue beene borne Logicians, to the end that they might vnderstand this definition, which might seeme obscure to the chiefest and wisest part of the Citizens. True it were which thou opposest, if I said that the definition of constitution were vnderstood by brute beasts. For constitution it selfe is more easily vnderstood, then taught by Nature. Therefore that infant knoweth not what constitution is, yet knoweth he his owne constitution, and what an Animal is, he knoweth not, yet feeleth he himselfe to be an Animal. Besides that, he vnderstandeth his Nature grossely, summarily, and obscurely. We also know well that we haue a soule, but what the soule is, where it is, of what qualitie it is, and whence it is we know not. Such sence of our minde as wee haue attained vnto, although we are ignorant of the nature and seat thereof, such sence haue all liuing creatures of their constitution. For they must needs feele, that by meanes whereof, they haue sence of other things, and they must of necessitie haue a sence of that thing which gouerneth them, and which they obey. There is not any one of vs but knoweth that there is a certaine thing which stirreth his affections, but no man knoweth what it is, and each man knoweth that he hath an endeuor, but what it is, or whence it is he knoweth not. Euen as infants, so other liuing creatures haue a sence of their principall part, but this resentiment is obscure and not manifest. You say (saith he) that a liuing creature is aboue all things accommodated to his nature and constitution, but that mans constitution is to bee a reasonable soule, and therefore

therefore that man is accomodated to himselfe, not as to a liuing creature only, but as to a reasonable liuing creature, for hee is deare and precious vnto himselfe, as he is a man. But how therfore may an infant be accomodated to his reasonable constitution, when as yet he is not reasonable? Euery age hath his constitution, an infant hath one, a stripling another, an old man another, for all of them are accomodated to the constitution wherein they remaine. The infant is without teeth, this is a constitution that agreeth with him; his teeth grow out, and this is agreeable to his age. For euen that herbe that must grow to a stalke and eare, hath one constitution when it is tender, and scarce appeareth aboue the furrow; another when it waxeth stronger, and hath a tender stalke, yet sufficiently able to beare his burthen; another when it waxeth yellow and is readie for haruest, and the eare thereof is hardened into whatsoeuer constitution it commeth, it maintaineth the same; and accomodateth it selfe thereunto. The age of an infant is one, of a little lad another, of a yong man another, of an old man another: yet am I the same, who both was an infant, a yong lad, and a yong man. So although each ones constitution be different, yet the accord thereof is alwayes one. For Nature commendeth vnto me not a boy, not a yong man, or an old man, but my selfe. And therefore an infant is accomodated to that constitution which he hath in being an infant, not which hee shall haue when he is a yong man: because not onely the estate wherein hee is, but that estate which remaineth as yet more great, whereunto he ought to attaine, dependeth vpon his nature. First of all, the liuing creature hath care of himselfe, for there must be somewhat whereunto the rest are referred. I seeke pleasure: for whom? for my selfe: therefore haue I a care of my selfe, I flie from paine; for whom? for my selfe: therefore haue I a care of my selfe. If I doe all things for the care I haue of my selfe, I haue a care of my selfe aboue all things. This is in all liuing creatures, it is not inferred, but innate: Nature bringeth out her fruit, but casteth them not out, and becaus the most assured guard is that which is neerest; each one is committed to the charge and consideration of himselfe. Therefore, as I haue said before, the most tenderest creatures, which either from their dam, or otherwise haue beene brought to light, doe presently know what that is, which is hurtfull vnto them, and fly from those things that threaten them with death; and chickens and small fowle, which are exposed for a prey to the grater fowle that liue by rapine, feare the shadow of all those which passe and houer ouer them. There is no creature that entereth life, but hath a feare of death. How (saith he) can a liuing creature that is new borne know that which is healthfull or harmefull to him? First, the question is, whether he vnderstand, not how he vnderstandeth, And that they haue vnderstanding, hereby it appeareth, that they wil do nothing more then they vnderstand: why is it that the Heron flieth not from the Peacock, or a Goose whē she is much lesser, & yet vnknowne to both, & yet hideth her self when she espieth a hauke? Why do chickens feare the cat, and not the dog? It appeareth that they haue a certain knowledge of that which is hurtful vnto thē, not gathered by experience for they take heed before they can make triall of the danger. Furthermore, lest thou shouldest suppose that this hapneth by chance, they feare none but those whom they ought, neither forget they that such and such are their enemies, and are to be auoided. Besides, they are not made more fearefull by liuing, whereby it appeareth that they attaine the same, not by vse, but by a naturall loue of their safetie. That which vse teacheth is diuers, and encreaseth by little and little. But all that which Nature proposeth is equally and readily communicated

municated to all: Notwithstanding, if thou wilt, I will shew thee how each liuing creature enforceth her selfe to know that which is harmeful vnto her. She feeleth that she consisteth of flesh, and consequently knoweth, that by meanes whereof her flesh may be cut, burnt, or bruised. She reputeth those beasts her contraries and enemies that are armed to hurt. Those things are vnited together. For euery liuing creature hath a present care to conserue her selfe, shee searcheth that which may solace her, and feareth that which may offend her. If she repulse those things which are contrarie vnto her, Nature teacheth her the same, and that which she teacheth, she knoweth without discourse, and without resolution of will. Seest thou not what subtiltie Bees haue in building their hiues, how maruellous accord they haue in distributing and doing their businesse? Seest thou not how no mortall creature can imitate the Spiders web? what cunning she hath in disposing her threeds, the one are wouen out-right, in stead of the foundation, the other are twisted round and small, to the end she may surprise and catch, as it were in a net, those flies, for whom she layeth her snares, and on whom she maketh her prey? This arte is borne with the Spider, and not learned. Therefore no creature is more learned then another. Thou shalt see that the Spiders webs are all alike; that the hiues wherin the Bees rest haue enterances alike. That which Arte teacheth is vncertaine and vnequall, but that which nature teacheth is alwayes vniforme. She hath not trained liuing creatures in other sort, but to keepe themselues, to know and follow their nature, by meanes whereof also their science and their life begin both together. Neither is it to be wondered at, that these liuing creatures are borne with their naturall science, considering, that without the same, they should take their life in vain. Nature hath furnished them with this first instrument, to arrest them in the communion and loue of themselues. They could not maintaine themselues except they would, neither could this of it selfe profit, but without this nothing had profited. But in no creature shalt thou finde the contempt of her selfe, or the neglect. In those likewise which are silent and brutish, although in respect of the rest they be dull, yet in regard of life they are cunning. Thou shalt see that those things which are vnprofitable for others, forget not the care that they ought to haue of themselues.

Epist. CXXII.

That the nature of excesse is contrarie to manner. He pleasantly describeth the nature of supping, drinking, sleeping, rising, and such like indirect delights.

THe dayes alreadie hath felt some detriments, they are somewhat diminished; yet so, as there is time enough as yet, if so be a man (if I may so speake it) will rise more officious and better with the day it selfe, then if he should expect the same to go and court others vpon the day light. Base is that man that lieth slumbering long time after Sunne rise, that awaketh eth at noone, and this time to some is early day. There are many that peruert the offices both of day and night, and that neuer open their eyes (being ouer-burthened by ouer-nights drunkennesse) before the euening discouereth it selfe. Such as their condition is said to be, when Nature (as *Virgil* saith) hath placed subiect, and opposite to our feete.

And

And when to vs the day-spring doth appeare,
And blushing morne shewes PHŒBVS fleedes are neere,
To them the ruddie euen with weaker light,
Kindels the lightsome Tapers of the night.

Such is not the Region, but their life, so that contrary and opposite to that of ours. There are certaine Antipodes in the same Cittie, who, as *Cato* saith, *Neuer saw eyther the rising or setting Sunne.* Thinkest thou that these men know how to liue, that know not when they liue? And these are they that feare death, in which they haue buried themselues alliue; as fatall are these as night-runners. Although they passe their nights in wine and perfumes, although they employ the time of their intemperate vp-sitting in feasts and variety of many dishes, yet those which they solemnize are not feasts but funerals. Vndoubtedly by day time men are wont to celebrate the obsequies of the dead; but assuredly there is no day too long to him that trauaileth. Let vs extend our life; the office and argument hereof is action, and let somewhat thereof be reserued to the day. Those birds which are bought to celebrate a feast are kept dark, to the end that by sitting still they may more easily become fat; so such as lie without any exercise, a sluggish swelling inuadeth their bodies; and a soft fat groweth about their members; so deformed doe their bodies seeme that haue dedicated themselues to darkenesse. For their colour is no lesse pleasing then theirs that are wearied and made pale with sickenesse, they languish, looke bleach, and are discoloured, and in their life their flesh is corrupted. Yet will I say that this is the least of euils in them, how farre greater darkenesse is there in their minde? The one is stupid, the other is almost blinde, and seemeth to enuie those that see not a whit. Who euer had eyes to vse them in darknes? Askest thou me how this depriuednesse of the minde groweth, by loathing the day-and transferring the whole life into night? All vices fight against nature, all of them leaue their owne order. This is the purpose of excesse, to reioyce in peruerse things, and not onely to depart from the right, but to flie a farre off from it, and to bee at length opposite vnto it. Doe not these men in thy iudgement liue contrarie to nature that drinke fasting, that poure in wine into their emptie veynes, and sit downe drunke to their dinners? But this is an ordinary errour in young men, who exercise their strength, who almost in the very entrance of the Bath, do not only drinke but gull down wine amongst those that are naked, to the end they might restraine the sweate which they haue mooued by their hote and often quaffings. It is an ordinary matter to drinke after Dinner or Supper; our countrey house-keepers doe the like, who are ignorant of true pleasure. That wine delighteth which swimmeth not vpon our meates, which freely pierceth vnto the nerues. That drunkennesse delighteth that comes vpon an emptie stomacke. Seeme they not in thy iudgement to liue contrary to nature who are as effeminate in their garments as women? Liue they not against nature, who studie to haue childish beautie vpon a wrinckled forehead? What thing can be more miserable or more horrible? He will neuer be a man because he may long time suffer a man: and when as his sex should reprue him from continently, his agent selfe cannot discharge him. Liue they not against nature that in winter long for a Rose, and by the nourishment of warme waters, and the fit things of heat in winter-time cause a Lillie & such flowers as are destinated to the spring to flourish? Liue they not against nature that plant

Orchards

Orchards on their highest Towers, that haue whole Forrests shaking vpon the tops and Turrets of their houses, spreading their roots in such places, where it should suffice them that the tops of their branches should touch? Liue they not against nature that lay the foundations of their bathes in the sea? Neither suppose that they swim delicately enough, except their warm bathes be inuironed with tempestuous billowes? When as they haue resolued to intend all things against the custome of nature, at last they wholly reuolt from her. Is it day? It is time to goe to bed: it is night, now let vs exercise our selues, now let vs be coached, now let vs dine: doth the morning approach? It is time to goe to supper. We must not liue according to common custome, it is a base, ordinary and vulgar course of life. Let the common day be relinquished, let the morning be proper and peculiar vnto vs; for mine owne part I ranke these men amongst the dead: for how little are they distant from their funerals, and they most fatall that liue by Torch and waxe light? I remember that at one time diuers men led this life. Amongst others *Attilius Buta* a Prætorian, who after he had spent all his goods in gluttony, which were very great when he complained him of his pouertie to TIBERIVS; *Too late* (said the Emperiour) *art thou awakened.* MONTANVS IVLIVS an indifferent Poet, well knowne thorow the fauour and repulse he had at *Cæsars* hands, tooke pleasure to enterlace in his verses these words *Ortus* and *Occasus*, which signifie the rising and setting of the Sun. One day a certaine friend of his being displeased because *Montanus* had not giuen ouer for the space of a whole day to recite som of his compositions, said that a man should not giue eare to a man, so importunate. *Natta Primarius* taking fit opportunitie, said, *Can I vse him more curteously? I am readie to heare him from the Sunne rise to the Sunne set*; when he had recited these Verses,

> PHŒBVS *begins to show his burnisht light,*
> *And blushing day to spread his shining face,*
> *And now begins the Swallow with delight*
> *To feed her yong, within her neast a space,*
> *And to her wings, breed by one and one*
> *Yeeld from her neb their food to feed vpon.*

Varus a Romane Knight, a companion of *Lucius Vinicius* an ordinarie smel-feast, who was the better welcome by reason he wittily and bitterly jested at those whom he thought fit, cried out aloude, BVTA *begin to sleepe:* againe, when after that he had recited,

> *Now haue the shepheards cloasd their fruitfull Kie*
> *Within their stalls, now dull and darke some night*
> *Begins to spread her sad and silent eye,*
> *Vpon the dulsome earth depriu'd of light.*

The same *Varus* said, *What saith he? It is now night, I will goe and salute* BVTA. There was nothing more notorious then this preposterous life of *Buta*, whereunto diuers applyed themselues in that time, as I haue said. The cause of this disorder is not in that they thinke that the night hath any thing more pleasing in it, because nothing hindereth them, and for that the day is displeasant to an euill conscience; and because the light costeth nothing, it contenteth not him that coueteth or disdaineth all things, according as they cost more or lesse. Besides,

sides, these vnbridled persons will haue their immoderate life spoken of whilst they liue; for if it be obscured, they thinke they loose their labour. They are displeased therefore as often as they doe not that which may make them be spoken of: many of these deuoure their goods, many of them haue their harlots; and if thou wilt haue credite amongst these men, thou must needes commit some lasciuious or notable tolly. In a Citty so possessed with sin a common and ordinary errour is not looked after nor talked vpon. I haue heard *Pedo Albinouanus* report (which was a man of a very pleasant discourse) that he dwelt a little aboue *Sparius Papinius* house, who was one of the company of the night-Owles and light-shunners: About the third houre of the night, saith hee, I heare the lashing of the whips, and I aske what he doth? They answer me that he calleth his seruants to account. About the sixt houre of the night, I heare a shrill voyce, and I aske what it is? and they answer me that he exerciseth his voyce. I aske about the eight houre of the night what that ratling of wheeles meaneth? they answere, that hee will take the ayre. About day light I heare running vp and downe the Pages are called for, the Butlers and Cookes make astirre; I aske what that meaneth? they answer me that he was come out of his Bath and required broth and drinke. What did his supper, said he, exceed the day? No; for he liued very frugally, and spent nothing but the night. And therefore he oftentimes answered those that called him couetous and a slouen; *You would likewise call him, Lichnobium*, that is to say, such a one as liueth by the Lampe. Thou must not wonder, although thou findest so many proprieties of vices; they are diuers, and haue innumerable faces, their kindes cannot be comprehended. The managing of that which is good is simple, and that which is euill manifold, and is disposed in all sortes as a man list. The same befalleth manners, such as follow Nature are facile and free, and haue small differences; the rest are extrauagant and neuer accord amongst themselues: but the especial cause of this sicknesse in my opinion, is the hatred of common life. As they distinguish themselues from other men in their garments, as in their great & costly suppers, and in the richnes of their coaches, so will they be seperated from other in the disposition of times they will not sinne ordinarily, whose reward in sinning is infamie. This doe all they seeke after, who (if I may say so) liue sinisterly. Therefore my *Lucilius*, we are to follow that way, which nature hath prescribed vs; neyther must we wander out of the same. They that doe this, finde all things facile and expedit, but they that striue against the same, their life is no otherwise then theirs who striue against the streame.

EPIST. CXXIII.

That a thin and simple dyet by the decree of the minde and hunger are made desirable. That rich men are to vse the same likewise; for who knoweth whether he shall haue neede thereof? Let neyther custom or forraine manners seduce vs. Despise all contrary iudgements or opinions.

BEing spent by my iourney more incommodious then long, I came to my *Albanum* very late in the night, I finde nothing ready but my selfe. For this cause I laide me downe in my bedde to ease my wearinesse, and take in good part this negligence of my Cooke and Baker: for thus debate I vpon this matter with my selfe; There is nothing so

so grieuous that can diſtaſte thee if thou endure it patiently, neyther any thing that may diſpleaſe thee except thou thy ſelfe cauſe it by thy fretting. My Baker hath no bread, but my Farmer hath, my Porter hath, my Plow-man hath. But thou wilt ſay it is courſe bread: ſtay a while it will be made good; hunger I tell thee, will make it more pleaſing vnto thee then thy white bread. Therefore ought we not to eate any thing before hunger commaund vs. I will therefore ſtay and refraine eating till ſuch time as eyther I beginne to haue good, or forbeare to loath bad. It is a neceſſarie thing to accuſtome our ſelues to frugalie: many difficulties of time and place doe ſometimes hinder the moſt richeſt and greateſt Lords from their long deſired dinners. No man can haue what ſoeuer he will, yet may he not will that which he hath not, and vſe thoſe things that are preſented him thankefully. A great part of libertie is a well-gouerned bellie, and patient in all wants. Thou canſt not imagine what pleaſure I take in this, that my wearineſſe is appeaſed of it ſelfe. I ſeeke neyther vnction nor Bath, nor any other remedie, but onely time: for that which labour hath bred reſt taketh away. This will be more pleaſing then a ſupper prepared for the gods: for ſometimes I haue made a ſudden experiment of the forces of my minde, and I finde it to be the moſt ſimple and aſſured; for whereas the minde hath prepared it ſelfe, and enioyned himſelfe patience, a man cannot ſee how much firmitie it hath: for they are the moſt certaine arguments which ſhe inſtantly gaue, if not onely with an equall but a temperate eye hee hath beheld them, if ſhe hath not beene diſpleaſed nor hath conteſted, if that which ſhould be giuen, himſelfe miniſtreth to himſelfe by not deſiring, & thinketh that there is ſomewhat wanting to his cuſtome and not vnto himſelfe. We neuer vnderſtood that many things were ſuperfluous, but when they began to be miſſing: for we vſed them not becauſe we ought, but becauſe we had them. But how many things doe we prepare, becauſe other men haue prepared them? becauſe they are vſual amongſt manie? Amongſt the cauſes of our euils, this is one, that we liue by example; neyther are we gouerned by reaſon, but ledde away by cuſtome, which if few men did, we would not imitate: when as many haue begun to doe the ſame we follow it as if it were more honeſt, becauſe it is more frequent, and errour with vs ſupplieth the place of that which is right, when it is made publique. All men now-a-dayes trauaile in ſuch ſort, that a troope of Numidian horſemen leades them the way, and a companie of foot-men attends vpon their ſtirrop. It ſhould be an indignitie vnto them if they had not ſome attendants to thruſt thoſe out of the way that met them, and that ſhould ſhow in raiſing much duſt, that an honeſt man came after them. In theſe dayes all men haue Moiles that beare their veſſels of cryſtall, and ſuch as are made of Caſſonie, and enameled by the hands of great Artiſts: it is a ſhame for thee if thou ſeeme to haue thoſe carriages as might not be broken. All the Litters wherein they carrie their Minions are couered, and they themſelues haue their faces anoynted, leſt eyther the Sunne or colde ſhould harme their tender skins; it is ſhame that there is no one in the companie of their Minions, that hath a face ſo faire that it needeth not to be farded. All theſe mens conference is to be auoided, theſe are they that teach vices, and conuey them from one place to another. They were reputed the worſt ſort of men that were tale-carriers, but ſom there are that beare vices. Theſe mens ſpeech doth much miſchiefe; for although it inſtantly hurteth not, yet leaueth it ſome ſeedes in the minde, and it followeth vs euen then when wee haue left them, likely hereafter to enkindle a new euill in vs. Euen as they who haue heard ſome excellent Muſicke beare away

away with them in their eares that harmony and ſweetneſſe of ſong, which hindereth the thoughts, and ſuffereth them not to be intended to ſerious matters: ſo the ſpeech of flatterers, and ſuch as praiſe vice, ſticketh longer time in our memories, then it is heard: neither is it an eaſie matter to extinguiſh ſo ſweet a ſound in the minde, it followeth, and continueth, and returneth againe ſomewhiles after into our remembrance. It becommeth vs therefore in the beginning to ſtop vp our eares againſt euill voyces, for when they haue gotten entereance, and are admitted, they are more audacious. From thence men grow to this language, Vertue, Philoſophie, and Iuſtice, is but the bruite of vaine words. The only felicitie is to make good cheere, to liue at pleaſure, and to haue an ample patrimonie. This is that is called life, this is to remember that a man is mortall. The dayes fleete from vs, and our life ſo poſteth away, as we may neuer recouer it. Why are we doubtfull to frame our ſelues according to our fantaſie, and to ſatisfie our fleſh her deſires, whileſt ſhe demandeth them, whileſt ſhe will and can take them? Why take we care to ſpare for the time after our death, and to forbid our ſelues that for the preſent, which ſhe will carry away? Thou haſt no ſhe friend, no boy, that may moue ielouſie in thy miſtris. Each day walkeſt thou out of thy houſe ſober, ſo ſuppoſt thou, as if thou wert accountable to thy father for the expence thou makeſt euery day. This is not to liue, it is to aſſiſt and keepe company with the liuing. What folly is it to heape vp riches for thine heire, and to deny thy ſelfe all things, that the great goods thou poſſeſſeſt might make thy friend thine enemie; for the more hee enioyeth by thee, the more he reioyceth at thy death. Set not a farthing by theſe ſeuere and bold cauſers of another mans life, enemies to their owne, ſuch men as would regent the whole world: neither doubt thou to make choice of a merrie life before a good fame. Theſe ſpeeches are no otherwiſe to be fled, then the ſongs of the Syrens, which *Vliſſes* would not faile by, before he had tied himſelfe to the maſt of his ſhip. They haue the ſame power, they take from thoſe that giue eare vnto them, their countrie, their parents, their friends, their vertues, and drag theſe miſerable creatures thorow the ordures of a ſhameful and infamous life. How farre better is it to follow the direct way, and to aime at this end that thoſe things at length may onely ſeeme pleaſing vnto thee which are honeſt? Which we may attaine, if we ſhall conceiue two kinds of things, the one wherof draw vs, the other driue vs away. Thoſe that inuite vs, are riches, pleaſures, beautie, ambition: in briefe, all that which flattereth vs, and is agreeable vnto vs. They that driue vs away are trauaile, death, dolor, ignominie, and want. We muſt therefore exerciſe our ſelues, leſt we feare the one or deſire the other. Let vs make head againſt that which is contrarie, and let vs depart from thoſe things which inuite vs, and make warre againſt thoſe that importune vs. Seeſt thou not how diuers the habit is of thoſe, that aſcend and deſcend? Thoſe that deſcend from a ſteepe place, bend their bodies backward, they that aſcend an high place, lie vpon their bellies. For if in deſcending thou ſwayeſt thy ſelfe forward, or in aſcending thou leaneſt backward: this (my *Lucilius*) is to conſent with vice. We deſcend into pleaſures, we muſt mount in the incommodities and aduerſities of this life. Let vs preſſe forward in theſe, and reſtraine our ſelues in the other. Thinkeſt thou now, that I ſay this, that they only are preiudicious to our eares, who praiſe voluptuouſnes, who encreaſe the apprehenſion of paine, a thing that of it ſelfe is dreadfull enough. Thoſe men likewiſe, in my opinion, are hurtfull vnto vs, who vnder pretext of being Stoicks, exhort vs vnto vices: that a wiſe-man only is both learned, and a louer, that only he is practiſed

sed in this Arte. The wise-man is as skilfull in drinking, as in banquetting. Let vs enquire vntill what yeares yong men are to be beloued. Let these things be allowed to Grecian custome. Let vs rather addresse our eares to those things that follow. No man is casually good; vertue is to be learned, voluptuousnes is a vile and base thing, and of meane price: common to man, with brute beasts, and whereunto the least, and most contemptible doe flie. Glory is vaine, and swiftly flieth, and is more inconstant then the winde. Powertie is displeasing to no man, except to him that beareth it impatiently. Death is no euill. Why complaineſt thou? She it is alone that dealeth iustly, and carrieth her selfe equally towards all humane kinde. Superstition is a mad error, itfeareth those whom she should loue, and violateth her masters. For what difference is there, whether thou denieſt the gods, or defraudeſt them? These things are to be learned, yea they are to be kept continually in remembrance. Philosophie must not suggeſt excuses vnto vice. That sicke man hath no hope of his health, who is counselled by his Phisitians to intemperance.

Epist. CXXIIII.

Against the Epicures, that good consisteth in reason, not in sence. And therefore that infants are not as yet capable thereof: neither is it compleate, except it be where reason is compleate. How shall I vnderstand that it is in me, if I seeke nothing without my selfe?

I can recount, if so thou list to heare,
Full many precepts of the ancient wise,
Except thou loath to lend thy listning eare,
To know from whence the lesser cares arise.

But thou loatheſt not, neither doth any subtiltie disgust thee. Thy gentle spirit disdaineth not the smalleſt things, although it comprehend the greateſt. I likewise approue this in thee also, because thou reduceſt all things to some vse, & art only offended then, when with much subtiltie nothing is effected, which I will not now endeuour to do. The question is, whether good be comprehended by sence or vnderstanding. Hereunto it is annexed, that it is neither in brute beasts, nor in infants: they that hold voluptuousnesse for the chiefeſt good, doe iudge good to be sensible. We contrariwise considering it in the soule, maintaine that it is intelligible. If they did iudge of the good of sence, we should reiect no voluptuousnesse, because all of them are both attractiue and pleasing. And contrariwise, we should willingly vndergoe no paine, because there is none but offendeth the sence. Besides, they should not be worthy of reprehension, who are too much affected to voluptuousnes, and are too exceedingly afraid of pain. But wee mislike those that are addicted to their belly and lust, and contemne those, who for feare of paine dare attempt nothing couragiously. But wherein doe they offend, if they obey their sences, that are the iudges of good and euill. For to these Masters haue you giuen the power to desire and flie. But reason hath charge of this, and must order as well good and euill, as vertue and honesty. For by these the preheminence is giuen to the baser part, to iudge of the better, and their meaning is, that the sence which is a dimme and dull thing, and more slow in men then in other liuing creatures, should censure what the true good is.

What

What if a man would discerne the smalleſt things by sight, and not by touch, to discerne euill from good, a man cannot finde a more sharpe and better intended sight then that of the eyes. Thou seeſt in what ignorance of truth he remaineth, and with what ignorance he hath troden those things vnder foote which are diuine, who will make the touch to be the iudge of good and euill. Euen as, saith he, euery Science and Arte ought to haue something in it, which is manifeſt, and comprehended vnder sence, from whence it may be deriued and encreaſe: euen so a blessed life hath for his foundation and beginning, something which is both apparant and sensible. But you say that a blessed life taketh her beginning from manifeſt things. Wee say that those things are blessed, which are according to nature, but what is according to nature appeareth cleerely and at the firſt sight, as that also which is entire. What is that which is according to nature? It is that which befalleth him who is newly borne, I say not good, but the beginning of good. Thou attributeſt pleasure vnto infancie, as if it were their chiefeſt good, that at his birth-day he should begin there, whither hee attaineth when he is become a man. Thus putteſt thou the top of the tree into the place of the roote. If a man should say, that an infant lying in his mothers wombe, and scarce begun, tender, imperfect, and without forme, is alreadie in possession of any good, should he not seeme to erre manifestly? But what difference is there betwixt an infant, that doth begin to be, and one which is as yet but a hidden burthen in his mothers womb? Both these, in respect of the vnderstanding of good & euill, haue equall maturitie: & no more is an infant capable of good as yet, then a tree, or any dumbe beast? But why is not good in a tree or dumbe beast? Because reason is not in them, and therefore is it not in an infant, by reason that he wanteth reason, whereunto when he hath attained, he shall approch more goodnesse. There is some creature which is not reasonable, and some other which is not as yet endued with reason, if it be it is imperfectly. Goodnesse is neither in the one, nor in the other. Reason bringeth that good with himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the things aboue mentioned? Neuer shall good be in a liuing creature which is depriued of reason, neither can it be in him that is not as yet endued with reason, as long as hee remaineth in that estate, he may be, but he is not as yet. So then I say (my *Lucilius*) that good is not found in euery bodie, or in all ages, and is as farre estranged from the infant, as that which is laſt, is distant from that which is firſt, and the beginning of a thing, from the accomplishing and perfection of the same, and consequently, good is not in a bodie which doth but newly receiue forme in his mothers wombe: no more is there in the seede whence the bodie hath forme: as if thou makeſt mention of the good of any tree or plant, it is not in the firſt leafe that buddeth forth. The corne hath some good which is not in the tender blade, nor in the straw, but in the graine which is readie to be reaped. Euen as all nature, except it be consummate, bringeth not forth his good, so the good of a man, is not in a man, except he be possessed of perfect reason. But what this good is, I will tell thee: It is a free and vpright minde, that subiecteth all other things vnder him, and is himselfe subiect to nothing. Too far is infancie from partaking this good, that the childish age hopeth it not, and youth doth weakely hope the same. Happie is old-age if it attaine thereunto by long and diligent studie, when this is both good and able to be vnderstood. Thou diddeſt say, sayeſt thou, that there is a certaine good of a tree, another of an herbe; therefore may an infant haue some good. The true good neither is in trees, nor in dumbe creatures; that good which is in these is called but a bor-

rowed good: and what is that, sayest thou? That which is according to the nature of euery thing. There is not one brute beast that may in any sort participate good, which belongeth to a better and more happy nature: there is no good but there where reason hath place. These foure natures are distinct; that of a Tree, that of a Beast, that of a Man, and that of a God. These two which are without reason are of the same nature, the other two are diuers, the one immortall, the other mortall. Of these the one maketh his owne good accomplished, and that is God; & a mans diligence addresseth the other. The rest are perfect in their nature, but not truely perfect if reason be absent from them. For that is finally perfect which is perfect according to cõmon nature, but common nature is reasonable, the rest may be perfect in their kinde. That wherein happie life cannot be, cannot haue that thing which causeth happie life, but a blessed life is made by good things, and in a dumbe beast that is not that whereby blessed life is effected, and therefore good cannot be in a dumbe beast. A dumbe beast comprehendeth things that are present, by sense he remembreth those things that are past at such time as that which awakeneth the sense, awakeneth it selfe, as a horse remembreth himselfe of his way when he is set into the beginning of it: whilst he standeth in the Stable he hath no remembrance thereof, although he hath trode it ouermany times. But the third time, that is to say, that which is to come appertaineth not to dumbe beasts: how then can their nature seeme to be perfect who haue no vse of perfect time? For time consisteth of three parts, of that which is past, of that which is present, of that which is to come. That which is onely present and shortest, and passeth soonest is giuen to beasts: as touching that which is past, they haue eyther none or little remembrance thereof neyther, but casually thinke they on things that are present; thus the good of a perfect nature cannot be in an imperfect nature. Or if by nature she hath it, she hath it as hearbes haue; neither doe I denie but that brute beasts haue their motions very rude and violent towards those things which seeme to be according to nature, but such motions are confused and disordered, but there cannot be any confusion or disorder in good. Why then sayest thou doe brute beasts moue themselues confusedly and disorderly? I would say that they moued themselues confusedly and disorderly, if their nature were capable of order: but they haue a motion according to nature. For we call that thing confused, which sometimes may not be confused, and that carefull which may be assured; vice is in nothing wherein vertue may not be; dumbe beasts haue by nature that motion which they haue. But lest I detaine thee ouer-long, there shall be some good in a dumbe beast, some vertue, some perfection; but what shall it be, but what good? Neyther absolutely good, neither vertue, neyther perfect; for these priuiledges doe onely appertaine vnto those that are endowed with reason, who haue the knowledge giuen them why, how farre, and how. Thus good is not in any thing, except it be ended with reason. Doost thou aske me whereunto this disputation tendeth, and what profite it shall yeeld vnto thy minde? I will tell thee, it exerciseth it, it whetteth it, and detaineth the same in some honest meditation, since he must employ and occupie himselfe. But that which restraineth the minde that runneth after vice, is profitable. But this I say, that the greatest good I can do thee, is to teach thee thy good, to seperate thee from brute beasts, and to lodge thee with God. Why doost thou entertaine and nourish the forces of thy bodie? Nature hath granted brute and sauage beasts greater then these? Why doost thou so carefully maintaine thy beautie, when as thou hast done thy vttermost thou

thou shalt be ouercome by many brute beasts in comelinesse? Why doest thou trim thy haire with so great diligence, when thou hast eyther scattered it after the Parthian manner, or tied it vp in knots after the Germane fashion, or let it grow long as the Scithians are wont; in euery horse thou shalt finde a thicker crest, in euery Lion a goodlier. When thou shalt addresse thy selfe to runne, the Hare will outstrip thee, wilt thou leaue these forraine aduantages in pursuit, whereof thou hast alwayes the worst, and returne vnto thy good? And what is this? vndoubtedly it is a reformed minde, pure and imitating good, extolling himselfe aboue humane things, placing nothing of himselfe without himselfe. Thou art a reasonable creature: what good is there therefore in thy selfe? Perfect reason. Summon thou that to his chiefest perfection, and let it increase as much as it may. Then suppose thy selfe to be blessed when all thy ioy shall proceed from thy selfe, when in these things which men long after, wish and desire thou findest nothing I say, not that thou wouldest rather haue, but that thou wouldst haue. I will giue thee a short lesson, wherby thou mayest measure thy selfe, wherby thou mayest perceiue that thou art perfect. Thou shalt possesse thy true good, when thou shalt know that those are most vnhappy who are happy.

The end of SENECAES Epistles.

THE MEMORABLE AND FAMOVS TRACTS, BOTH MORALL AND NATVRALL,

WRITTEN
BY
LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

LONDON,
Printed by *William Stansby*.
1613.

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
His Discourse of PROVIDENCE:
OR
Why good men are afflicted, since there is a diuine PROVIDENCE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis little booke is a golden booke, and was written, as I conceiue, after CALIGVLAS *time, and I iudge it by his fourth Chapter: I heard a Fencer, in* CAIVS CAESARS *time, complaining of the scantnesse of rewards. He speaketh of the time past, and of the man and the time which was. I thinke therefore that hee wrote it vnder* CLAVDIVS, *and presently vpon his returne. Yea but what if he wrote some of these Philosophicall Discourses in his exile? For he continued there a long time, about some eight yeares, and vpon iust cause made choice hereof to comfort himselfe. For the argument is, that there is a Prouidence, and yet notwithstanding, that some euils, but they externall, doe befall good men. He first of all in generalitie auoweth the same, by the motion, order, and constancie of the world, all which doe testifie that there is a Gouernour. Afterwards he more particularly examineth the question. Why therefore doe misfortunes happen to good men? First of all he saith, that God loueth good men, and that therefore hee sendeth them not afflictions. That like a father hee correcteth and checketh them. Againe, that these seeme no afflictions vnto good men, neither that they are ouercome, but exercised by them, and made constant by their tribulations. That God is, as it were, a Iudge of the game, and taketh delight in these his strong and confident wrastlers. This handleth he generally, and as it were in way of induction to the third Chapter. From that forward he more distinctly goeth forward, to set downe fiue reasons why they happen. First, that it is for their good, for whom they happen. Secondly, for admens. Thirdly, for such as would haue them happen. Fourthly, that they happen by fate and an eternall Law. He handleth the first reason in the third and fourth Chapter, and teacheth that it is for their good, to whom they chance, as a medicine is to those that are sicke. They are likewise confirmed by God by this meanes, who bringeth those foorth to the battell, who are worthy of him: that hee suffereth the rest of baser mettall to liue in idlenesse and obscuritie. He handleth the second in the fift Chapter, that it is for all mens good, that good men, and such as are so reputed, might crie out vnto others, and shew them they are not good or euill, which the common sort esteemeth such. He counselleth them therefore to haue an eye to those that are true, and to affect them, and flie the other. In that place he entreateth of the other, of such as are willing to entertaine the same, for they*

they giue themselues to God and Fate. The fourth concludeth that there is Fate, and that it is constituted from eternitie, what thou shouldest reioyce and grieue at. Againe, he repeateth this, that these things are not euill, and bringeth in God most excellently exhorting and exciting them to constancie. He concludeth Stoically, if thou dislike it, and canst not abide it, who holdeth thee? the dore is open, get thee out.

CHAP. I.

Hauing approued that there is a Prouidence, he proueth in generall, by consideration of all creatures both high and low, that it is impossible that they should be without a most wise moouing cause, since the effects they haue are so admirable.

THOV hast demanded of me, my friend *Lucilius*, how it should come to passe (if so be the world were gouerned by any Prouidence) that so many euils befall good men? I might more readily and fitly giue thee an answere hereunto in a place of this Discourse, where I intend to proue that Prouidence hath a power ouer all things, and that God is alwayes present with vs. But since it is thy pleasure that I diuide this part from the whole, and that I satisfie thee in this one contradiction, permitting the rest of the question to remaine vntouched. I will performe it, since I know it is no hard matter to pleade the cause of the gods. It should be labour lost at this present, to make proofe, that this great frame of the world could not be sustained without som gouernor and superintendent. That those so certaine motions, and courses of the Planets and Starres, haue not this violent vehemencie, by casualtie or accident, that that which is pushed on by Fortune, and peraduenture is oftentimes troubled, and hindereth it selfe. That this swiftnesse which is neuer interrupted by any obstacle, is gouerned by the commandement of an eternall law. That this goodly order and gouernment, that beareth and sustaineth all things in the earth, and in the sea, so many cleare lights which shine in the heauens, wherein they were disposed, is not by the order of a wandering and inconstant matter. That that which should be assembled rashly and casually, could not remaine suspended, with so wonderfull workmanship. To shew also how the waight of the earth remaineth vnmoueable, beholding the swift motion of the heauens, which whirleth about her incessantly. How the seas being spred thorow the deep valleyes, mollifie the earth, and receiue no encrease by the entrie of all other riuers. How from a very little seede, there groweth out a bodie of wonderfull greatnes, & how euen those things which seeme most incertain and confused, I speake of clouds and raines, of the claps of thunder and lightning, of fires and flames that enforce their passage thorow the tops of the highest mountaines, of the earth-quakes which sinke and open the ground, and other accidents, which that part of nature which is most stormie and tempestuous, may mooue about the earth, how sudden and vnexpected soeuer they be, are neuer raised without reason. They haue their causes as well as they, which, as we see doe suddenly and miraculously breake forth in some strange and vnaccustomed places, such as are the sources of hot waters in the middest of some riuers, and new Isles that raise themselues out of the depth of a large sea. Furthermore, if a man will obserue it, how the sea-shores vpon the ebbe of the waters, become naked and discouered; and how anon after, vpon the flood, the waters returne and couer them againe, he will beleeue that by a certaine blinde voluration, that the waues

waues are contracted and buried one within another, sometimes enlarged, and with swift streames returne into their bed. Although, in truth, they encrease by little and little, and at a certaine day and houre become more great and small, according to the estate and disposition of the Moone, which causeth the flux and reflux of the sea. But leaue we this discourse vntill another time, and the rather because thou doubtest not, but complainest of Prouidence. I will reconcile thee to the gods, who are fauourable to those that are good men: for Nature suffereth not, that those things which are good, should be hurtfull to the good. * Vertue hath contracted an amiable friendship betwixt good men and God. Say I friendship? Nay rather a kindred, and likewise, because a good man onely differeth from God but in time, he is his scholler, his follower and his true childe, whom that magnificent parent, a seuere exactor of vertues, bringeth vp to hardnesse, as austere fathers doe their children. When as therefore thou shalt see good men, and such as are acceptable to the gods, trauaile, sweat, and ascend high places: and contrariwise, the euill play the wantons, and flow in pleasures: thinke with thy selfe, that we are delighted with the modestie of our children, and the libertie of our gibing slaues: that the one are restrained vnder a seuere discipline, whilest the other are supported and maintained in their impudence. Know thou that God doth the like. He maketh not a good man a wanton: he proues him, he hardens him against afflictions, he polisheth and fashioneth him to the end he may serue him.

* *A Stoicall Paradox, which cannot be vnderstood, nor well expressed in the Schooles of humanitie, but in that of the holy Ghost. Examine it iudicially.*

CHAP. II.

Vpon the entrance of the matter, he proueth by most strong arguments, enriched with excellent similitudes; and notable examples, that afflictions are honorable, pleasant, profitable and necessarie to vertuous men; and that they are no wayes to be esteemed pernicious.

BVt why doe many aduersities befall good men? No euill may happen vnto a good man: contraries cannot be mixed together. Euen as so many riuers, so many showers powring from the heauens, so many springs of medicinable fountaines, change not the sauour of the sea, much lesse alter it: so the shocke of aduersitie peruerteth not the courage of a vertuous man. Hee continueth on, and whatsoeuer happeneth, hee turneth it to his good. For hee is more powerfull then all externall things; nay more then this, hee apprehendeth them not, but surmounteth them, and continuing peaceable in himselfe, he resisteth all contrarie incumbrances. He accounteth his aduersities, his exercises. What man is he that hath his minde intended and setled vpon honestie, that is not desirous of conuenient labour, and is readie voluntarily to expose himselfe to dangers? What industrious man reputeth not idlenes to be a punishment? We see that wrastlers, who haue a care of their strength, doe contend with the strongest whatsoeuer, and importune them, who fashion themselues to those exercises, to vse their vttermost forces against them: they suffer themselues to be beaten and bruised, and if they finde no single man that may equall them, they offer themselues to encounter with many at once. Vertue hath no vertue, if it be not impugned, then appeareth it how great it is, of what value and power it is, when by patience it approueth what it may. Thou art to conceiue that good men ought to doe the like, that the greatest and sharpest aduersities must not astonish them, and that they ought not to complaine of Fate. Whatsoeuer befalleth them, let them take it in good part, and turne it to their good. It importeth not what burthen thou beareſt, but with what courage thou endurest it. Seest thou not what difference there is betweene the fathers loue, and the mothers cockering,

cockering. They command them to rise earely to follow their studies diligently, and on holy dayes likewise they suffer them not to be idle, sometimes they enforce sweate from their browes, and teares from their eyes. But their mothers nestle them in their bosomes, and keepe them out of the Sunne; they neuer suffer them to crie, to be sad, or to labour. God hath a fatherly minde towards good men, and he loueth them strongly. And let them, saith he, haue labours, losses, and paines, to the end they may recouer a true strength. The bodies that are ouer-fattened doe languish in idleness, and not only too much ease, but also their owne grease and waight maketh them sinke vnder it. Vntainted felicitie can suffer no affliction, but if a man striueth continually against his owne calamities: he accustometh and inureth himselfe to aduersities, neither giueth he place to any dolor, but although he be cast downe, yet fighteth he on his knee. Doest thou wonder that God, who loueth good men so entirely, who would that they should be the best and most excellent aboue all others, doth assigne them fortune to fight withall? I for mine owne part wonder not, that the gods sometimes take pleasure to behold worthy men wrastling against some aduersitie. Sometimes it delighteth vs, if wee behold a yong man of a constant resolution, that encountreth a wilde beast with his hunting-staffe, that dreadlesse withstandeth the incursion of a Lion, and the more pleasing is the spectacle vnto vs, the more valiantly he behaueth himselfe. These are not those things that may conuert the face of the gods towards vs, but childish pastimes of humane leuitie. But wilt thou see a spectacle that meriteth, that God should intentiuely behold the worke, fix thine eye vpon it, behold a couple of combatants worthy the presence of God? That is to say, a generous man planted before aduerse Fortune, challenging her hand to hand. I see not, say I, what thing *Iupiter* hath more admirable vpon the earth, if he would fix his minde vpon the same, then to behold *Cato* remaining firme and resolute, after his confederates had been more then once defeated, and inuincible amiddest his countries ruines. Although, saith he, that one only man be Lord of the whole world, although hee haue legions and garrisons in euery Prouince, though the seas bee couered with his ships, and *Cæsars* troopes stop vp all the passages. *Cato* hath a meanes to worke his libertie, with one hand hee shall make a broad way to his libertie. This * sword, which during the ciuill warres, hath remained iust and innocent, shall finally performe some good and noble actions, and giue *Cato* libertie, who could not giue his countrie freedome: my soule execute thou that act which thou hast long time meditated vpon; deliuer thy selfe from these worldly businesses. *Petreius* and *Iuba* haue alreadie encountred, and each are slaine by one anothers hands. A stout and worthie conuention of destinie, but such as becommeth not our greatnesse. It is as shamefull a thing for *Cato* to require death, as to beg life at any mans hands. I assure my selfe, that the gods with great ioy beheld, when this great and worthie personage, a powerfull protector of himselfe, trauelled to saue others, and gaue them meanes to escape: who likewise in that last night of his life he followed his studie, whileft he thrust his * sword into his belly, whileft he scattered abroad his bowels, and with his hands drew out of his bodie that so blessed soule of his vnworthie to be contaminated by the sword. Whereupon I am driuen to beleeue, that the wound was not large and deepe enough. It sufficed not the immortall gods to behold *Cato* once, vertue was retained, and reuoked, to the end that in a greater difficultie hee might approue himselfe. For there is more greater resolution in dying the second or third time, then in dying at the first. And why should they not willingly behold

* But this which Seneca praiseth so highly in a man that flew himselfe, is but a Paradox of the Stoicks, refuted expressly by Nature, by the law of Nations, and condemned by the expresse word of God: for it is vnlawfull for a liuing man to forsake this prison of his bodie, at his owne indiscreet pleasure.

* The soueraigne Captaine and Lord of our liues, is to assigne vs the day, the houre, and the meanes. Neither is it the act of a generous man to seeke reuenge, and to thinke that his affaires stands so desperate, that he must so discharge himselfe of bodie & soule, as thereby he preiudice his owne soule, and his neighbours estate.

holde their darling escaping by so noble and memorable a death, death consecrateth those who so end they praise, who feare to vndergo the like.

CHAP. II.

Secondly, he proueth that euill, that is to say, affliction turneth to their good who are vertuous. The first reason is, That as to heale the body we sometimes torment and maim the same, so doth god in regard of the righteous. Secondly, that those that are always in prosperitie, are in worst account with God, in that they haue not the courage to encounter fortune.

DVt now in the processe of my discourse I wil shew how far they are from miseries that are reputed so to be: for the present I tell thee that those which thou callest difficulties, aduersities, and abhominable are first of all for the good of those to whom they happen, and afterwards for other mens good of whom the gods haue more care then of euery one in particular. Secondly, that nothing befalleth good men but that which they would, and they should discerne that euill should light vpon them if they would not. Hereunto will I annex, that these things are done by Fate, and in as much as vertuous men are good, all that which befortuneth them is good: consequently I will teach thee, and make thee confesse that thou oughtest neuer to say, I haue pittie of such a good man, for a man may terme him miserable, but indeed he is not nor cannot be. That which I spake first seemeth to be the most harshest of all that which I haue propounded, that those euils which we quake and tremble at, turne to their good, to whom they happen. Is it for their good, sayest thou, to be banished, to be brought to pouertie, to be depriued of their wiues and children, and to be inforced to burie them, to be defamed, and weakened? If thou be astonished heereat, thou wilt wonder more if I approue it to be for their good, that some are cured by Iron and Fire, and by hunger and thirst likewise; but if thou bethinke thy selfe that for remidie sake, some haue their bones scaled and scarified, their veines tataken out, and some of their members cut off, which without the hazard of the whole bodie could not be left on, thou wilt suffer this likewise to be proued, that som incommodities are for their good to whom they happen, as much in truth as there are some things which being praised and desired are hurtfull to those that long after them, as ouer-eating and drinking, and such like pleasures, which engender crudities, trouble the braine, and kill the bodie. Amongst diuers notable sayings of *Demetrius* the Stoicke, I remember me of one, which as yet soundeth and tingleth in mine eares; *There is nothing*, saith he, *more vnhappy then that man that hath neuer beene touched with aduersitie*: for he hath not had the meanes to know himselfe. Although all things hee could desire had befalne him, yea, before he could desire; yet haue the gods thought euill of him. He seemed to bee vnworthy that fortune should at any time be ouercome by him which disdaineth to attempt any recreant or coward: as if he said, Why should I admit of such an aduersarie? he will presently lay downe his weapons, what neede I imploy all my power against him? A slight threat will make him flie; he cannot abide to looke vpon me. Let another man be sought for, with whom I may enter combate. I am ashamed to encounter with a man that is ready to be conquered. The Fencer thinketh it a disgrace for him to be matched with his inferiour, and knoweth that he is ouercome without glorie that is conquered without danger. The like doth fortune, she seeketh for the strongest to match her, some passeth she ouer with a scorne, she attempteth the most confident and couragious sort of men, against these employeth she her forces: she tryeth her fire vpon * *Mucius*, pouertie in a *Fabricius*, banishment in b *Rutilius*, torments in *Regulus*, poyson in *Socrates*, death in *Cato*. Euill fortune seekes out

no

* See Iuie and Plutarch in the life of Publicola.

* See Plutarch in Pyrrhus life, and Titus Liuius.

b See the Epitome of Titus Liuius, lib. 70. and Valerius Maximus, lib. 2 cap. 10.

no man except he be a great one? Is *Muelius* vnhappy because with his right hand he grasped his enemies fire, and chastised the errour he committed by burning of his hand, for putting that enemy to flight by his scorched fist, whom with his armed hand he could not vanquish? What then should he haue beene more happie, had he warmed his hand in his Mistresse bosom? Is *Fabricius* vnhappie for digging vp his Garden at such time as he had no publique charge? for waging warre as well against riches as against *Pyrrhus*? for suppling by the fire vpon those rootes and herbes which he himselfe being an olde man, who had triumphantly entred Rome, had gathered in cleansing and weeding his garden? What then, should he haue beene more happie if he had filled his bellie with fishes, fetched from a farre and forraine shoare, and of fowles fetched from a strange countrey? If he had whetted the dulnesse of his loathing stomacke with shell-fish, fetched from the higher and lower Seas? If he had enuironed with a great heape of apples the most hugest sauage beast, which cost many men their liues before she was killed. Is *Rutilius* vnhappy, because they that haue condemned him shall be condemned in all ages, who more willingly suffered himselfe to be rauished from his country, then to be remitted of his exile? because he alone opposed himselfe against the Dictator *Scilla*, and when he was recalled, not onely kept backe but fled further off? Let they, saith he to *Scilla*, whom thy great fortune entangleth in Rome, thinke this, that they beholde a riuer of bloud in the Market-place, and aboue the Lake of *Seruilius* (for that was the place where they dispoyled those whom *Scilla* by publique Proclamations had condemned to die) the heads of Senators, and the troopes of Murtherers, running thorow the streets of the Cittie, and diuers thousands of Romane Cittizens, murthered in that place after thou hast shopt them vp, with promise to saue their liues, and notwithstanding trayterously causing them to be slaine; let those that cannot endure to be banished feed their eyes with such spectacles. What then, is *Lucius Scilla* happy, because that in comming downe to the Market-place his guard made him way with their weapons? because he suffered the heads of Consuls to be hanged vp, and maketh the Quæstor pay him the price of euery head which is taxed in his Proclamations; and all these things doth he that made the Law *Cornelia*. Let vs come to *Regulus*; what harme did fortune to him in making him the patterne of fidelitie and patience? The nayles fasten and pierce his skin, and on what side soeuer he turneth his wearied bodie, he lies vpon his wounds; neyther can he close his eyes, but watcheth incessantly. The more torment he hath, the more glorie shall bee his. Wilt thou know how farre off he is from repenting himselfe for estimating vertue at so high a rate? Cheere him vp, and send him backe againe to the Senate, he will be still of the same opinion. Thinkest thou therefore that *Mecænas* is more happie, who could not sleepe but by the harmonie of pleasing musique that sounded a farre off by reason of his iealousie, and because he was strangely tormented with the crosses of his fantastique wife, which vpon euery slight occasion threatned him with diuorce. Although he drowne himselfe in wine to make him drowsie, and by the noyse of water, poured out of one bason into another intice his eyes to sleepe: be it that he charme his sorrowes with a thousand pastimes, he shall sleepe as little on his feather-bed as *Regulus* on the gibbet. But the one comforted himselfe, because he suffered for honestie that affliction he endured, and his patience regarded the cause of those torments. The other spent in delights, and broken with too much ease, is more tormented with the occasion then the euill it selfe, which he endureth; vices haue not gotten so strong

Titus Liuius, Publius, Valerius, Maximus, and Cicero doe all of them make honorable mention of this man, to whose magnanimitie Seneca opposed Mecænas delicacie.

strong a possession of mortall men; that it is to be doubted, if so be the destinie would giue them their choyse whether diuers had not rather resemble *Regulus*, then be borne *Mecænas*. Or if there were any that durst say that he would be borne *Mecænas* and not *Regulus*; the same man, although he hold his peace, had rather be borne * *Terentia*. Thinkest thou that *Socrates* was badly handled because he drunke that potion which was publiquely mixed, no otherwise then if it had beene a medicine of immortalitie, and disputed of death till death seased him? Thinkest thou that he was ill dealt withall, because his bloud was congealed, and that by little and little the force of his veynes failed him? whilst colde in the extremitie stole vp to his heart by little and little: how much more rather ought we to enuie his felicitie, then those who are serued in precious stones, wherein an old and decayed Minion of his trimmed vp to endure all things, poureth vp from aboue the melted Snow into his golden cup. These men whatsoeuer they drinke they vomit and cast it vp againe, with a certaine loathing, and are constrained to retast their bitter spittle. But *Socrates* swalloweth the poyson voluntarily and ioyfully. As touching *Cato*, there is sufficiently spoken, and the whole consent of men will confesse that he attained the greatest felicitie whom God made choise of, to rush and conquer those things that were to be feared. Are the displeasures of great men grieuous? Oppose him alone to *Pompey*, *Cæsar* and *Crassus*. It is a grieuous thing to be outstripped by men of no worth in dignitie and honor, but *Cato* disdaineth not to come after *Vatinius*. It is a grieuous thing to be an actor in ciuill warres; but *Cato* in a iust quarrell will fight in euery corner of the world, although the issue be both strange and miserable. It is a grieuous matter for a man to murther himselfe, yet will he do it. What shall I, saith nature, get hereby? This; that all men may know that these are not euils, which I thought *Cato* worthy of.

* This was Mecænas fantasticall and troublesome wife.

CHAP. IIII.

In the third place he sheweth that afflictions are honourable, and that the greatnesse of men is so it were circumscribed.

PRosperitie falleth into the hands of the common sort, and betideth those of weakest spirit: but to yoake and master calamities and mortall terrours is the propertie of a great man. But to be alwayes happy, and to passe away life without any pressure of the minde, is to be ignorant that affliction is one part of mans life. Thou art a great man; but how shall I know it, if fortune giue thee not leaue and meanes to make proofe of thy vertue. Thou wentest to the Olympian games, but no man but thy selfe: thou hast the crowne, but not the victorie. I applaude not thy fortune as if thou wert a great and valiant man, but as if thou hadst gotten some Consulate or Prætorship. Thou art increased in honour. The like can I say to a good man; if some misfortune hath not giuen him any occasion, whereby to make show of the liuely forces of his mind. I repute thee wretched because thou wert neuer wretched, thou hast past thy life without an aduersarie. No man, no not thy selfe shall be able to know thy value: for to the end a man may well know himselfe, he ought to make proofe of himselfe. No man knoweth his owne abilitie except he make triall thereof. And therefore some men haue wilfully and vnprouoked exposed themselues to miseries, and sought an occasion to make their vertue already declining and growing to obscuritie, more glorious and esteemed. Great men, say I, doe reioyce as much in aduersities as valiant souldiers doe in warre. I heard a Fencer in *Caius Cæsar's*

time, complaine of the rareneſſe of rewards: How faire an age, ſaith he, is paſt; vertue gapeth after danger, and thinketh on that which ſhe intendeth, not that which ſhe is to ſuffer, becauſe that which ſhe is to ſuffer is a part of her glorie. Valiant ſouldiers glorie in their wounds, and ioyfully ſhew the bloud that runneth from them, if it be ſpent in a good cauſe. Although they doe the like who returne in ſafetie from the battel, yet is he more reſpected that returneth wounded. God, ſay I, hath a care of thoſe men whom he deſireth to make the moſt honeſt, as often as he giueth them an occaſion to doe any thing ſtoutly and manfully, to the performance whereof there needeth ſome difficultie and danger. Thou ſhalt know a Maſter of a Ship in a tempeſt, and a Souldier in the battel: how can I know how thou art addreſſed againſt pouerty, if thou aboundeſt in riches? How can I know what conſtancie thou haſt againſt ignominie, infamie, and popular hate, if thou grow olde amidſt the applauſes of euerie man; if an inexpugnable fauour ſeconded by a certaine inclination of mens minds towards thee, attendeth thee perpetually? Whence know I that thou wilt patiently endure the loſſe of thy children, if I ſee thee laugh when they come into the world? I haue heard thee comfort others, but then would I willingly haue ſeene thee, if thou haſt comforted thy ſelfe, if thou haſt commanded thy ſelfe to grieue no more. Feare not theſe things, I beſeech you, which the immortall gods vſe as ſpurres to quicken and awaken our mindes. Calamitie is an occaſion of vertue. Iuſtly may a man tearme them miſerable, that are ſurfetted with too much felicitie, who are detained in an idle tranquillitie, as a ſhip in a calme ſea, whatſoeuer ſhall befall them will bee new vnto them. Calamities preſſe them moſt ſhrewdly, that haue neuer had experience of them. A tender necke hardly brooketh the yoake. A yong ſouldier waxeth pale vpon the feare of a wound. An old beaten ſouldier doth boldly ſee himſelfe bleed, who knoweth that oft-times in loſing his blood he hath conquered his enemie. God therefore animateth, reknowledgeth, and exerciſeth thoſe whom he approueth and loueth: but thoſe whom he ſeemeth to fauour and ſpare, he reſcrueth them by reaſon of their weakneſſe, for the euils to come, for it is a folly to thinke that any one is exempt. He whom thou thinkeſt ſo aſſured in his happineſſe, ſhall haue his turne, and taſte the ſame cup; whoſoeuer ſeemeth diſmiſſed, is but deferred. Why doth God afflict the beſt men with ſickneſſe, and other incommodities? Why in the Campe are the ſouldiers of greateſt value, commanded to execute the exploits of greateſt danger? The Generall ſendeth out the moſt choſen troopes to charge the enemie with an onſlaught by night, either to skout the way, or to driue ſome forces frome their trenches. None of thoſe who ſally out ſaith, *The Generall hath done me wrong, but he hath honored me.* Let them ſay the like, whoſoeuer are commanded to ſuffer, for which feare full men and cowards weepe. *We haue beene thought worthy by God to be eſteemed ſuch, in whom hee might make triall, how much humane nature may ſuffer.* Flie delights, flie from effeminate felicitie, whereby our mindes are mollified, except ſomething happen that may admoniſh them of their humane condition, who are, as it were benummed with perpetuall drunkenneſſe. He that hath beene alwayes defended from the winde by his glaſſe-windowes, whoſe feet are kept warme by much wrapping, who ſuppeth not, except it be in his ſtoue, is not without danger of catching cold vpon the ſmalleſt breath of winde. Since all exceſſe is hurtfull, an vnmeaſurable proſperitie is moſt dangerous: It moueth the braine, diſtracteth the mind with vain reſemblances, and ſpreadeth many miſts betwixt truth and falſhood. Why ſhould it not be better to endure perpetuall infelicitie, which animateth vnto vertue,

The reaſon why God afflicteth good men,

A perpetuall felicitie, accompanied by a ſudaine misfortune.

vertue, then to be broken with infinite and immoderate proſperitie? Death is not ſo tedious as too long faſting, and with too much cruditie they cracke their bodies. The gods therefore behaue themſelues towards good men, as the maſters doe towards their ſchollers, who require more labour at their hands, of whom they haue the greateſt hope. Beliueſt thou that the Lacedemonians hated their children, who make triall of their diſpoſition and nature, by whipping them publikely? Contrariwiſe, thoſe fathers exhort their children to ſuffer the iercks of their whips conſidently, and entreat them, being torne and halte dead with their ſcourgings, to perſeuere, and to endure wounds vpon wounds. Wonder we that God maketh triall of the moſt generous ſpirits by aduerſitie? Vertuous inſtructions are neuer delicate. Doth Fortune beate and rent vs? Let vs ſuffer it. This is no crueltie, it is but a conflict. The more we aduenture it, the ſtronger ſhall wee be. The hardeſt part of our bodie is that which trauaileth moſt: we muſt offer our ſelues to the hands of Fortune, to the end ſhee may make vs more confident to encounter her. By little and little ſhe will make vs as ſtrong as her ſelfe. To be continually in danger, maketh a man ſet light by danger. So are Sailers bodies inured to brooke the ſea; ſo are huſbandmens hands hardened; ſo are ſouldiers armes ſtrengthened to dart their weapons, ſo are their members made nimble that runne races. That in euery thing is moſt ſtrongeſt, which is moſt exerciſed. By contemning the power of euils, the minde attaineth patience, which thou ſhalt know what it can effect in vs, if thou conſider how much labour effecteth in naked bodies, & ſuch as are ſtrengthned by neceſſitie. Conſider all Nations which are beyond the confines of the Romane Empire. I meane the Germaines, and all thoſe that dwell about Iſter, and thoſe wandring Nations of the Scythians, and other perpetuall winter, and a thicke aire continually preſſeth them; a barren ſoile ſuſtaineth them: they defend themſelues from ſhowers, with leaues and ſheddes of thatch, they trauell ouer riuers hardened with ice, and take the repaſt vpon the fleſh of wilde beaſts. Seeme they wretched vnto thee? Nothing is miſerable that Nature hath brought into a cuſtome, for by little and little thoſe things become pleaſant vnto them, which began vpon neceſſitie. They haue no houſes, they haue no biding place, but that which wearineſſe hath allotted them for a ſeaſon. Their meate is homely and gotten by their owne hands: the aire is extreamely cold, and their bodies are naked; this which ſeemeth calamitie vnto thee, is the life of ſo many Nations. Why wondreſt thou that good men are ſtaken, to the end they may be confirmed? There is no ſolide or ſtrong tree, that hath not beene often ſhaken by the winde, for by the often ſhaking thereof it is ſtrengthened, and fateneth his roote more aſſuredly. They that grow in the low valleyes are the weakeſt. It is therefore profitable for good men, to make them more aſſured to be alwayes conuerſant amongſt dangers, and to endure thoſe accidents with a conſtant minde, which are not euils, except to him that beareth them euilly.

Exerciſe maketh dangers ſlight,

The laſt proofe enriched with an excellent ſimilitude.

CHAP. V.

For the fourth principall consideration, hee sheweth that the vertuous are afflicted, for the good and instruction of all men.

LEt vs adde now, how for the good of all men, euery one of the better sort (if I may so speake it) beare armes and performe actions. This is the purpose of God to make it knowne vnto a wise man, that those things which the common people long after, and which they are afraid of, are neither good nor euill. And they shall appeare to be good: if he bestow them on none but good men, and to be euill, if he hath reserued them only for euill men. Blindnesse were detestable, if no man should lose his eyes except they were pulled out. Let therefore * *Appius* and *Metellus* want their sight, and be miserable herein. Riches are not the true good, and therefore let *Ellius* the baud enioy them in such sort, as they who haue giuen him money in the Temples, may see it in the Brothel-house. God can by no better meanes traduce those things, which we so much couet, then in bestowing them on men most infamous, and detayning them from men most vertuous. But it is an iniust thing, that a good man should be weakened, hanged vp, or imprisoned, and that euill men should walke, with whole, healthfull, and effeminate bodies. What then? Is it not an vnreasonable matter, that valiant men should take armes, should watch in the trenches, and hauing their wounds but newly bound vp, should maintaine the breach, whilest lasciuious men, and such as professe wanton lust, sleepe securely in the Citie? What then? Is it not a most shamefull matter, that the most noblest Virgins should be awakened at mid-night to celebrate the sacred ceremonies, and that harlets should enioy their quiet sleepes? Labour summoneth the best. The Senate oft-times is all day long in counsell, when at that time the basest companions whatsoeuer, either take their pastimes in the fields, or lie hidden in an Ale-house, or lose their time in chatting amongst their companions. The like is done in this great Common-weale of the world, good men must labour, they employ their time, and are employed by others, and are not enforcedly drawne by Fortune, but they follow her, and walke by her, step by step, and had they knowne it, they had outstript her. And I remember likewise, that I haue heard this manly speech of *Demetrius* that worthy fellow: *In this one thing, O immortall gods, I can complaine of you, that you haue not made knowne vnto me what your will was. For of my selfe I had first of all come vnto these things, to which being now called, I present my selfe.* Will you take my children from me? I haue brought them vp to that end. Will you haue a part of my bodie? Take it to you. I promise no great matter, I will suddenly leaue all. Will you haue my spirit? Why not? I will not deferre to restore that vnto you, which you haue bestowed vpon me. I will willingly satisfie whatsoeuer you requeste. * What is it then? I had rather present it you, then deliuer it vnto you. What need had you to take away the same, you might haue commanded it, neither now shall you take it away, because nothing is taken away, but that which is taken from him that detaineth the same. I am not compelled, I suffer nothing vnwillingly; neither doe I serue God but assent vnto him, and so much the rather, because I know that all things happen by an eternall and vnchangeable ordinance of God. Destinie leadeth vs, and the first houre of euery mans birth hath gouerned all the rest of his life. One cause dependeth vpon another, and the long order of things draweth with it all that which is done in publike or in priuate. Therefore is each thing to be endured constantly, because all things fall not out as we

* One blind of the Sect Stoicall, called Diodotus, by the others scoffed, the Reader may see more of him in S. Augustine his 19. booke De Ciuitate Dei, and fifth chapter, and likewise in the 3. booke following.

* He one of these by surname was called blind, and the other lost his eyes by fire.

we * imagine, but come. Long since it was decreed, whereat thou shouldest ioy or sorrow, and although euery mans life seemeth to be distinguished in different and great varieties, yet notwithstanding all commeth to one point, we haue receiued those things which will decay, and we our selues must die. Why are we so displeased? Whence groweth our complaint? We are ordained hereunto. Let Nature vse our bodies how shee list. Let vs merrily and contantly thinke thus, that we lose nothing of our owne. * What is that which is proper and beseeming in a good man? to commit himselfe to the hands of Destinie. It is a great solace to be carried away with the whole world. Whatsoeuer it be that hath commanded vs to liue thus, and to die thus, by the same necessitie tieth the gods. An irreuocable course carrieth away together both humane and diuine things. The same Creator and Gouernour of all things hath written the Fates, and he himselfe followeth that which he hath written, he hath once commanded, and alwayes obeyeth. Why therefore was God so vniust in distributing Fate, that to good men he ascribed pouertie, wounds, and cruell death? The work-master cannot change his matter, it is subiect to suffer this. Some things there are that cannot be separated from other things, they cleaue one vnto another, and are indiuisible. The spirits that are weake, or like to grow dull, or to fall into a watchfulnesse like vnto sleepe, are framed of slow elements. To frame a man that should make himselfe spoken of, there needeth a stronger Fate. His iourney must be no ordinarie way. He must trauell high and low, he must haue stormes, and must gouerne his ship in a swolne sea; he must shape his course against Fortune. Hee shall haue many hard and dangerous accidents to confront him, but such as he himselfe may smooth and make plaine. Fire trieth gold, and aduersitie valiant men. Behold how high vertue should ascend, and thou shalt know that she must not goe in securitie.

The first which with vnwearied steeds I clime,
Is such a iourney, that their ceaselesse toyle
Can scarcely reach before the morrowes prime,
The next is highest heau'n, from whence the soyle
And spacious seas, I see with dreadfull eye
And fearefull heart, the next whereto I hie,
Is steepe, and prone, and craues a cunning guide,
And then doth THETIS *shake her selfe for dread,*
Lest headlong I should fall and downward glide,
And burie in her waues my golden head.

When the generous yong man had heard these things, I like, saith he, the way, and will attempt it. Is it such a matter to shape so faire a course, and to fall afterwards? The father notwithstanding desisted not to terrifie his too forward minde thus:

And that thou mayst continue in the way,
Be carefullest thy pasting Steeds doe stray,
Yet shalt thou passe by Taurus who will bend
His hornes to crosse thee, whither thou dost tend,
Th' Æonian Archer, and the Lion fell
Shall stay thy course, and fright thee where they dwell.

* That is, things happen not by chance, but are made and done by an immutable decree.

* To answere this obiect an, he relieth on the Paradox of the Stoikes, who tie the first cause within God, to seuerall causes, whereas Christian Philosophy teacheth vs the contrarie, and himselfe herein after hath sufficiently answered hereunto.

2. Actor. 23. ph.

After this he saith, *Couple thy granted teame.* I am animated by these things, wherewith thou thinkest to affright me. I am resolued to stand there, where the Sunne it selfe shall tremble. It is the part of a base and recreant minde to trauell in securitie: Vertue alwayes climeth hard and difficult pathes.

CHAP. VI.

The first and principall point, wherein he sheweth that there is no euill but in vices: Whence it followeth that the vertuous endure no euill, and that this name ought not be giuen to afflictions.

BVt why doth God permit that good men should suffer wrong? Vndoubtedly he permitteth it not. He remoueth all euils from them, hainous sinnes and offences, cursed cogitations, greedie counsels, blinde lusts, and auarice that coueteth another mans fortunes, he defendeth and restraineth them. Doth any man require this at Gods hands, that he should take paine also to keepe good mens budgets. They acquit God of this care, they contemne externall things. *Democrates* cast away richies, supposing them to be the burthen of a good minde. Why wondrest thou therefore, if God suffer that to happen to a wise-man, that a good man sometimes would wish, that hee might sometimes light vpon. Good men lose their children. Why not? When as the time will come that they themselues must die. They are banished: Why not? When as sometime they forsake their Countrie, with this resolution neuer to see it againe. They are slaine: Why not? when as sometimes they themselues will lay hands on themselues. Why suffer they some aduersities? to the end they may teach others to suffer the like. They are borne to be a patterne. Thinke therefore that God saith: What cause haue you, who haue taken pleasure in vertue, to complaine of me. I haue enuironed some with deceiuable goods, and haue mocked their vaine mindes with a long and deceitfull dreame. I haue decked them with gold, siluer and Iuorie, but inwardly there is nothing good in them. These whom you admire for their happinesse, if you looke into them, not according to their exteriour greatnesse, but their interiour weaknesse, they are miserable, base, filthie, and like their walles, onely painted on the outside. This is no solide and sincere felicitie, it is but a crust, and that a thinne one. Therefore as long as they may stand vpright, and not shew themselues but where they list: they shine and abuse the common eye. But if any thing happeneth, that troubleth and discouereth them, then shalt thou see a sea of villanie and filth hidden vnder their borrowed brightnesse. I haue giuen you true and permanent goods. The more you examine and looke into them euerie wayes, the better and the more greater will they appeare to be. I haue permitted you to contemne those things which are to be feared, to loath those things that are to bee desired, you shall not shine outwardly, * your goods are turned inward. So the world contemneth his exteriour parts, and contenteth himselfe with the contemplation of himselfe. I haue placed all good inwardly. It is your felicitie, not to want felicitie. But diuers pitifull, dreadfull, and intollerable things fall out. Because I could not deliuer you from these euils, I haue armed your minds against all things. Suffer manfully, this is the way whereby you may walke before God, he is without the patience of euill: you aboue the patience. Contemne pouertie, no man liueth so poore as he was borne. Contemne paine, it will either be ended, or end vs. Contemne Fortune, I haue giuen her no weapon to wound the minde. Contemne death, which

* *Againe, he returneth to his Paradox, tying God vnto secondarie causes.*

which either endeth you or transformeth you. * Aboue all things I haue giuen you, warning that no man should keepe you liuing against your will. If you will not fight you may flie; therefore of all things which I would haue necessary for you, I made nothing more calle then death. I haue planted the soule in a base place, whence a man may deliuer it: consider how and you shall see how short the way is vnto libertie, and how readie it is. I haue not prefixed you so long a way in your departure as I haue giuen you at your entrance, otherwise fortune had held a great dominion ouer you, if a man should die as slowly as he is born. Let euery time and place teach you how easie a thing it is to renounce nature, and to returne her that fauour she hath bestowed vpon you: learne you death amidst the Altars, and the solemne rites of those that sacrifice whilst life is wished for. The bodies of the fattest Bulls are slaine with a small wound, and the stroake of a mans hand murthereth the beasts of the greatest strength. The ioynt that ioyneth the necke to the head is diuided with a thin Knife, and when the nerues that tie them both together are cut, that great masse of the bodie falleth downe. * The spirit is not hidden ouer deepe, neyther need we to draw it out with hookes: we needs not inflict deepe wounds in our entrailes, death is at hand. I haue destinated no certaine place for these stroakes: life may finde it be by any place whatsoeuer. Euen that which is called death, whereby the soule departeth from the bodie, is shorter then that so great swiftnesse thereof may be sensible. Whether a man strangleth himselfe, or stop his breath by drowning himselfe, whether by falling on the ground, a mans head being forward, we beat out our braines, whether by swallowing downe quick coales of fire, you intercept the course of the departing soule, what soeuer it be it hasteneth. What doe you blush, why feare you that so long which is done so soone?

The end of the Booke of Prouidence.

* *Another Paradox, placing death in the power and will of a man, where as man ought to attend the same from the ordinance of God: Whereto this as an Ethnique error, gather the flowers, let the weeds passe.*

* *Death is easie indeed, but admirably adde hereunto, if it happen in such sort, and at such time as pleaseth God.*

A TREATISE OF ANGER

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe Bookes of Anger seeme to be written among the first Bookes of Philosophy vndoubtedly among those which we haue: we gather the same out of SENECAES *owne words in his third Booke and eighteenth chapter. At this time* CAIVS CÆSAR *caused* SEXTVS PAPINIVS *whose father was Consul, and* BELENIVS BASSVS *who was Threasurer, to be whipped. He saith at this time, euen now but newly done, nay more, whilst* CALIGVLA *himselfe was liuing, out of the Chapter following. That which these much admireth was vsuall and ordinary with this beast, he liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; vndoubtedly all these thing were spoken by a man that is, not that was. He wrote at that time therefore, but he published it not, the more his wisedome, although as I suppose he did it shortly after his death.*

The Argument is as the title testifieth; How to know Anger, and afterwards to eschew it. The first Booke therefore hath the description thereof, and the loathsome habite and face of such as are angrie: then certaine definitions: then questions whether man onely be subiect thereunto? He maintaineth it: Whether it be according to nature? He denieth it with the Stoicks. Whether it be profitable, especially if it be tempered? This likewise denieth he, and diuersly disputeth against the Peripatetiques: that neyther the minde nor the strength is whetted thereby. That we ought not to be angry, no not with those that are cruell; neyther at the death of our father, nor at the rauishing of our mother, yet that they are to be defended and reuenged. To conclude, that this is a signe, not of a great but of a weake minde. The Bookes are in part very excellent and eminent in the whole scarce distinct but confused in repetitions and digestions.

CHAP. I.

* Nouatus was one Gallus by surname, as appeareth by the Epistle.

HOV hast exacted of me, * *Nouatus*, to write vnto thee how wrath might bee pacified, neyther without cause seemest thou vnto me to haue feared this affection especially, which is the most cruell and enraged of all others: for in the rest there is somewhat that is pliant and pleasing, but this is alwayes violent and full of immoderate sorrow, of armes, of bloud, of punishments, incensed with more then humane desire, neglecting her selfe so she may hurt another, rushing in vpon the sharpest weapons, and greedy of reuenge, and complotting murthers. Some therefore of the wiser sort haue said, that * Anger

* He describeth choler in this place very fully as we vse to speake.

is a short madnesse, for she is as little Mistresse of her selfe as the other: she forgetteth all respect, neglecteth friendships, intent and obstinate in that she hath vndertaken, and negligent full of reason, and incapable of counsaile: she is transported by vaine pretexts, stupid in the presence of equitie and veritie, properly resembling the ruines of houses, which breake themselues vpon that ruine which they themselues haue beaten downe. And to the end thou mayest know that they who are surprised with Anger are truely mad, consider a little their countenance, and the manner of their behauiour. For euen as these are certaine signes of confirmed madnesse, to haue a bolde and threatning countenance, a heauie brow, and dreadfull face, a swift and disordered gate, vnquiet handes, changed colour, and frequent and deepe sighes: so those that are angry haue the same signes. Their eyes sparkle and shine, their face is on fire thorow a refluxe of bloud that boileth vp from the bottom of their breasts, their lips quiuer, their teeth grate, their haire startleth and standeth vpright, their breath is inforced and wheeseth, they wrest and cracke their fingers, their speech is interrupted with plaints and grones and muttering, which a man may hardly vnderstand. They often clap their hands, and stampe the ground with their feet; their whole bodie startleth, and is shaken, their actions are full of furious menaces. In briefe, they haue a dreadfull and horrible countenance, resembling such men that disfigure and puffe themselues vp after a strange fashion. Thou canst not say whether it be a more detestable or deformed vice: the rest we may hide and nourish in secret; Anger discouereth it selfe and appeareth in the countenance, & the greater it is, the more manifestly discouereth she her impatience. Seest thou not in brute beasts whatsoeuer, that as soone as they are addressed to hurt, there are certaine signes as forerunners of their intention; how all their bodies giue ouer their peaceable and accustomed habite, and how they exasperate their naturall fiercenes? The Boares some and gnash their teeth: the hornes of Bulls are tossed in the ayre, and by the trampling of their feete the sand is scattered: the Lions roare, the incensed Serpents haue swelling neckes, mad Dogs haue a dreadfull look. There is no liuing creature so cruell and pernicious what soeuer, that discouereth not some new furie, as soone as displeasure hath seized him; neyther am I ignorant that other affections also are scarcely hidden, and that lust, feare, and boldnesse make show of themselues, and may be foreknowne. For there is none so vehement and inward thought, that bewrayeth not it selfe in the countenance. What difference then is there, that other affections doe appeare, and this is eminent?

CHAP. II.

That Choler and Anger is hurtfull to vs, he approueth by example, and by the effects and discommodities thereof setting Syllaes cruelties, and the Triumuirates tyrannie for an example of hatred thereof to all men.

BVt now if thou wilt consider the effects and damages thereof there is no plague that hath ruined and cost the world more then this. Thou shalt see murthers, imprisonments, shamefull and mutuall reproches of guiltie men, sacking of Cities, ruines of whole nations, heads of Princes and great Lords taxed and solde to him that offereth most, houses burned, and fire not restrained within the walls of a Cittie, but whole spaces of Regions shining with hostile flame. Behold the foundations of the noblest Cities, now scarcely knowne, these hath wrath ouerturned. Behold the desert and vnhabited, extended to many thousand paces, these hath wrath dispoyled. Beholde so many great Chieftaines, whose

whose memorie remaineth as yet seruing for examples of humane miserie. One of these hath wrath murthered in his bed, another hath wrath slaine at the table, without any respect of the sacred rites of the same, another hath she stabbed in the midst of the lanes, and in the market-place in the sight of all men: shee hath commanded another to offer his throate to the murtherous handes of his sonne; another to haue his Kingly throate cut by the sword of his slaue, another to haue his members distended vpon the gibbet. And as yet haue I but reckoned vp some particular mens punishments. But if thou please (pretermitting those whom Anger hath thus massacred man by man) to beholde whole Armies put to the sword, the people of a Cittie murthered by souldiers, expressly sent to that purpose, and whole Nations exterminated without sparing great or small, as if the gods cared not for vs, or they contemned their authoritie. But as touching the Fencers, why is it that the people are so iniustly incensed against them, that they repute it to be an iniurie done vnto them, if the sword-players kill not one another speedily, shewing by their countenances, gestures, and heate, that they suppose themselues to be neglected, making themselues by this meanes of spectators mercilesse enemies. Whatsoeuer it be this is not wrath, but a passion resembling wrath, such as is that of children, who if they haue falne will haue the earth beaten, and oft-times they know not with whom they are angrie, yet are they onely angrie without cause and without iniurie, and yet not without some appearance of iniurie, nor without some desire of reuenge. They are deluded therefore with counterfeit beatings of the earth, and are pacified by the feined teares of those that would still them, and by a counterfeit forme of reuenge their feined sorrow is extinguished.

CHAP. III.

WEe are oftentimes displeased (saith he) not with those that haue hurt vs, but with those who hereafter are like to hurt vs; to the end thou mayest know that Anger proceedeth not onely from an iniurie alreadie done. True it is, that we are angrie with those that should hurt vs, but those that harm vs in their very thought, and he that is to doe vs an iniurie, hath alreadie done it. To the end thou mayst know (saith he) that wrath is not a desire of reuenge, oft-times the weakest are displeased with the strongest. Neyther wish they for reuenge, which they hope not to see. We haue formerly said that wrath was a desire, and not a power to reuenge; but men desire such things as they cannot effect. Furthermore, no man is so humble and base, who cannot hope to see iustice done vpon his greatest aduersarie: we haue power enough to hurt: *Aristotles* definition differeth not very much from ours; for he saith, That wrath is a desire to displease those that haue displeased vs. It were a long matter to discourse what difference there is betwixt this definition and ours: against both it is said that beasts are incensed, yet are they not prouoked by any iniurie, neyther desire they the punishment or paine of any other beast: for although they reuenge themselues, yet is it not with a desire of vengeance. But we must answer, that wilde beasts, and all other creatures, except man onely, do want Anger. For whereas it is opposite to reason, yet doth it neuer grow in any one, but such in whom reason hath place. Brute beasts haue their assaults, their rage, their fiercenesse and incursion, yet haue they Anger no more then lecherie, and in some pleasures they are more

1. de Anima. cap. 1.

more intemperate then man is. Thou must not giue credit to him that saith:

The Boare remembers not his wrathfull ire,
The Hind doth scarcely trust her swift retire.
Nor Beares to pray vpon the mightie heardes.

By this word anger, he intendeth emotion, or incitation. They know no more to be angrie, then how to pardon. Dumbe beasts want humane affections, but they haue certaine impulsions which resemble the same. Otherwise if loue were in them, hatred should be in them also: if friendship, enmitie: if discention, concord: whereof some markes doe appeare in them. But good and euill are onely proper to the hearts of men. Wisdome, diligence, and cogitation, are only granted to a man, and bruite beastes are not only not partakers of humane vertues but are also exempted from their vices. All them, forme both exterium and interium is vnlike vnto mans. Their vnderstanding is grosse and imperfect, their voice strange, confused, and without any signification, their tongue is tied, and hath no diuersities of sounds, neyther can it distinctly speake and pronounce. The beast then receiueth the obiect of that which shee seeth, and the kindes of all thinges that incite her vnto furie, but she receiueth them troubled and confused. Thence commeth their springings and vehement assaults, which may not be called either feares, or cares, or sadnes, or displeasures, but some things like vnto these. Therefore is it that they are quickly appeased and are changed into a contrarie estate, and after they haue most inragedly executed there crueltie, they returne vnto their pasture and fodder, and after a neighing and furious course, they seeke out to their rest and sleep.

CHAP. IIII.

WE haue sufficiently declared what anger is, and wherein it differeth from an inclination to be carried in such sort, as a drunkard differeth from drunkennesse, and a man that is afraid from a coward. A man may be angry; although he be not ordinarily inclined and subiect to bee angrie', hee that is subiect to displeasure, cannot choose but sometimes hee must bee subiect to choller. As touching the other kinds of choller, which the Græcians expresse by diuers other names, I let them passe because we haue no proper words to expresse them, although that wee say that that which is sowre is bitter, that he that is excessiuely bent to indignation is mad, that hee that is clamorous is hard to be reconciled and fierce, all which are differences of wrath, amongst these may we put froward, which is a delicate kind of choler. For there are some displeasures which are appeased with crying, some that are ordinarie and no lesse obstinate, some sparing in wordes and violent in execution, some that discouer their bitternesse in the multitude of wordes and curses, some passe not further, then plaints and reproaches, some others are profound and weightie, and are fixed deeply in the thought. There are a thousand sorts of euils in this euill, which are so diuerse, and spread into so many branches.

Differences of Anger.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Whether Anger be a thing naturall, profitable, and to be receiued.

WE haue examined what wrath is, and whether it might seaze any other Creature then a man, wherein it differed from displeasure and of the kinds of the same. Let vs now enquire whether wrath be according to nature, whether it be profitable, and whether in any sort wee ought to restraine the same. It will manifestly appeare whether it bee according to nature if wee consider a man, for there is nothing so peaceable, and gouerned as he is, as long as his minde is gouerned and pacified: but what is more cruell then anger? what Creature, is more louing toward his like then man is? what is more hateful, then wrath? A *man is borne to helpe other, wrath for the generall ruine of all. A man desireth nothing more then companie, wrath searcheth solitude, the one will assist, the other wil hurt, this desireth to shew himselfe kind, though it be but to strangers, the other to endanger her familiars. A man is readie to hazard his owne life to secure anothers. Wrath is readie to hazard danger, prouided, shee may hazard some other with her selfe. Who therefore is more ignorant, of the nature of thinges, then hee that to her best and commendablest works assigneth this so sauage and pernicious a vice? Wrath as we said is greedie of vengeance, and that desire of reuenge should be in the most peaceable heart of a man, is a thing which is not consonant to his nature. For humane life consisteth vpon benefits and concord, it is not then by threates but by mutuall amitie that men are allied and tied to assist one an other. What then? Is not Chastisement sometimes necessarie? Why not? but this must be sincere and with reason. For it hurteth not but healeth vnder a resemblance of hurting. Euen as to straighten the steales of our Iauelings, which are waxen crooked, wee burne them and plie them in a vice of Iron or Wood, not to the intent to breake them, but make them more euen and straight: so correct wee our wits being depraued with vice, with the paine both of bodie and minde. And in like sort, as the Physition, hauing some light infirmities in cure assaieth: First, to change some little of the ordinarie custome of the sicke to prescribe his dyet, his drinke, his exercises, and to confirme his health by the only changes of the order of his life. Secondly, hee indeuoureth to bring this to passe that this meanes may profit, and if it happen other wayes he diminisheth and cutteth of some thinges; and if this be not enough hee forbiddeth the sick-man all meates, and rectifieth his bodie by enioyning him abstinence: and if these gentle remedies haue effected nothing, he openeth a vaine and if any members be harmeful one vnto an other that cleaue vnto the same, and spread their euill thorow the bodie he deuideth them, and there is no cure that the sick-man supposeth grieuous, if the effect of the same bring him health: In like sort it behoueth the Magistrate, who is the conseruer and maintainer of the Lawe to heale mens mindes, by gentle wordes and perswasions as much as in him lieth, perswading his subiects to doe that which is commanded them, and imprinting in their thoughts the loue of iustice and honestie; in briefe proposing for the reward of vertue he hatred of vice: afterwardes he ought to vse sharper words contenting himselfe as yet to aduertise and threaten. Finally, he must haue recourse to punishments, and yet such as are light and revocable. The vttermost punishments shall be inflicted for the greatest faults: to the end that no man may perish except it be he that is put to death, and for whom it is expedient to die.

* *It is not naturall.*

An excellent Similitude.

The cure of the Magistrate, properly applied to that of the Physition.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The difference betwixt a Magistrate and a Physitian.

THere is this difference betwixt the Maiestrate and the Physitian, that the one suffer those to die whose life they could not sauc; the other contrariwise condemneth the malefactor disgracefully, and forcibly driueth him out of the world, not because hee taketh pleasure to put any man to death. (for farre off is a wiseman from such barbarous crueltie) but to the ende that those who are condemned to death, should serue for an example to all men, and that the Commonwealth might make vse of their death, who during their life, would bee profitable to no man. The nature of man therefore is not punishment, and therefore is not wrath according to the nature of a man, because it is desirous of reuenge. I will propose in this place an Argument of *Platoes*, For who forbiddeth vs to make vse of other mens reasons? In as much as they make for vs. A good man (saith he) doth not hurt, it is the punishment that hurteth, punishment therefore doth not become a good man. And consequently, neither choller, because punishment is agreeable to the same: If a good man take no pleasure in punishing, neither shall he take pleasure in that affect, to which punishment is a pleasure. Therefore wrath is not naturall.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth now that anger is not profitable.

IS not wrath therefore to be admitted, although it be vnnaturall, because that oft-times it hath beene profitable. It raiseth and inciteth mens minds, neither doth fortitude performe any worthy action in warre, except by this meanes mens hearts bee inflamed, and this instigation hath whetted and animated bond-men to attempt dangers. Some therefore thinke it requisite to temper wrath, and not to extinguish it, and that being taken away which is exuberant, to reduce it into a laudable forme; and to retaine that without which the action would languish, and the force and vigour of the spirit be resolued. First, it is more easie to exclude such things as are pernicious, then to gouerne the same, and not to admit them rather then to moderate them when they are admitted. For when they haue put them selues into possession, they are more powerfull then their guide, and suffer not themselues either to bee diminished or cut off. Againe, reason it selfe to whom the ruines are deliuered, is so long powerfull, as long as shee is seperated from passions; But if shee intermixeth her selfe, and bee defiled with them, shee cannot restraine those whom shee might haue remooued. For the minde being once mooued and shaken, is addicted to that whereby it is driuen. The beginning of some things are in our power, but if they bee increased, they carie vs away perforce, and suffer vs not to returne backe: euen as the bodies that fall head-long downeward, haue no power to stay themselues. And can those that are cast downe, retaine or stay themselues in their fall; but an irreuocable precipitation hath cut off all counsaile, and all meanes of remedie, neither is it possible to keepe themselues from attaining thither, whether had they their choice they would not arriue. So the minde if it hath plunged it selfe in wrath, loue, and such like affections, is not suffered

A fit similitude to confirme his second proofe.

to restraine the full, it must needes bee, that the waight and nature of vices, inclined vnto their full; carie it away and precipitate it to the bottome.

CHAP. VIII.

The remedie of the precedent difficultie. A reason that ought to be carefully obserued and marked.

IT is best therefore forthwith to despise the first assault, and resist the beginnings. And to endeauour that wee fall not into wrath, for if shee beginneth to transport vs, it is a hard matter to recouer the right way. Because reason hath no place, as soone as passion hath gotten the vpper hand, and Will hath giuen him any interrest, then will shee afterwards doe, not what thou permittest, but what shee pleaseth. First of all say I, the enemie is to be driuen from our borders, for when hee is entred and hath gotten the gates, hee taketh no condition with his Captiues. For at that time the minde is not retired, neither exteriourly examineth shee affections, to the intent shee suffereth them not to haue further progresse then they should, but is changed her selfe into passion, and therefore can shee not reuoke that profitable and wholesome force, which is alreadie betraied and weakned. For as I said, these haue not their distinct and seuerall seates, I meane passion (which is a change in the Soule from good to euill) and reason (which is a change from euill to goodnesse.) How therefore shall reason which hath giuen place vnto anger, and is seazed and oppressed with vices, rise againe? Or how shall shee deliuer her selfe from confusion, wherein the mixture of the worst hath preuailed? But some (saith he) containe themselues in anger, Is it in such sort that they accomplish nothing which choler commandeth, or doe they obey the same someways? If they doe nothing, it appeareth that wrath is not necessarie in humaine actions whom you preferred, as if shee had somewhat more greater efficacie then reason. In conclusion, I aske this question, whether shee be stronger or weaker then reason? If stronger, how may reason giue her a Law and restraine her, considering that they are but feeble things which obey her. If weake, reason of her selfe is sufficient without her to effect things, neither desireth shee the helpe of so powerlesse a passion. But some that are angrie are their owne men, and containe themselues. How? Then when anger is alreadie pacified, and remitteth of her owne accord. Not when shee is in height of her feruour, for then is shee stronger. What then? Doe not some men in the height of their displeasure, suffer those to depart safe and secure, whom they hate and abstaine from hurting them? But how? After that a second passion hath repulsed the former, or feare or pleasure hath commaunded this or that, wrath staieth it selfe, not for the reuerence shee oweth vnto reason, but by reason of a feeble and euil accord which the passions haue amongst themselues.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the obiection and answer.

TO conclude it hath nothing profitable in it selfe, neither doth it whet the courage in warlike exploits. For Vertue which is contented with her selfe, must neuer bee assisted by vice. As oftentimes as shee is to attempt any thing, shee is not angrie but raiseth her selfe so farre forth as she thinketh it necessarie, she is both intended and remitted no otherwise then those arrowes which are shot out of Engines,

Engines, are in the power of him that shooteth, how farre they shall be shot: Anger saith *Aristotle* is necessarie, neither can any thing be atchieued without her, except she encourage the minde, and enkindle the spirit. But wee are to vse her not as a Captaine but as a Souldier: which is false. For if shee giue eare to reason, and follow the way shee is directed, then is it not anger whose propertie is contumacie: but if she resist and is not quieted when she is commanded, but passeth further with pride and furie, shee is as improfitable a Minister of the minde, as a Souldier that retireth not to his colours when the retreat is sounded. If therefore she suffer her selfe to be kept in measure, she must bee called by another name, she ceaseth to be wrath, which I vnderstand to be vnbridled and vntamed. If she suffer it not she is pernicious, neither is she to bee reckoned amongst the number of helpes: So that either she is not Anger or else she is vnprofitable: For if any man exacteth punishment, not being greedie of the punishment it selfe but because hee must, hee is not to bee numbred amongst those that are Angrie. That man shall be reputed a profitable Souldier, who knoweth how to obey Counsaile, as for affections, they are as euill Ministers as they are Captaines. Reason therefore will neuer take to her assistants, improuident and violent passions ouer whom she hath no authoritie, and whom shee neuer may restrain except she oppresse their equals, and likes vnto them as feare to Anger, Anger to cowardise, desire to feare.

Learne here the vse of anger.

CHAP. X.

An answer to Aristotles opinion, who in his Ethikes saith that choler is necessarie.

SArre be it from vertue to be reduced to this extremitie, that reason should be constrained to haue his recourse to vices. Here cannot the minde remaine in any certaine quiet; hee must needes bee in perpetuall agitation and trouble, who is secure in his euils, who cannot be strong except he be wrathful, nor modestuous except he desire, nor quiet except he feare, he must liue in a Tyranny that becommeth a slaue to any passion. Are you not ashamed to thrust Vertues vnder the protection of vices? Moreouer, reason looseth her power if she can doe nothing without passion, but beginneth to be equall, and like vnto her. For what importeth it, whether passion be an inconsiderate a thing without reason, or that reason be feeble: and of no force without passion? All comes to one, the one cannot be without the other. But who will endure that passion, should bee equalled with reason? Choler (saith he) is a profitable passion, if it bee small and little. I if she be profitable by nature: but if shee bee incapable both of gouernment and reason, she shall attaine this only thing, by her moderation: that the lesser she is, the lesse hurtfull shee shall be. Therefore a light passion is nothing else but a small euill.

CHAP. XI.

The continuation of the confutation of Aristotles opinion.

BVT against our enemies (saith hee) Wrath is necessarie. Neuer lesse. Wherein our passions should not bee intemperate but obedient and moderate. For what other thing was it, that crushed and confounded the Barbarians so strong in their bodies, so patient in their labours, but Wrath which is most pernicious to her

selfe? Art likewise defenceth the sword-players, Wrath layes them open to danger. Furthermore what need wee wrath, where reason may doe the same. Thinkest thou that Hunter is angrie with wild beasts, either when hee chaseth them as they flie, or assaileth them when they draw neere him? Reason doth all these thinges without Wrath. What hath so confounded so many thousand Cimbrians and Teutons, that were spread vpon the Alpes, that the notice of so great an ouerthrow was not related, to their friends by a messenger but by Fortune, but that Wrath in them had the place of Vertue? Which as some times thee hath defeated and ouerthrowne, those that met her, so oftentimes is thee the cause of her owne confusion. May a man finde out a Nation more couragious, more forward and readie to incursions and charges, more desirous of warre, then the Almaines, who are borne and brought vp to Armes: who are onely diligent herein, and negligent in the rest? Is there a people more hardned vnto labour, and that indureth trauaile better? For the most part they care not, to make prouision of garments for their bodies to keepe them warme: neither striue they to retire themselues from the perpetual furie of the frost, which is in that Countries; yet are they defeated and put to flight vpon the first charge, and before the Legions were seene by Spaniards, French, Asians, and Syrians, who are but cold Souldiers in the Warre: being subject by no other meanes to this disaster, but by reason of their wrath. So then, to these bodies, to these mindes that are ignorant of delights, excesse, and riches, giue reason and discipline to guide them. But without farther debating in this kinde, I must call to remembrance in this place the Auncient custome of the olde Romans. By what other meanes did *Fabius* reserue the decayed forces of the declining Empire, but that he knew how to delay, how to length out matters, and dally with the time, all which angrie men cannot doe. The Common-Weale had beene vtterly ouerthrowne, that then stood in great extremitie, if *Fabius* had dared so much as wrath perswaded him vnto; but hauing for counsaile the consideration of the estate of Rome, and the forces hee had, vnder his gouernment, which had they beene defeated either in the whole or in part, all the rest was vtterly ruinated, hee laid wrath aside, and the desire of vengeance, and hauing his minde fixed vpon the good of the Common-Weale and vpon the present occasion: he first of all surmounted Choler, and after that *Hanibal*. What did *Scipio?* Hauing forsaken *Hanibal*, and the Carthaginian Armie, and all these with whom he should be angrie, did hee not translate the Warre into Africa in so slow a manner that they who enuied his Vertue, reputed him for an idle and dissolute man. What did the other *Scipio?* did he not beleager Numantium for a long time, and patiently digested both this his priuate griefe, and the discontent of the whole State, by reason that Numantium kept out longer then Carthage. VVhich while hee trencheth about and shutteth vp his Enemie, he drew them to this extremitie; that they murthered one an other.

See Marius life in Plutarch.

See Liuie of the Punicke Warres, and Plutarch in the liues of Fabius Maximus and Hanibal.

CHAP. XII.

WRath then is neither profitable in skirmishes or in Warre, for it is too prone to temeritie, and whilst shee endeuoureth to harme others she hazardeth her selfe. That Vertue is most assured, that hath long time examined and gouerned her selfe, and hath beene guided

guided by good and wise counsaile. What then (saith he) shall not a good man be angrie, if hee see his Father stroken, his Mother rauished? Hee shall not bee angrie, but reuenge and defend them. What fearest thou that his pietie towards his parents is not an occasion more pregnant to incite him thereunto then wrath is? Wee say after the same sort. What therefore? shall not a good man when he seeth his Father, or his sonne, cut in peeces, weepe or fall in a sound? as we see it falleth out in women, as often as any slight suspition of danger doth awake them. A good man executeth his offices without confusion or feare, and in such sort will performe those thinges that are worthie a good man, that hee will doe nothing that is vnworthie a man. Shall my Father be murthered? I will defend him. Is he slaine? I will burie him, not because I am sorrie therefore, but for that I am bound thereunto. VVhen thou saist thus, *Theophrastus* thou seekest to draw more stronger precepts into hatred, & forsaking the Iudge hast recourse vnto the people; because in such accidents euerie one is accustomed to be angrie: thou thinkest that men wil iudge that that ought to be done which they doe. For the most part, euerie one iudgeth that affection to be just which they allow of. Are good men angrie at their injuries? but they doe the same, if warme water bee not fitly mixed, if their glasse bee broken, if their shooe be sprinkled with dirt. It is not pietie, but their infirmitie that moueth that wrath. We resemble those to children who wil weepe no lesse for the losse of their Ants, then for the death of their parents. It is the part of no pious but an infirme and weake minde to be angrie for a mans friends. But this is a worthie matter, and well beseeming a man to shew himselfe a protector of his parents, his children, his friends, and his Countrie: not by violence, or passion; but voluntarily with iudgement, and discretion, with prouidence, and moderation. For there is no affection so desirous of reuenge, as wrath is, by reason whereof she is wholly vnproper to that effect, being hindered by her violence and furie; euen as euerie passion is opposite and contrarie to it selfe, in all that whereunto she is inclined, and whereto she runneth hastily! And therefore, neither in peace, or warre, was it euer good. For she maketh peace like vnto warre, and in Armes forgetteth her selfe, that warre is common, and commeth into an other mans power, whilst she is not in her owne. Furthermore, vices therefore are not to be intertained and vsed because at sometime they haue done some good: for feuours also doe cure some kindes of sicknesses, neither therefore is it better not to haue wanted them wholy. It is an abhominable kind of remedie to recouer health by the assistance of a sicknesse. In like manner, wrath although sometimes it hath beyond expectation profited, as venomne precipitation and shipwrack haue done, yet it is not therefore to be reputed a thing intirely profitable, for oftimes poysons haue preserued the life of diuers persons.

The conclusion of the refutation which is precedent, and an answer to an other obiection.

A pretie refutation of Theophrastus.

CHAP. XIIII.

MOreouer those thinges which wee ought to esteeme good, are the better, and more to be desired, the greater they be. If justice bee good, no man will say, that it is like to bee better, if any thing should be taken from it; if Fortitude be good, no man wil desire that it should be diminished in any part, & wrath the greater it is

The increase of wrath is vnprofitable, and therefore wrath it selfe.

the better that is, for who refuseth the increase of any good thing? but the increase of wrath is vnprofitable, and consequently the bearing of the same is vnprofitable. It is no good thing that by increase becommeth euill. Wrath (saith he) is profitable: because it maketh men more hardie to fight. In this manner Drunkennesse is profitable, for it maketh men more insolent and audacious, and many that haue drunken ouer freely, are more readie at their weapons, In this manner say, that both Frenzie, and Madnesse, are necessarie for valiant men: because oftentimes Furie maketh men more strong and able. VVhat? hath not feare sometimes made a Coward valiant, and the feare of death likewise enkindled, the weakest hearted men to the battle? But Wrath, Drunkennesse, Feare, and such like, are but filthie and fraile prouocations, neither confirme Vertue which hath no need of vice, but doe sometimes a little quicken a slow and idle mind. No man is strengthened by his anger, except he haue beene strong before his anger. To them anger assisteth not, but supplieth the place of Vertue. In briefe, if this passion were recommendable, it would follow euerie one that were most perfect; but they that are the most tetchie, are infants, old-men, and sick-men, and euery Creature that is by naeure weake and feeble, is ordinarily froward.

CHAP. XIIII.

A new obiection of Theophrastus, touching the hearts good, men conceiue against euill men.

IT cannot be (saith *Theophrastus*) but that a good man should bee displeased with the wicked. In this sence the better men should be the most cholericke. But contrariwise they should be more peaceable, exempt from passions, and without hatered of any man. What reason might moue them, to hate sinnes, considering that it is errour which driueth them into these faultes: But it is not the part of a Wise man to haue those that erre, otherwise he should hate himselfe. Let him bethinke himselfe, how many faults he committeth against good manners, how many thinges he hath done which require pardon? Then shall he bee angrie with himselfe. For a just Iudge pronounceth not one sentence in his owne behalfe, another in anothers. A man (saith hee) is not to be found, that can absolue himselfe, truth it is, that euerie man (saith he) is innocent but it is in regard of witnesses not of his conscience. How farre more humane were it for a man to shew himselfe gentle, and pacified to those that offend, and rather to reconcile them then to persecute them. It were better to lead them, into the direct way who for want of knowledge haue straied out of it; as to thrust them out of the way. A man ought to correct him that offendeth by admonitions, forcible reprehensions, friendly but effectuall speech: to the end to make him better for himselfe and for others. In briefe, hee ought to chastise him without passion of Choler. For what Physitian is he, that will bee angrie and displeased with his Patient, whom he would recouer?

An answer grounded vpon diuerse reasons.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

That a man may chastise, nay may execute offenders without being transported by Choler.

BVt they cannot bee corrected, neither is there any thing in them that is capable of good hope; Let those bee exterminated out of the companie of men, who are like to infect those who conuerse with them, and since it is the onely meanes, let them cease to be euill, but let this bee done without hatred. For what cause haue I to hate him whom I then profit most, when I take him selfe from him selfe. Doth a man then hate his limmes when hee cutteth them off, this is not Wrath but a miserable cure. We chace away mad Dogges, we kill a restie and vntractable Oxe. Wee arde our scabbe Sheepe, for feare least they infect the flocke; we strangle monstruous birthes; wee drowne our owne children likewise if they be borne deformed and monsters. It is not an act of wrath but of reason, to seperate those things that are vnprofitable from those that are helthfull and profitable. There is nothing, which he that chastiseth an other should more refraine then from wrath, because that chastisement profiteth when it is done with iudgement. Thence it is that *Socrates* said vnto his slaue, *I had beaten thee, had I not beene angrie.* Hee deferred the admonition of his seruant till a more conuenient time, and at that time he admonished himselfe. Whose affection shall be temperate, when as *Socrates* dare not trust him selfe to his wrath? There needeth therefore no angrie corrector to chastise those that are wicked and do amisse. For where as wrath is an offence of the minde, he that is faultie himselfe, must not punish offenders.

CHAP. XVI.

An answer to an other obiection.

VHat then shall I not be angrie with a theefe? Shall I not be displeased with a Witch. No; For neither am I angrie with my selfe when I let my selfe bloud. For I apply all sorts of punishment in stead of remedie. Thou that as yet hast made but an entrance into errour, neither offendest grieuously, but frequently, shalt first of all bee secretly, then publikely reproued. If thou engage thy selfe further in sinne, so as words may not correct thee, thou shalt bee fined for thy folly; but if thy fault requireth some more forcible and feeling punishment, thou shalt bee banished and sent to vnknowne places. But if thy malice increaseth, and waxeth obdurate, that thou haue neede to vse more sharper remedies then the precedents; thou shalt be thrust into shackles and lockt vp in prison. If thou be come incurable, and thoughtwelt to heape sinne vpon sinne, if thou not onely layest hold on the occasions to doe euill (which neuer faile those that seeke them) but that which is worst, if to doe euill, thou hast no other occasion, but the wicked custome thou hast taken, thou hast drunke iniquitie, and art in such sort tainted and so deepely tinctured with wickednesse inwardly, that it cannot finde issue out, except thou burst and die presently. Thou hast long time sought for death, poore man that thou art, we will gratifie thee, we will heale thee of this furie of thy spirit wherewith thou art tormented, and hauing made thee passe by the punishment of other men and thine owne, I will let thee see and feele the onely good which remaineth for thee, that is to saw, death. Why should I bee displeased with him whom I assist and greatly helpe at that time.

Of the order that ought to bee obserued in punishing malefactors.

To

An amplification of that example aboue written and an answer to the precedent obiection.

To take a mans life from him, is sometimes to shew him fauour and to doe him a good turne. If I were a well experienced Physitian, and should enter into an Hospitall or some rich mans house, I would not ordaine one and the same medicine for diuers sick men. I see diuers vices in so different minds, & am appointed to haue the gouernment of a Citie, I must search out a medicine for euery one of their sicknesses. Shame must cure this man, trauell that man; the whip one man, necessitie the other, and the sword the last. Therefore, although in being a Maiestrate, I ought to change my Garment, and cause the people to be assembled vpon the sound of a Trumpet, yet will I ascend the Tribunall, not mooued or displeased, but with the countenance of an vpright Iudge, armed with the authoritie of the Lawes, and will pronounce the sentence with a voice rather pleasing and graue, then furious: and peaceably yet seuerely will commaund the hangman to execute his office. And when I shall commaund any malefactors head to be strooken off, and when I cause the parricide to be sowen into a sacke, and afterwards to bee cast into the water; and when I iudge the offending Souldier to passe the pikes; and when I command the Traitour and publicke enemie to be cast downe from the Tarpeian rocke, I will bee so farre from wrath, and so temperate in my minde, as when I kill Serpents or other venimous beastes. But wrath is necessarie for him that will punish. What thinkest thou that the Law is angrie with those shee knoweth not? Whom shee seeth not? Whom shee hopeth not to be? We ought therefore to inuest his affection, which is not displeased but onely defineth. For if it be conuenient for a good man to be angrie for euill deedes, it shall bee as lawfull for him to enuie the prosperitie of euill men. For what is more vnworthie then that some men flourish, yea and such who abuse the indulgence of fortune, for whom no fortune may be found out euill enough. But as well shall hee see their commodities without enuie, as their hainous offences without wrath. A good Iudge condemneth that which is euill, and yet hateth it not: What then? Shall not a wise man when he hath such a liko thing in his hands bee touched in minde, and more troubled then ordinarie? I confesse it, hee shall feele some light motion. For as *Zeno* saith, when the wound in a wise mans Soule is healed, yet remaineth there some scarre. So then he shall feele certaine touches of suspition and shadowes of passion, yet without any passion. *Aristotle* saith, that some affections, if a man vse them well, serue insteede of armes; which should bee true, if they might be vsed and laide aside as warlicke instruments, at the pleasure of him that putteth them on. These Armes which *Aristotle* giueth nature, fight of themselues, and expect not that a man should make vse of them, they gouerne and know not what it is to obey: vertue hath no need of instruments. We are sufficiently furnished by reason, wherewith nature hath fitted vs. Shee it is that hath giuen vs a weapon, firme, perpetuall, obsequious, and certaine, and such as cannot be reinforced against the Master. Reason of it selfe is sufficient enough, not onely to foresee, but to execute any action. For what is more fond then that reason should seeke assistance from wrath: a stable thing from an vncertaine: a faithfull from a perfidious, a whole from the sicke? Moreouer as touching the actions themselues, wherein the helpe of anger seemeth to be most requisite, reason it selfe is more stronger. For hauing marked out that which she ought to doe, she remaineth alwaies setled in her resolution and being vnable to finde out any thing better then her selfe to change her, shee departeth neuer from her place. Contrariwise pittie hath oftentimes driuen wrath out of dores, for this passion hath no solid strength, but onely a tumor, and

If the wise man ought to be moued and how.

That which the Stoicks doe terme maintaineth & the examination of Aristotles opinion as touching passions.

and vseth violent beginnings, no otherwise then the windes which arise from the earth and being entertained by the flouds and marlhes are vehement, but not permanent. It beginneth with a great violence, and afterwardes faineeth being wearied before her time, and when shee hath inuented nought else but cruelties, and new kinds of punishment, when execution is to be done, she is pacified and becommeth gentle. Affection quaileth quickly, reason is equal. Moreouer also where wrath persecuteth sometimes, if there are many that haue deserued death, after the blond of two or three, she beginneth to bee calmed. The first assaults of her are sharpe, euen as the venoumesse of Serpents are hurtfull: that creepe from their dennes; her teeth are harmelesse, when as often byting hath spent them. They therefore suffer not equally, who haue offended equally, and oft times hee that hath offended the least, suffereth the most because he is the object of the latest anger and is wholy vnequall: sometimes it extendeth it selfe farther then it should, sometimes it relisteth more then it ought. For shee flattereth her selfe and iudgeth as shee list, and will not heare, and leaueth no place for excuse, and retaineth that which shee hath apprehended; and suffereth not her iudgement to be taken from her, although it be euill. Reason giueth place to either part, and time likewise, Afterwards shee demaundeth a terme for her selfe, to the end she may haue time to discusse the truth; wrath is hastie: Reason will haue that iudged which is rightfull, wrath will haue that seeme rightfull which shee iudgeth. Reason respecteth nothing but that which is in question, wrath is mottled with vaine things, and such as are nothing to the purpose. An assured countenance, a firme voice, a free speech, an exquisite garment, a delay without delay, a fauour of the people, exaspereth wrath. Oftimes in despight of the aduocate she condemneth him for whom he pleadeth. And although the truth be laid before her eyes, shee loueth and maintaineth errour, shee will not bee reproued and in euill cases perseuers shee esteemeth it more honest to bee obstinate, then to repent herselfe.

The desgures of Reason & wrath.

Caius Piso was in our memorie a man exempt from many vices, yet extremely cholericke, and such a one as tooke pleasure in his austeritie. He being displeased, when he had commaunded a Souldier to be brought before him, who had returned from his pillage without his companion as if he had murthered him, whom he could not bring in person, when he was requested time to finde him out, denied it him, and condemned him to die. This Souldier, thus sentenced being brought without the trenches, alreadie rendered his neck vnto the Hangman, when suddenly his fellow Souldier appeared, whom men supposed to be slaine: whereupon the Centurion who had the charge to see the execution done, commanded the Hangman to put vp his sword, and after brought him to *Piso*, who was condemned to the end hee might make proofe of his innocencie, since Fortune had afforded him the meanes. The other Souldiers flocked about these two, who embraced one another to the content of all their companions. But *Piso* incensed with choler, ascended the Tribunall seat and commanded both the Souldiers to bee ledde to death: both that Souldier that had not slaine his fellow, and him that was not slaine. What indignitie is this? Because the innocencie of him that was condemned was manifest, both perished. *Piso* added the third. For hee commanded that Centurion who had brought backe him that was condemned, to bee ledde to execution. Here three were appointed to die in one place for one mans innocencie. Oh how cunning is wrath to faine causes of furie! *I command thee*, saith hee, *to bee led to death, because thou art condemned; thee, because thou wert the occasion of thy fellow*

A notable example, confirming that which he saith, that Anger ought not to be induced with Reason, because shee extinguisheth it.

low Souldiers death; thee, because being commanded to see him executed, thou didst not obay thy Commander. He deuised how to finde three crimes because hee found none. Wrath, say I, hath this euill in it, it will not be gouerned. Shee is angrie with truth it selfe, if she seeme in any sort opposite against her will. With crie, tumult, and iactation of the whole body, she persecuteth these whom she hath resolued to iniurie with reproches and curses. This doth not reason, but if it must needes bee so, silently and quietly, shee ruineth whole houses from their foundations, and destroieth whole families that are enemies to their Countrie. With their wifes and children, shee raceth downe their houses, and leueleth them with the earth, and obscureth their names that are enemies to libertie. This doth shee not with foaming at the mouth, nor shaking of the head, neither doing any thing that is vndecent for a Iudge, whose lookes, at that time especially, ought to be most pleasing, and staied when he pronounceth matters of consequence. What needest thou, saith *Ierosme*, when thou art intended to strike any man, to bite thy lip first? What if he had seene, the Proconsull leaping from the Tribunall, and taking away the Sergeants rods, and renting his garments, because the garments of such, as were condemned, were not rent off soone enough? What needeth it to ouer-torne the table, to breake and fling away the pots, to beate ones head against the pillers, to teare his haire, and to thumpe his thigh and breast? How great is that anger thinkest thou, which because it is not so sodainly vented against another, as a man would, reflecteth vpon her selfe? He is therefore held by his Neighbours, and intreated to pacifie himselfe, none of which things doth he, who is void of anger, but inioyneth euery one his deserued punishment. Oft-times dismisseth he him whose guiltinesse and forfeit he hath apprehended, if by confessing the act he promise great hope of amends, if he vnderstand that the offence grew not from the malice of his heart, but as they say, was committed and not complotted with sinister intent. He will giue such a pardon as neither shall be hurtfull to those that receiue the same, nor to those that giue it. Sometimes will he represse the greatest offences committed by infirmitie, and not by crueltie, more gently then other lesse, if in them be some hidden, couered, and inueterate craft. He will punish the same fault in different men, after a different manner: if the one haue committed it through negligence, the other studied to doe hurt. Hee will obserue this alwaies in euery iudgement, and execution to ordaine one sort of punishment, to correct the euill, an other to cut them off. And in both these shall he consider, not those things that are past, but those things that are to come. For, as *Plato* saith, No wise man puniseth for euill doing, but least wee should fall to euill doing. For those things that are past cannot be recalled, those things that are to come may be preuented, and those whom he would make examples of. For some cursed crime, hee executeth them publikely, not only to the end they may die, but that others might be deterred from doing euill, by beholding the execution. Each one ought to weigh and consider these reasons. Thou seest how much a Magistrate should be exempt from all passion, when he vndertaketh a thing of so great consequence, as the life and death of men, that are vnder his hands. The sword is indiscreetly committed to a furious mans hands. Neither ought we to thinke this that wrath addeth any thing to the greatnesse of the minde. For that is no greatnesse but a swelling, neither to bodies that are intended by aboundance of bad humours, is the sicknesse and increase, but a pestilent plentie. As they whom anger, which is a passion vile and base, puffeth vp and raiseth aboue the thoughts of other men, make themselues beleeue that

Note this you that are Magistrates.

An aduertisement for Magistrates to beware of anger which cannot make a man more magnanimous.

that their thoughts are sublime and high, whereas there is nothing firme in all that which they doe, but as they haue builded in the aire, so sinketh it and falleth of it selfe. Wrath hath no assistant or sustainer, shee proceedeth not from any thing that is permament and durable, but is windy and vaine, and differeth so farre from greatnesse of minde as audaciousnesse from fortitude, insolence from confidence, sadnesse from austeritie, and crueltie from seueritie. There is a great difference betwixt a constant and a proud minde. Wrath enterpriseth nothing that is great or worthy. Contrariwise, in my iudgement, it is a token of a dull and vnhappie man, and guiltie of his owne weaknesse, to be sorowfull oftentimes. Euen as those bodies that are exulcerated and sicke, complaine if they be touched neuer so little, so is it a womanish and childish fault: yet is it incident to men, for men likewise haue childish and womanish wits. What then? are not some wordes vttered by angrie men, who haue not the true knowledge of magnanimitie, which seem notwithstanding to proceed from a great & generous mind? As that most dire and abhominable speech, *Let them hate me, so they feare me.* Know that this was written in *Syllaes* time, I know not whether wish were worse for him, either to be hated, or to be feared: *Let them hate me.* He forethinketh that which will happen, that his subiects will curse, betray, and oppresse him. What addeth he hereunto, The gods confound him, so worthie a remedie hath he found out for hatred. *Let them hate:* What? whilst they obay? No: whilst they approue? no. What then? so they feare, so would not I haue him be beloued. Thinkest thou that this is spoken with a great spirit? Thou art deceiued; for this is not greatnesse but crueltie. Thou art not to giue credit to wrathfull mens wordes, whose boasts are great and threating, but inwardly there hearts are crauen and coward. Thou must not repute that to be true which is spoken by *Liuie* that eloquent man. Of him, *A man that had a minde rather great then good.* These cannot be separated, either it shall be great and good, or it shall not be great; because I meane the greatnesse of a man that is vnshaken, and inwardly solide, and euen and equall from one end vnto another, which cannot bee in euill mindes. For they may bee terrible, tumultuous and dangerous to death, but they shall not haue greatnesse whose foundation is strength and goodnesse: yet in speech, in action, and all outward appearance they will make shew of great courage. They will let slip some wordes, which thou wilt suppose to be worthie and wittie, as *Caius Cæsar* did; who being angrie with the heauens, because it thundred whilst his plaiers acted, whom hee imitated more diligently then he beheld them, and because his banquet was interrupted by lightning, that was scarce rightly aimed, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him without delay, pronouncing this Verse in *Homer*:

Either kill me, or I thee.

What madnesse was it? he thought that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him or that hee could hurt *Iupiter*. I cannot imagine but that this speech of his was of some great moment to incense their hearts, of those that had conspired against him for they supposed it to bee an insufferable matter to suffer him who could, not endure *Iupiter*. Then there is nothing great or noble in wrath, no not when it seemeth to be most vehement and despiseth both men & gods: or if any man supposeth that wrath produceth a great mind, let him say as much of dissolutenesse. Shee will be caried in Iuorie, clothed with purple, couered with gold, transferre one Countrie to an other, shut vp Seas, precipitate Riuers, hang Forrests

rests in the aire. Let Auarice also be esteemed generous: shee lieth vpon heaps of gold and siluer, his pastures and lands are tilled vnder the name of whole Prouinces. And vnder euery one of his Farmers he enioyeth a greater quantitie of land, then the Prouinces that were allotted to those that were Consuls. Let lust likewise be reputed to be a worthy thing. It swimmeth ouer Seas, geldeth troups of yong children, maketh the wife without apprehension of death to be murthered with her husbands owne hands. The same may we say of Ambition, that shee is magnanimous, and contenteth not her selfe with yearly honours, but will, if it may be, fill all the moneths and daies of the yeare with one name, and plant her armes through all the world. It skils not how farre all these proceede and extend themselues, they are trifles, they are miserable and depressed. Only vertue is great and excellent, for there is nothing great except it bee pleasing and peaceable likewise.

The end of the first Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THat hath two parts, the first containeth certaine questions of Anger, the other remedies against the same. The first question is, whether Anger proceede from passion onely. Hee denieth it, and prooueth that both the minde and iudgement are accessarie thereunto. Shee therefore giueth eare vnto reason, and may be restrained, which could not be if shee were from that onely, and not from nature. By the way he setteth downe a Stoicall difference, betwixt motions and affections, this he prosecuteth to the fourth Chapter. Then addeth he another question, whether crueltie and fiercenesse proceede from Anger, hee denieth it, and saith that it is a different affection, yet that it often-times hath his beginning or nourishment from often displeasure. After this in the sixth Chapter, whether a good man be displeased with the offence or the offender? Hee denieth and dischargeth a wise man from all this affection vntill the eleaueth Chapter. From thence he enquireth whether wrath be profitable, because it deliuereth a man from contempt, and terrifieth the euill? He doth not admit it, and confesseth that it is feared which is not good, or to be desired by a good man. For both wild beastes and sicknesses are feared. This vntill the thirteenth Chapter, and in it he confesseth that Anger may bee fained, and yet not vsed by a wise man. Neither that shee resideth in a simple and generous minde, because the free and vnconquered nations haue the same, yea such as are sauage and incapable both of learning or reason. Atlength in the eighteenth Chapter, hee profitably passeth ouer to the remedies of Anger, he dilateth these two things. That we should not bee angrie, and that we should not sinne in our Anger, least we fall into the same. Such and such an education is requisite, at last he willeth vs to impugne the first causes of wrath, and alwayes to vse counsaile and time. Then that suspicions are to be driuen away, and excesse auoided. Not to bee angrie with things that are insensible, with men of weake iudgement, with those things which are done by nature, or for our good. Hee aduiseth vs to see and acknowledge our faultes, whereby we may become more equall and iust to others. Not to beleeue rashly, and to examine those things that are beleeued by the minde of the doer. Especially that pride is to be laide aside, and good opinion of a mans

selfe which maketh men wrathfull and reuengefull. To suffer rather or to dissemble and to abstaine from so filthy an affection, whose deformitie is expressed in the minde and countenance. These are profitable lessons, let them be read and remembered.

CHAP. I.

He entereth into a more particular discourse and disputeth first, vpon the source of Anger.

THE first Booke *Nouatus* hath comprehended matters more tractable, because it is an easie matter to runne head-long in to vices, considering our inclination and dispolition thereunto. But now we must vnfolde the smaller parcels of this discourse. For the question is, whether Anger beginneth vpon iudgement, or by impulsion, that is to say, whether shee bee mooued of her selfe, or whether shee resemble the most of these passions, which take root in vs before wee are aware. But wee must subiect this dispute to these questions, to the end that shee may be likewise raised to more high considerations. For in our bodies, our bones, nerues, and ioynts, which are the foundation of the whole, and other instruments of life scarce, seemely to beholde are first formed and ordained, and afterwardes those, when the grace and our countenance, and face doth proceed. And in furie, after all this the choler which aboue all things rauisheth the eyes, is the last thing which spreadeth it selfe thorow-out our perfect bodies. It is not to be doubted but that a certaine appearance of injurie offered, moueth anger: but the question is whether wrath presently followeth after this appearance, without consent of the minde, or whether it be mooued by his assent. But our opinion is that shee dare doe nothing of her selfe, but by the approbation of the minde. For to conceiue an opinion of injurie, and to desire to be reuenged, and to vnite both these things together, that is to say, that they ought not to haue beene angrie, or that hee ought to take reuenge; this is no motion that may incite it selfe without our will. The aboue named motion is simple, that whereof wee speake is compound, and containeth diuers heads. He hath vnderstood somewhat, he is displeased, he condemneth the same, hee reuengeth himselfe, this cannot be done, except his minde which was touched therewith, yeeld some consent.

CHAP. II.

Choler is the effecting of our conseit.

WHereto saist thou appertaineth this question? To vnderstand what wrath is. For if shee be bred in vs against our wils, she will neuer submit vnto reason. For all those motions which are done against our will, are invincible and inevitable, as shiuering when wee are sprinkled with colde water, a starting backe vpon tickling: when we haue heard some heaule message, our haire standeth vpright, when immodest words, shame coloureth our countenance; and a swimming of the head followeth those that looke downe from some high places. Because none of all these are in our power, there is no reason that counsaileth vs to expose our selues there-against. Wrath is driuen away by good precepts. For it is

is a voluntarie vice of the minde, not of those which happen by a certaine condition of humane kinde, and therefore they befall the most wisest. Amongst which that first motion of the mind is to be placed, which moueth vs after the opinion of injurie. This motion attendeth vs euer amongst the idle acts of a play, and vpon the reading of Ancient Histories. We seeme oftentimes to bee angrie, for banishing *Cicero*, and with *Anthonie* for killing him. Who is not angrie at *Marius* Armes, and *Syllaes* proscriptions? Who is not displeased with *Theodotus* and *Achillas*, and that boy *Ptolomey*, for doing a hainous murther vnfitting for his yong yeares? A song some times and a sodaine straine of Musicke animateth vs, and that warlike sound of the Trumpet moueth our mindes, and a dreadfull picture, and the dolefull sight of just mens punishment amazeth vs. There it is that we laugh with those that laugh, and in the companie of these that mourne, wee are heauie and are inkindled by beholding other mens sight, which are not wrathes no more, then sadnesse is, which contracteth our browes vpon the sight of an enemie, that hath suffered shipwracke; no more then then feare astonisheth the Readers minde, when he ouer looketh of the Storie, how after the battaile of *Cannæ Hanibal* approched thee wals Rome. But all these are the motions of such mindes, as are willing to bee mooued, neither are thy affections but beginnings and essaies of those affections. For so doth the Trumpet refresh the Souldiers eare, who hath a long time liued in rest, and walked in his long Roabe, during the time of peace, and Warlike horses pricke vp their eares vpon the clattering of Armes. They say that *Alexander* the great whilst *Xenophanites* sung, laid hand on his weapons.

CHAP. III.

A subtile distinction of passion.

NOne of these thinges, which casually impell the mind may be called affections. These if I may so speake it, the minde rather suffereth then doeth; That therfore is affection, not to be mooued with the resemblances of things that are offered; but to suffer him selfe to be led by them; and to runne after this casuall motion. For if any man suppose that paleneſſe, and trickling downe of teares, and filthie pollution, or a deep set sigh, or eyes sodainly incensed, or any such like things is a token of the affection, and a signe of the mindo, he is deceiued, neither vnderstandeth he, that these are the agitations of the bodie. And therefore the stoutest man sometime waxeth pale, whilst he is armed, and the fiercest Souldier hath trembled and shaken his knees a little when the charge was first sounded, and the greatest Emperour, hath had a trembling heart before the two Armies had shocked and encountered together, and the eloquentest Oratour, whilst he composeth him selfe to deliuer his oration, hath felt a shiuering in the extremities of his bodie. Wrath must not onely bee mooued, she must haue her outlopes abroad: for it is a passion; but neuer is a passion, without the assent of the mind: for it cannot bee, that without the knowledge of the minde, a man should deliberate vpon reuenge and punishment. Some man hath supposed himselfe injuried, and would reuenge himselfe, but vpon the dissuasion of some cause, he presently changeth his counsaile. I call not this Wrath, but a motion of the minde obedient vnto reason. That is Wrath, which treadeth downe reason, and draweth her after her. So then this first agitation of the minde, which is prouoked by the appearance of some injurie, is no more wrath then

is the appearance of injurie, but that succeeding emotion, which not only assumeth the resemblance of injurie, but hath approued the same. Wrath is a concitation of the minde, tending voluntarily and with iudgement to reuenge. Is it to be doubted but that feare is attended by flight, Wrath by impetuositie? Take heed therefore, if thou persèuer in this opinion, that a man may imbrace or avoid any thing without the consent of the minde.

CHAP. IIII.

The explication of the definition first of the three motions which are the beginning, the increase, and aduancement of Anger.

AND to the end thou maist know, how these passions beginne, increase, and extend them selues. Consider that there are three motions. The first is not voluntarie, but as it were a preparation of the affection, and a conjunction. The second is annexed, to a will which is not rebellious as that I ought to reuenge my selfe when I am wronged, or that such a one that hath committed some hainous crime should bee punished. The third motion is so violent that it will not reuenge when it ought to doe it, but hath wholy disclaimed reason. This first motion of the minde we cannot auoide, although reason assist vs, no more then we can auoid those motions, which as I said happen to the bodie. We cannot choose but yawne, if we see an other man yawne. Neither can wee choose but winke if a man sodainly steppeth behinde vs and blindfolded vs. These things cannot reason ouercome, happily custome and daily obseruation may lessen them. That other motion, which is bred by iudgment, is ouercome by iudgment.

CHAP. V.

THis question likewise is to bee examined whether those men that ordinarily are incensed, and delight in mans bloud bee angrie with such men, whom they put to death, from whom they neuer haue receiued, nor suppose themselues to haue receiued injurie, such as were *Apolidorus* and *Phalari*. This is not Wrath, but Crueltie; For hee hurteth not because shee hath receiued an injurie, but is readie to receiue injuries, prouided that shee may doe hurt. It is not to reuenge him selfe that hee whippeth and teareth men in peeces, but for pleasure sake. What then? The beginning of this euill is from Wrath, the which by frequent exercises hauing satisfied her appetite with murthers and bloud, and forgotten all Clemencie; and driuen Humanitie from his heart, finally addicteth himselfe to all Crueltie. They therefore laugh and are glad, and enioy much pleasure, and haue their lookes farre different from those that are angrie, they are cruell, yet quiet in their mindes. They say, that *Hanibal* said when he saw a trench filled with mans bloud. *Oh faire spectacle.* How farre more worthie a thing had it seemed to him, had he seene a Riuer or Lake filled therewith? What wonder if thou take so speciall a delight in this spectacle when as thou wert borne to bloud, and from thine infancie hast beene trained vp in murthers. The prosperous fortune of thy Crueltie shall follow thee for twentie yeares space, and shall euery where yeeld thine eyes a gratefull spectacle, thou shalt see this both about Trasimenum, and about Cannas, and lastly about

about thy Carthage. *Volesius* of late time Proconsull in Asia vnder the gouerment of *Augustus*, after that in one day hee had beheaded three hundreth walking amongst the carcasses, with a proud countenance as if he had done some magnificent action worthie the beholding cryed out in Greeke: *Oh Kingly exploit.* What had this *Volesius* done had he beene a King? This was not wrath but a greater and more incurable euill.

CHAP. VI.

That the wisman is not subiect to this motion of heart whence proceedeth choler.

VErtue (saith he) as it is fauourable to honest things, so is she displeased with dishonest. What if it bee said that Vertue ought both to bee humble and to be great? But he that saith thus will haue her extolled and represted. Because ioy in performing any notable action, is apparant and magnificent, anger and despight conceiued by reason of another mans sinne, is the signe of a sordid and base minde. Neither will vertue euer so farre forget her selfe as after shee hath suppressed vices, shee should imitate them. It is his dutie to chastice wrath, which is in no sort better but often times worse, then those offences, wherewith shee is displeased. It is proper and naturall for vertue to rejoyce and be glad, to bee angrie is not for her dignitie, no more then to mourne. But sadnesse is the companion of wrath, and anger after the repentance, and after the repulse conuerteth it selfe alwaies into sadnesse. And if it be the act of a wise man to be displeased against sinnes, his displeasures shall increase if they be more great, and it will follow that the wise man shall not be simply angrie, but wrathfull. But if we neither beleeue that great or frequent anger hath place in a wise-mans minde. What is the cause why we wholly discharge him, not from this affection, there say I, can be no measure, if he must be angrie according to the waight of euery mans offence. For either he shall be vnjust, if he equally be displeased with vnequall sinne, or most wrathfull if hee hath beene incensed so often as offences haue deserued displeasure. And what is more vnworthy then that a wise-mans affections should depend on another mans wickednesse. Euen *Socrates* himselfe will forbeare to bee able to bring back the same countenance home with him, which he carried out of dores.

CHAP. VII.

He concludeth by that which passed before, that a wise-man cannot be angrie with those disorders which he seeth.

BVt if a wise-man ought to bee displeased against dissolute behauiour, and incensed and agrieued at wickednesse, there is no man more miserable then he: he must needes spend the whole course of his life in anger and sadnesse. For what moment shall there be wherein he shall not see some matters that are to be disallowed: as often as he shall goe out of dores he must passe by wicked, couetous, prodigall and impudent men, and such as haue beene made happie thereby, his eies shall be turned towards no place, wherein they finde not occasions of dislike? He cannot liue if he be displeased so often as the cause requireth. These so many thousand men that trot to the Palace early in the morning, how bad causes, nay how farre worse Lawyers haue they? One of these complaineth against his Fathers will, where hee hath occasion to content himselfe therewith.

Another pleadeth against his mother: Another, accuseth his Neighbour of some crime, wherein he himselfe is more manifestly faultie, and he is chosen to be Iudge in those causes wherein he himselfe hath most offended, the baddest cause is fauoured by all men, and that Counsailer that pleadeth vprightly is disgraced, why prosecute I euery particular? when thou seest the Courts of pleas stuffed with people, and the barres taken vp with all sorts of people, and that great place wherein the most part of the people shew themselues, know this that in that place there are as many vices as there are men. Amongst these men that walke in long gownes there is no peace, each of these will sell one another for a little gaine.

CHAP. VIII.

A description of the disorders of his time, prosecuted to the end to expresse that a wise man should liue truly miserable, of he would torment himselfe to see so many miseries.

NO man taketh profit, but by another mans losse, they hate the happie man, they contemne the miserable; they are agrieued at their Superiours, and are grieuous to their inferiours; they are prouoked by diuers desires, and for some light profit or pleasure they would see all things in confusion. Their life is nothing different from that of the sword players, who liue and fight with one another. There is an assembly of bruit beasts, except wee say that they are peaceable amongst themselues, and bite not one another: where contrariwise men haue no content, but when they teare and spoile one another. In this one thing differ they from dumbe creatures, that the one are tame to those that nourish them, but those are enraged against them most, by whom they haue beene relieued best. A wise-man shall neuer cease if hee once beginne to bee angrie: all the world is so full of vices and wickednesse. There is more euill committed, then may by reproofe and punishment bee healed. Impietie and iniustice are vpon their rests, & forcibly iust against vertue; day by day the desire of euill increaseth, and modestie decreaseth. Dissolution hauing driuen from her all respect of equitie and right, hath vsurped vpon all things at her pleasure; neither are hainous crimes now a-daies committed in secret; they are perpetrated in the view and eye of all men. And such preheminence and power hath wickednesse gotten in euery place, so deeply is shee possessed of all mens hearts, that innocence, which in times past, was rare, at this day is wholly extinguished. Haue all or a few men broken the law. All the world is armed, as it were vpon the sound of a trompet, to confound and mixe right and iustice with wickednesse.

The carriage of this age.

Ouid. Metamor.

Nor from his Host the guest may be securd,
Nor he whom law and marriage hath alotted
To be a Father can remaine assurd,
But by his Sonne his death will be complotted.
Friendship twixt brothers may be hardly found,
The husband seekes occasion to deprive
His wife of life, and shee would him confound:
Diuraged Stepdames daily doe contriue
To mingle poisons, and the sonne againe
To get his Fathers wealth would see him slaine.

... alla part of wickednesse is this? hee hath not described the camps of a factious common-weale, armed one against another, the fathers following one part, and the children another, all the Countrie fired by their hands that should defend it, the troups of horsmen scouting out on euery side to discouer the places, whether the condemned men were retired, the fountaines poisoned, the plague spred abroad by artificiall meanes, the trenches digged by the children against their owne fathers, that were besieged, the prisons full of captiues, the tyrannies, the secret counsailes, whence hath followed the ruine of Kingdomes and other publique estates, the whoordomes, deflourings, rauishings, infamous and execrable vncleannesse, all which things reputed for glorious and notable exploits are called wicked, when a man may hinder and extinguish them.

The miseries of ciuill warres.

CHAP. IX.

A continuation of the former discourse, to proue that a wise man cannot possibly intangle himselfe with so many miseries.

ADde now vnto these the publique periuries of the people, the breach of alliances, the pillage carried away to him, that hath the greatest power, the deceipts, the thefts, the cauils, tricks of so euill trust in so great a number, that wee had neede of three times as large places of iustice as we haue, to decide them in: if thou wilt haue a wise-man displeased so much as the indignitie of their wickednesse requireth, insteed of being angrie he will be constrained to be madde. Rather thinke thou this that he ought not to be angrie at errours. For what if a man should be angrie with those that stumble in the darke, or against the deafe, because they doe not that which they are commanded, because they vnderstand it not? or against children, who in stead of thinking on their duties, busie themselues in play and sporting with their equals, what if thou wouldest bee angrie with those that are sick, with such as are old and wearied? Amidst the rest of the incommodities of mans life, this is one; the darkenesse of our mindes, and not only the necessitie of erring, but the loue of errours. If thou wilt not bee displeased with any man, pardon all men; and excuse the infirmitie of mankinde. But if thou beest angrie, both with yong and old, because they offend; be displeased also with little infants, because hereafter they will bee vicious. Is there any man angry with children, who by reason of their tender yeares know not how to discerne things? It is a more great and iuster excuse to be a man then a child: we are borne to this condition to be creatures subiect as well to the infirmities of the mind as of the body, not blockish nor stupide, but such as abuse our vnderstanding. The one of vs serue for example of vices vnto the other. Euery one follow those that goe before, although it bee in the way of errour. Why should they not be excused if all of them go astray in the publique way?

CHAP. X.

THe seueritie of a Generall is intended against priuate offenders, but then is pardon necessarie, where his whole Armie hath forsaken him. What taketh away a wise mans wrath? the multitude of offenders. He vnderstandeth how vniust and dangerous a thing it is to be displeased with a guiltie multitude: *Heraclitus* as often as he went forth a dores, and saw about him such a multitude of euill liuers, nay rather

rather men dying wickedly, he wept; hauing compaſſion of all thoſe that met him with a ioyfull and contented countenance, being himſelfe milde in minde, and feeble in heart, and ſuch a one as deſerued to bee deplored himſelfe. Contrariwiſe it is ſaid that *Democritus* neuer looke abroad without laughing, ſo trifling reputed he all thoſe things which were ſeriouſly done and ſought after. Where in this world is there any place for Anger? All things are eyther to be laughed at, or to be lamented. A wiſe-man will not be angrie with thoſe that offend. Why? Becauſe he knoweth that no man is borne wiſe, but is made wiſe: he knowes that in euery age there are few that become wiſe, becauſe he vnderſtandeth the condition of human life, but no wiſe-man will be angrie with nature; for what if he would wonder becauſe that apples grow not on wilde brambles? what if hee wonder why thornes and buſhes beare not exquiſite fruite? no man is angry with nature when ſhe excuſeth the imperfection. A wiſe-man therefore is peaceable, and remitteth faults, not an enemie but an admoniſher of thoſe that doe amiſſe with this minde daily walketh he out. Many will meete me in the way that are addicted to wine, many lechers, many that are vngratefull, many couetous men, and many that are poſſeſſed with the furie of ambition. All theſe men will he entertaine as courteouſly as the Phyſitian doth his ſicke patients. Is he diſpleaſed either with his Sailers or his Ship whoſe Barke hauing her timbers looſe hath a great leake, and ſinketh in much water? He rather helpeth them, he calketh the veſſell to keepe out the waues, he driueth out the reſt and ſhuts vp the holes that appeare, and reſiſteth by his continuall labour and pumping, thoſe that are yet vndiſcouered, neyther therefore intermitteth he becauſe ſo much was gotten out, as was entered in. We had neede of ſuccours of long continuance againſt ſo continuall and fruitfull euils, not that they may ceaſe, but leaſt they ouercome.

CHAP. XI.

He proſecuteth the explication of the definition of Anger, which he tearmeth an emotion of the heart, tending voluntarily and with iudgement vnto vengeance, ſhewing that it is paſſion as being vnprofitable, ought not to be found amongſt wiſe men, who condemne the emotion and the vengeance, and rather neglect then feare it.

WRath, ſaith he, is profitable becauſe ſhe eſcapeth contempt, and terrifieth euill men. Firſt of all wrath, if it be as much worth as it threatneth, for this very cauſe, becauſe it is terrible, it is therefore hatefull. But it is more dangerous to be feared then to be deſpiſed: but if it be without feare, it is more expoſed to contempt, and ſubiect to deriſion. For what thing is more vaine and ridiculous then for Anger to be in tempeſt and tumult for nothing? Moreouer, thoſe things that are terrible are not therefore more great; and I would not haue that ſaid by a wiſe-man which might be ſaid by a ſauage beaſt: that the weapon of a wilde beaſt is to be feared. What, is not the ague, the gowt, an vlcer euill? Is there therefore any goodneſſe in theſe, or contrariwiſe are not all things more diſdained, filthie and contemptible, in that they are feared? Anger is of her ſelfe deformed, and not to be feared, yet is it feared by diuers men as a deformed vizard by infants. But why doth not feare alwayes fall vpon the head of him that is the author thereof? Neyther is there any man feared that is himſelfe ſecure. Remember thee in this place of *Laberianus* verſes, which being ſpoken in the Theater, in the middeſt of the ciuill warres, no otherwiſe made all the people attentiue vnto it, then if a ſpeech had beene vttered that teſtified the publique affection.

He needs muſt feare many whom many men feare.

So

So hath nature ordained, that he who thinketh himſelfe great, becauſe he is feared, is not himſelfe exempt from feare. How much tremble Lions vpon the leaſt noyſe? An vnacquainted ſhadow, voyce, and oder troubleth thoſe beaſts which are the fierceſt. All thoſe which affright others are affraid themſelues. There is no cauſe therefore why any wiſe-man ſhould deſire to be feared.

CHAP. XII.

That there is no great thing in Anger although it moueth feare.

NEyther therefore let any man thinke that wrath is great, becauſe ſhe cauſeth her ſelfe to be feared, becauſe there are certain things which are the moſt contemptible and yet are feared, as venomes, and ſome impoiſoned meates, and a bite or ſting of beaſts. Neyther is it to be wondred at, when as a line diſtinguiſhed with feathers, containeth the greateſt heards of wilde beaſts, and drieth them into the Toyles, and by their effects they are called feare; for vaine things are affraid of nothing. The ſhaking of a Chariot, and the ratling of the wheeles driueth a Lion into his denne; the crie of a Hogge terrifieth an Elephant. So therefore is Anger feared as a ſhadow is by infants, as a redde feather is by wilde beaſts. This paſſion hath nothing firme and powerfull in her ſelfe, but ſhe is onely the Bug-Beare of vaine mindes. Wickedneſſe, ſaith he, muſt be baniſhed out of the world if thou wilt exterminate wrath, and as the one of theſe things is impoſſible ſo is the other. Firſt of all a man may be warme, although naturally it be Winter, and he may be temperate although the hotteſt moneths do raigne. But by the benefite of the place he is exempted from the intemperature of the yeare, or by the patience of his bodie he ouercommeth the ſenſe of them both. But take this to the contrary, thou muſt needes take vertue firſt out of thy minde, before thou entertaine wrath, becauſe vertues haue no correſpondence with vices; and no more at the ſame time can an angry man be a good man, then he that is ſicke be a whole man. All wrath, ſaith he, cannot be taken away out of the minde, neyther doth the nature of man permit him this. But there is nothing ſo difficult and dangerous, which a mans minde cannot ouercome, and that continuall meditation bringeth not in vſe, and no affections are ſo fierce and obſtinate which are not tamed by diſcipline. Whatſoeuer the minde hath enioyned himſelfe he hath obtained. Some haue gotten that gouernement ouer themſelues that they will neuer laugh, ſome haue giuen ouer wine, ſome lecherie, and ſome haue framed their bodies to forbeare all water, another by accuſtoming himſelfe to ſleep little, hath gotten ſo much priuiledge that he is neuer wearie of waking, ſome haue learned to runne vpon ſmall and ſlender ropes, and to beare great and mightie burthens, farre exceeding the ſtrength of any man, and to diue into the greateſt depthes, and without any breathing to remaine long time in the bottom of the Seas.

CHAP. XIII.

How profitable a firme reſolution is againſt vices.

THere are a thouſand other things wherein an obſtinate reſolution ſurmounteth all other impediments, and ſheweth that there is nothing difficult to him that hath reſolued himſelfe to be patient. All theſe of whom I haue ſpoken before, haue had no recompence of their trauaile, or if they haue receiued any, it was no great matter.

He vnderstandeth the stupiditie of the vnruli part of men, especially of those that are giuen ouer to Anger.

ter. For what honour hath that Tumbler gotten, who hath learned to daunce vpon a rope? that is exercised to beare a waightie burthen vpon his necke, that hath learned to restraine his eyes from sleeping? that is taught to diue into the bottom of the Sea? These larbors get but little reward. Shall not we entertain patience, who are to expect so great a reward as the tranquilitie of a happie minde? How great a thing is it to flie from wrath, which is the greatest euill, and with her to auoyde the other passions, which accompanie her, as rage, inhumanitie, crueltie, and furie? We are not to seeke our protection from any, neyther ought we to excuse and dissemble our libertie, by saying, that eyther this is profitable or that inesuitable; for what errour hath wanted a Patron? Thou art not to say that it cannot be cut off, we are sicke of curable diseases; and nature her selfe that created vs for the best, will assist vs if we will be amended. Neyther as some men haue said, is the way to vertues dangerous and difficult, they are easily come by. I will instruct you in no vaine matter. The way vnto blessed life is easie, follow the same in a good houre, and vnder the fauour of the gods. There is more difficultie in doing those things which you doe. For what is more contenting then the tranquilitie of the minde? What more laborsome then wrath? What more remisse then clemencie? What more turbulent then crueltie? Chastitie is al waies at leisure, dissolution full of businesse; to conclude, the custodie of all vertue is easie, contrariwise, vices cost very much in entertayning them. Must wrath be remoued? This in part confesse they likewise who say, that it is to be moderated and diminished. Let it be wholly giuen ouer: because it will profite nothing: without her a man may more easily and readily roote out wickednesse, the euill shall be punished and brought to a better passe.

A Stoicall Paradox, as possible as for a dead man to flie.

CHAP. XIIII.

That a wise man hath no neede of wrath to performe his dutie.

A Wise-man effecteth al those things which he ought to do, without the assistance of any euill thing; neyther will he intermixe any thing which may trouble him in the gouernment thereof. Anger therefore is neuer to be admitted, yet is it sometimes to be dissembled, if the slowe mindes of the auditorie are to be stirred vp. Euen as we pricke forth our sturdie horses by sticke and spurre, to performe their race. Sometimes they are to be put in feare, when reason cannot perswade. It is no lesse profitable to be angrie then to mourne, then to feare. What then? Do not some causes fall out which prouoke Anger? But euen then most especially ate we to get the start of her. Neyther is it a hard matter to ouercom the mind, when as the wrastlers also being exercised in their basest part, yet suffer they strains and strokes that they may spend his forces with whom they contend; neyther strike they when wrath perswadeth them, but when occasion commandeth them. It is reported that *Pyrrhus* an excellent Master in wrastling and other exercises, was wont to command those that were his Schollers to refraine from Anger. For it is Anger that troubleth Art, and considereth which way she may hurt, not how she may preuent. Reason therefore oftentimes perswadeth patience, wrath reuenge, and we that might escape the first euils, are thrust into greater. Some hath the contumely of one word not disiested with discretion, cast into exile, and they that would not burie and beare a trifling iniurie in silence, haue beene ouerwhelmed with most grieuous calamities; in briefe,

briefe, being not able to endure, that a iot of their great libertie should be diminished, they haue drawne themselues vnder a seruile yoke.

CHAP. XV.

That Choler hath nothing generous in it.

TO make thee know (saith he) that wrath hath somewhat generous in it, thou shalt find that the Germanes and Scithians (which are free Nations) are much inclined vnto wrath; which commeth to passe because their spirits (which by nature are strong and solide) are easily moued and prone vnto Anger, especially before they be tempered and mollified by discipline. There are certain passions which neuer take holde-fast but on the strongest spirits: euen as the most strongest and fruitfullest Coppise grow on the land which is least manured, and a Forrest florisheth in a fruitfull soyle. Therfore the mindes that by nature are most strongest endure Anger, & being fierie & hote, suffer nothing that is little and feeble; but that vigor is imperfect, as in all things without Art, which grow only by the benefite of nature, which except they be quickly tamed, that which was disposed to become valour is conuerted into audaciousnes and rashnes. What, are not those spirits which are gentle and tractable lesse vicious? and are they not accompanied with mercie, loue, and honest shame? I will therefore shew thee a good disposition, euen in those things that are euill; but therefore are they not vices, although they are signes of a better nature. Moreouer, all these Nations free in their fiercenesse, according to the custome of Lions and Wolues, as they cannot serue, so they cannot command: for they haue not the force of a humane vnderstanding, but such as is beastly and intractable; but no man can gouerne, except he that can be gouerned.

CHAP. XVI.

There is no Nation of pliable inclination that are not capable of gouernment, and fit to be gouerned by the most excellent amongst them.

FOr the most part therefore the Empire remained amongst those Nations which liue vnder a milder clime: they that are bred towards the Northward and in colde countries, haue their mindes most vntractable, as the Poet saith,

And like vnto their heauen.

They (saith hee) are reputed to be the most generous beasts that are most wrathfull. He is deceiued that inducth them for an example to men, who for reason vse violence: man in stead of violence hath reason. Neyther is that passion profitable in them: all fiercenesse helpeth Lions, feare Harts, violence the Hawke, flight the Doue: neyther is that true, that the most excellentest creatures are the most subiect to Anger. Shall I thinke those wilde beasts better which liue by rapine, because they are most fell? I had rather commend the patience of the Oxe and those Horses that are gouerned by the bridle. But what is the cause thou shouldest reuoke man to such vnhappie examples, when thou hast the world and God, who amongst all other liuing creatures, he onely imitateth and onely vnderstandeth? They are accounted the most simplest men of all other that are most angrie. For they are compared to fraudulent

fraudulent and cunning fellowes, and seeme to be simple, because they are discouered, whom I would not call simple but improuident. For we assigne this name to fooles, to lechers and prodigall spenders, and such as are not cunning enough in their follies.

CHAP. XVII.

whether it be a thing fitting for him that is publiquely to declaime to be moued, and bow.

AN Orator (saith he) that is moued and angrie is sometimes the better, why not if he counterfeit his Anger? For Players in pronouncing their speeches, although they be not angrie, yet moue the people; but in acting the wrathfull man cunningly. And before the Iudges likewise, and before the people, and whersoeuer we are to confirme other mens mindes in our opinion, sometimes wee our selues will faine to be displeased, sometimes counterfeit feare, sometimes compassion to confirme the same in other men. And oft-times that which true affection could not haue effected, imitation of affection hath performed. It is a faint minde, saith he, that is without Anger. It is true, if he haue nothing more powerfull then Anger in him; neyther must he be a thiefe, neyther such a one as is robbed, neyther mercifull, nor cruell, the heart of the one is too tender, the other too obdurate. Let the wise-man bee temperate, and in executing that which he hath to doe resolutely, let him entertaine courage and not Anger.

CHAP. XVIII.

The second part of this Booke setteth downe the remedies against Anger.

BEcause we haue examined those questions which concerne Anger, let vs now descend vnto the remedies thereof. They are two in my iudgement: the one, that we fall not into Anger, the other, not to sinne when we are angrie. As in the cure of our bodies, there are some precepts to maintain health, other some how to restore it when it is decayed, so to surmount displeasure there is one meanes to repulse it, another to represse it. Some shall be taught which are pertinent, and necessarie for the whole life, and they shall be deuided into education, and the yeares that follow. Education requireth great diligence, and is greatly profitable and necessarie: for it is an easie matter to fashion & order tender minds, and those vices are hardly rooted out in vs, which haue grown with vs. A fiery nature is a proper subiect of wrath; for whereas there are foure elements, fire, water, ayre, and earth, so haue they their equall qualities, colde, hote, drie and moyst. So then the mixture of the elements is the cause of the varietie of places, creatures, bodies, and manners; thence commeth it that mens minds are more inclined to this or that, according as the vigor of the element aboundeth more or lesse in them; thence it is that we say and call some Regions moist, some drie, some hote, and some colde. The same differences are there betwixt men and beasts.

The complexions of our bodies proceed from the qualities that are predominant in them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The source whence ire doth springith and his seate.

IT importeth very much to vnderstand how much humiditie or heate euery one hath in him, and according to the element that is most predominant in a man, such are his manners. The mixture of heat will make wrathfull men; for fire is active and permanent. The mixture of colde maketh men colde; for colde is of a slow and heauie nature. Some therefore of our sect are of the opinion, that wrath is enkindled in the breast, by reason of the blood that boyleth about the heart. The cause why this place is especially assigned vnto Anger, is no other, then that of all the whole bodie the breast is the hotest. They that haue more moisture in them, their Anger increaseth by little and little, because their heat is not prepared, but is gotten by motion. The displeasures therefore of children and women are more sharpe then they are continuing, and more feeble in the beginning. In drier ages wrath is vehement & strong, but without increase, not adding much vnto it selfe, because colde followeth the declining heate. Olde men are testie and alwayes complaining as sicke men doe, and such as begin to recouer their health, or that by lassitude or bloud letting haue lost a part of their heat. In the same estate are they that are extremely transported with thirst and hunger, and who haue no bloud in their bodies, neither thriue by that they eat, but consume daily. Wine enkindleth wrath, because it increaseth heate according to euery mans nature.

Because the Sun of the lesser world inhabiteth in it.

CHAP. XX.

Diuers appearances of wrath according to the habitude of person, and that we ought to know our owne nature, and to flie the custom.

MVch moued are some when they are drunk, some when they are feasting: neither is there any other cause, why they are most wrathfull that haue yellow haire and redde faces, who haue such a color by nature, as other men are wont to hate, when they are displeased; for their bloud is swift and much troubled. But euen as nature disposeth some men vnto choler, so happen there many causes which may do the like that nature doth. Some hath sickenesse and the minorie of the bodie drawne into this, other some labor and continuall watching, nights spent in great thought, and desires, and loues; and whatsoeuer else that were hurtfull to the bodie or minde, or prepareth the sicke-mans heart to complaints. But all these are but beginnings and causes, and custom can do very much, which if it be depraued nourishes the vice. It is a hard thing to change nature, neuer is it possible to diffeuer the elements, whereof things are composed, after they are once mixed. But it will be profitable to know this, to the end we may forbid them, wine that are of hote natures, which *Plato* supposeth to be hurtfull to children, and therfore forbiddeth vs to adde fire to fire. Neither are they to be crammed with meats, for their bodies are easily distended, & their minds like their bodies suddenly are puffed vp. Let labour exercise them without lassitude, that their heate may be diminished & not consumed, & that the ouer-great feuer in them skimmed and seeled. Paltime likewise will profit them, because a moderate pleasure quickneth the mind, and temperateth it also. Those that are of a moist, drie, and colde complexion, there is no danger in their displeasures, yet are greater vices to be feared in them, as feare, difficultie, desperation and suspicions.

11 de legibus. How children are to be vsed.

Metaphora à vino sumpta.

CHAP. XXI.

The continuation of his discourse, and of the remedies against childrens anger. The first is a good instruction.

SVch mindes therefore are to bee tempered and nourished, and to be animated with delights. And becauſe wee are to vſe ſome remedies againſt Anger, ſome other againſt ſadneſſe, and that theſe are not only to be cured by different, but contrary meanes. We will alwayes haue a care of that, which is increaſing. It ſhall profit very much ſay I, to haue our children well inſtructed in the beginning. But the manner of gouerning is difficult, becauſe wee muſt indeuour that wee nouriſh not Anger in them, or dull and dampe their ſpirits. The matter had need of diligent obſeruation. For both that which is to bee extolled and that which is to be depreſſed is nouriſhed with the like, and ſuch things as reſemble doe oftentimes deceiue him, that is moſt diligent. The mind increaſeth by libertie, and is embaſed by ſeruitude. Praiſe the ſame, and it rowſeth it ſelfe, and filleth vs with great expectation, yet both theſe two expedients ingender inſolence and wrath. So therefore is he to be gouerned betweene both, that ſometimes we vſe a bridle, ſometimes a ſpur, that his minde may ſuffer nothing that is baſe and ſeruile. Let him neuer haue need to intreat any thing humbly, neither let it profit him though hee hath ſo ſubmiſſiuely intreated. If wee grant him any thing, let it bee rather by alleadging vnto him, that he hath juſt cauſe to demaund the ſame, and that we haue regard vnto his former behauiour, and hope that hee will doe better hereafter, as hee promiſeth. In his exerciſes amongſt his companions, let vs neither ſuffer him to be ouercome, nor to bee angrie. Let vs indeuour that he may bee alwayes familiar with thoſe with whom hee is wont to contend, and that in his exerciſes hee accuſtome himſelfe not to haue a will to hurt, but to ouercome. As oft as he hath gotten the vpper hand, or hath done any thing that is praiſe worthie, let vs not ſuffer him to be proud or to boaſt thereof, for boaſting followeth joy, and pride and to much eſteeme of himſelfe, boaſting. We wil giue him ſome recreation, yet wil we neither ſuffer him to be ſlothfull or idle, and aboue all thinges will detaine him from the touch of pleaſures. For nothing more inkindleth wrath, then an ouer delicate and daintie education: and therefore the onely childe, to whom wee giue libertie, and theſe Pupils that are left to their owne pleaſures, are ordinarily the moſt corrupted. The childe that hath had his will in euery thing, whoſe mother hath ordinarily dried the teares from his eyes, who hath had a maſter aſſigned him according to his owne fancie, will neuer ſuffer an injurie patiently. Seeſt thou how euerie greater Fortune is attended with a greater anger? This appeareth in Rich men, in Noble men, in Magiſtrates eſpecially when as whatſoeuer vaineneſſe and leuitie was in their braines, findeth a fit Winde to carrie it away. Felicitie nouriſheth wrath, as ſoone as the troopes of flatterers are incamped about proud men. They willſay vnto thee. *What ſhall hee anſwer thee, thou reſpecteſt not thy ſelfe according to the greatneſſe of thy Eſtate, thou abuſeſt thy ſelfe ouermuch* And other ſuch like ſufficient to intangle the wiſeſt heartes, and ſuch as haue beene prudently brought vp from there infancie. Let childhood therefore be farre remoued from flatterie. Let him heare nothing but truth, let him learne feare, modeſtie, obedience to his elders, and dutie, and reuerence. Let him extort nothing from thee by frowardneſſe. That which was denied him when he wept, let it bee giuen him when he is quiet. Let him ſee his Parents riches, but not vſe them: Let him be reproued for his euill deeds.

The third that they be not entertained either too tightly or too daintily.

The fourth to beware of flatterers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

What maſters we ought to prouide for our children.

IT ſhall be to the purpoſe to giue children ſuch Maſters and attendants, who are peaceable and gentle. That which is tender layeth holde on that which is neareſt vnto it, and groweth with it, and becommeth like vnto it. Diuers children that haue growne in yeares, haue repreſented the manners of their Nurſes and maſters. A young childe brought vp with *Plato*, returned home to his Parents houſe, and hearing his Father exclaime and chide grieuouſly ſaid, *I haue neuer ſeene the like with* PLATO. I doubt not but that he imitated his father ſooner then *Plato*. Let his diet bealwayes ſlender. Let his attire be modeſt and anſwerable to that of his equals. He ſhall neuer bee angrie that any is compared with him, whom from the beginning thou haſt made equall with many. But theſe things appertaine vnto our children. For in regard of our ſelues the fortune of our birth, and of our bringing vp cannot giue any place vnto correction, nor for the precepts to inſtruction. Wee muſt only prouide for the time to come, and reſiſt the firſt occaſions. But the cauſe of anger is the opinion of injurie, whereunto wee muſt not eaſily giue credit nor entertaine the firſt reports and proofes how euident and manifeſt ſoeuer they be. For ſome things that are fallen haue an appearance of truth, wee muſt alwayes giue time: for time diſcouereth truth. Let not our eares bee open vnto Tale-bearers. Let this vice of humane nature be ſuſpected by vs, and made knowne vnto vs, that is to ſay, that what we vnwillingly heare, we vnwillingly beleeue, and before wee iudge, we are angrie.

How children ſhould be fed and clothed.

A remedie of Anger is not to giue credit to tale-bearers.

CHAP. XXIII.

The ſecond to flie ſuſpition.

WHat? are we not only moued and inforced by accuſations, but alſo trauailed with ſuſpitions? and interpreting wee not the worſt of other mens lookes and ſmiles; are wee not diſpleaſed with thoſe that are innocent? We muſt therefore plead with our ſelues, the cauſe of him that is abſent, and hold our anger in ſuſpence. For a man may exact the puniſhment which is delaied, but hee cannot remedie it after it is executed. The Tyrant killer is well knowne, who being apprehended before his attempt was performed and tortured by *Hippias* to the end hee ſhould diſcouer his confederates: hee reckoned vp the names of all the Tyrants friends that ſtood about him, who in his knowledge were moſt carefull of his proſperitie and life, and when he had commanded euerie one of them to bee ſlaine, whom he had nominated, he asked him: *Is there any more, yet remaining? Thy ſelfe* (ſaid he) *only for I haue left none elſe aliue that is deare vnto thee:* Wrath was the meanes that made the Tyrant to lend his aſſiſtance to the Tyrant killer, and to murther his owne Guard, with his owne ſword. How more couragiouſly dealt *Alexander?* who when hee had read his mothers Epiſtle, wherein he was admoniſhed that he ſhould beware to bee impoyſoned by his Phyſitian *Philip*, drunke of his preſented potion without any affright. Hee had more confidence in his friend; and worthie was hee to enioy ſo vpright a Phyſitian, and worthie to make ſuch a one. This praiſe I in *Alexander* the more, becauſe no man was more ſubiect vnto anger, and the rarer gouernment

See Laertius lib. 9. of the lawes of the Philoſophers and Plutarch his liues.

Is in Kings, the more is it to be commended. The like did *Caius Cæsar* who in the Ciuill warres demeaned himselfe so mercifully. For hauing intercepted a packet of diuers letters that were written to *Pompey*, from those that seemed to haue held the contrarie part, or remained neuters, hee burned them all, and although he were accustomed to keepe a measure in his wrath, yet liked he better to admit no meanes. He held it to be a most gratefull meanes of pardon to be ignorant of that wherein euerie man had offended. Credulitie doth much mischiefe and oft times we ought not to giue care therevnto because in some things it is better to bee deceiued then to distrust.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Euils occasioned by opinion and suspition.

SVspition and coniecture which are two betrayers of the minde, are to be banished. *He hath not saluted me kindly enough*; *Hee hath not kissed mee heartily*; *He hath abruptly cut of our discourse*; *he inuited me not to supper*; *That mans countenance was more strange then it was accustomed.* Suspition wants no argument: we haue need of simplicitie, and the friendly interpretation of things. Let vs beleeue nothing, but that which is subiect to the eye, and manifest, and as long as our suspition appeareth to be vaine, let vs chide our credulitie. For this Chastisement will accustome vs to beleeue nothing easily.

CHAP. XXV.

The third remedie against Anger is not to be aggrieued for vile and abiect things.

FRom thence, doth this follow, that wee be not exasperated by the smallest and most sordid things. The Page is scarce seruiceable that either ministreth water to warme for our wine, or a bed to sit vpon vnmade, or a table negligently furnished. To bee angrie hereat, is but madnesse, hee is sicke, and of an euill constitution whom a little breath of winde causeth to quiuer. Those eyes are verie weake, which are dimmed by beholding a white vesture: he is ouer delicate that sweateth to see another man labour. It is reported that there was a certaine man of Sibaris who was called *Mindyrides* who beholding one that digged the Earth, and lifted his mattocke too high, began too commplaine himselfe as if he himselfe had trauelled much, and forbad the other to worke any more in his presence. The same man likewise complained oftentimes, because he lay vpon a bed of rose leaues. Whereas pleasures haue inthraled both the minde and the bodie there is nothing that seemeth tolerable, not because they are hard, but in that effeminate men suffer them. For what is the cause, why any mans cough, or sneesing, or a Flie not curiously enough driuen away, should incense vs, or a cup ouerturned, or a key lost by the carelessenesse of a negligent seruant should trouble vs? Will such a man peaceably endure a publike slander, and reproches vrged against him, in declamations and open Court, that cannot abide to beare the scraping of a stoole that is drawne by him? will he suffer hunger and extreme thirst in a winters voyage, who is angrie with his Page, because he hath not mixed his snow with his wine cunningly.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

The fourth to refrain impatience in regard of those things that are without life and in regard of men and beasts.

THere is nothing therefore, that more nourisheth Anger then intemperate and impatient dissoluteness, the minde is to bee handled hardly that hee may not feele the stroke: except it bee grieuous. We are angrie with these from whom we neither could receiue injurie, or those from whom we might receiue it. Some of the first are without sence, as wee haue beene wont often times to cast by a booke that is written in small letters, and haue torne a faultie, or as we cut our garments by reason they are not pleasing vnto vs in their fashion. How fond a thing is it to be angrie with these which haue not deserued our displeasure, neither feele the same? But we are angrie with those that made them. First, we are angrie almost ordinarily before we bethinke our selues of this distinction, againe happily the very workmen themselues will giue vs sufficient satisfaction. One of them could not doe better then he did, neither was he negligent in his occupation, vpon purpose to displease thee. Another did it not to offend thee. In conclusion, what is more braine-sick then to discharge and vent the choler, wehaue gathered vpon things that haue no sense? And as it is a folly to be angrie with these that are inanimated creatures, so is it as foolish to be displeased with dumb beasts, because there is no injurie except it proceede from discourse and deliberation. They can therefore hurt vs as yron or a stone, but they cannot doe vs injurie. But some there are that thinke themselues to be contemned, whereas some horses that are easily backt by another horse-man, are sturdie to another mans riding, as if by judgement, not by custome, and the arte of handling them, some beasts are vntractable to some men.

CHAP. XXVII.

To refraine impatience and not to be angrie with infants.

BVt as it is a foolish thing to be angrie with these; so ought not a man to bee displeased with little children, or against those that haue as little spirit as infants. For all these faults in the eye of an equall Iudge are reputed for innocence of imprudent men. Some things there are which cannot hurt, and haue no power, but that which is beneficiall and holsome, as the immortall gods which neither will, neither can hurt. For their nature is milde and peaceable, and so farre remote from doing other men injurie as themselues. Madde are they therefore, and ignorant of truth, that impute vnto them the raging of the Seas, in measurable showers, a rigorous winter, when as in the meane space there are none of these which either hurt or profit vs, that are properly intended against vs. For we are not the cause in this world of the reuolution of Winter and Sommer, these seasons are gouerned and haue their order disposed by the gods; we estimate our selues too highly, if we suppose our selues worthie that so great things should bemoued for vs. There are none of these things therefore is done to our prejudice, nay rather there is nothing done which is not for our good: wee haue said that there are some things which cannot hurt, some things which will not. In this ranck shalbe good Princes, Parents and Masters, Iudges and Magistrates, whose chastisement ought to be considered, as the razor of a Surgeon, the diet of a Phisitian, and other remedies, which neither doe vs good nor euill. Are we

Much lesse against the gods.

Nor against our superiours in this World.

chastised, let vs thinke not only on that which wee suffer, but also on that which we haue done, and let vs enter into the examination of our life. If wee will confesse a truth vnto our selues, wee haue a greater matter to charge our selues with. If we will be equall Iudges of all things, let vs first of all perswade our selues that there is none of vs without a fault. For hence groweth the greatest indignation; *I haue sinned no waies, I haue done nothing*; nay, thou confessest nothing. If any man admonish or chastise vs we are angrie, when at that very time we sinne. When as to our rebellious deedes we adde arrogancie and contumacie. Who is he that dare maintayne that he is innocent, in respect of all lawes? That this may bee thus, how defectiue is our innocence, in regard of good lawes? how more infinitely is the rule of our duties extended then that of right? how much doe pietie, humanitie, liberalitie, miserie, and faith, exact all which are not inclosed in the ordinances and constitutions of men.

The fifth is to thinke in how many sorts men are guilty before God and Man.

CHAP. XXVIII.

NEither as yet can we attayne to that strict innocence of the lawes. We haue done some things, and thought other things. We haue desired some things and haue followed others. We are innocent in some affaires, because we could not effect them. Thinking hereupon, let vs be more fauourable to those that offend. More attentiue to those that reproue vs, and let vs not be displeased with our selues (for with whom will we not be angrie, if we be displeased against our selues?) aboue all things let vs beware to be angrie with the gods. For it is not by their ordinance, but by the law whereunto all mortall men are subiect, that we suffer all these incommodities which befall vs. But sicknesses and sorrowes doe assault vs. They that dwell in a rotten house must seeke to flie out of it by some waies. When it shall be told thee that any one hath spoken euill of thee, bethinke thy selfe whether thou hast not begon it first, examine thy selfe by how many thou hast spoken. Let vs thinke, say I, that other men doe vs no injurie, but that they requite vs with the like, and that some doe it of malice, some by constraint, and others through ignorance, and that they likewise who willingly and wittingly doe wrong; take not an occasion by the injurie we haue done, to doe vs another. Either is he fallen through the sweetnesse of his vrbanitie, or hath done somewhat, not with an intent to hurt vs, but because he could not haue attained his desire except hee had repulsed vs. Oft-times flatterie offendeth vs whilst thee flattereth; whosoeuer shall remember himselfe how often times men haue had an euill opinion of him, and interpreted the many good seruices and offices hee hath done for injuries; how many men hee hath loued whom he hated before time, he will not be displeased vpon the first, especially if vpon euery injurie that is done vnto him, he say vnto himselfe. *These faults* likewise haue I my selfe committed. But where wilt thou finde a Iudge that is so vpright? He that coueteth euery mans wife, and thinketh it a sufficient cause for him to loue her, because shee is a stranger will not admit another man to court his. He that will haue another man keepe promise vpon a prefixed day, is no master of his word, the perfidious man persecuteth him that is a lier, and the informer cannot abide that another man should bring him in question. He will not haue his seruants credit touched who is negligent of his owne reputation. Other mens sinnes are before our eies, our owne behinde our backs.

Thence

Thence commeth it that the Father more riotous then his Sonne, yet reproueth him bitterly for his lauish expence, he seuerely taxeth another mans excesse, who is himselfe prodigall and hath no hold of his monie: the Tyrant is displeased against the murtherer, and he that is sacrilegious punisheth theft. The greater part of men are angrie with sinners, but not with the sinne. We shall be more moderate if we examine our selues, if we take counsaile of our selues, and examine whether we our selues haue not committed the like, whether we haue erred in the same manner? Is it fit for vs to condemne the same? Delay is a soueraigne remedie against displeasure, neither require thou her in the beginning to pardon thee, but to judge thee. If shee delay and admitteth any intermission, the furie thereof is abated. Striue not to attempt her all at once, her first assaults are most sharpe, but thou shalt get the day of her, if thou dismember her by little and little.

The sixth is to take time and bethinke our selues before wee be angrie.

CHAP. XXIX.

TOuching those things which offend vs, some are told vs, and some we heare, or see: we must not easily beleeue those things that are told vs, many men lie to the end they may deceiue, many because they are deceiued. This man curries fauour by accusing others, and faineth an injurie to the intent he may seeme sorrowfull for that which is done. There are some so wicked that they seeke nothing more but to sow contention amongst friends. Another is suspicious and desirous in securitie, and from a-farre to behold a single combat, performed betwixt two, whom he hath set together by the eares. If thou wert made a Iudge in a trifling matter, thou wouldest not allow the cause, except it were approued by witnesses, and the witnesses thou wouldst not respect except they were sworne. Thou wouldest call both parties before thee, and giue them time to answere, and yeeld them audience vpon seuerall daies. For truth will the more manifestly appeare the more often it is debated vpon. Wilt thou condemne thy friend instantly before thou hast heard him, and before thou hast asked him the question? art thou angrie with him before he either know his accuser or his crime? For at this instant, yea now presently, hast thou heard what was spoken on both sides. That very man, who first informed thee, will not justifie his wordes, if he be driuen to proue them. *Thou hast no cause*, saith he, *to driue me to iustifie it, if I be brought in question I will denie the same, or otherwise hereafter I will neuer tell thee any thing.* At the same time he inciteth thee and drawes himselfe out of the trouble and danger. He that will not speake vnto thee, except it be in secret, scarcely tels thee any thing that is worthy thy beliefe. What is more vnreasonable then to beleeue a secret report, and afterwards to be openly angrie?

Reasons why wee should delay.

A notable comparison to this purpose.

CHAP. XXX.

THere are somethings whereof wee our selues are witnesses. In these we will consider the nature and will of those that do them. Is he a child? we beare with his age, he knoweth not whether he offendeth. Is he a father? either before times he hath done vs so much good, that vpon just ground we ought to forgiue him the wrong

The seuenth is to consider the persons, to endure that which is possible.

wrong he might doe vs, or peraduenture we are offended without cause, and he himselfe hath an occasion to complaine against vs. Is she a woman? She is deceiued. Is he commanded? who except he will be iniurious will be angrie with necessitie. Is he hurt? It is no iniurie to suffer that which thou thy selfe profered'st first. Is he a Iudge? Rather trust thou his opinion then thine owne. Is he a King? if he punish thee being guiltie acknowledge his iustice, if being innocent, giue place to thy fortune. Is it a dumb beast, or a stone, or such like? thou art like vnto it if thou be angry at it. Is it sickenesse or calamitie? It will passe more lightly if we suffer it patiently. Is it God? Thou looset as much time in murmuring at him, as when thou prayest him to be angrie against thy neighbour. Is he a good man that doth thee iniurie? Beleeue it not. Is it an euill? Wonder not. Another man shall punish that wrong which he offereth thee, and he himselfe in doing euill is punished by himselfe. There are two things as I haue said, that prouoke Anger: the first is, if we seeme to haue receiued iniury. Of this there is sufficiently spoken. It remaineth that we speake of the second, that is to say, whether we haue beene wrongfully iniured. Some men iudge those things to be iniurious, which they ought not to haue suffered, some because they hoped it not. We repute those things iniurious which are sudden. Those things therefore most greatly moue vs, which happen vnto vs, contrary to our hope and expectation; neyther is there any other cause why the least matters offend vs amongst our Domestiques, and why in our friends wee call negligence an iniurie.

Aduertisements worthy to be considered of all men, especially of those who are subiect to displeasure.

Of the second part of the conflict against Anger.

CHAP. XXXI.

The first remedy is to renounce the loue of our selues, to know and confesse our ignorance and insolence.

Against our ignorance.

HOw therefore, saith he, doe our enemies iniuries moue vs? Because we expected them not, or rather because we imagined not that they should be so dangerous. The too much loue we beare our selues is the cause hereof, and that it is which maketh vs iudge that our enemies should not touch vs any wayes. Euery man hath the heart of a King in him, so that he will haue authoritie ouer all men, and yet himselfe will be vnder no mans subiection. So therefore it is eyther our ignorance in things, or our insolence that maketh vs Angrie. As touching ignorance, are we to wonder if wicked men doe wicked acts? Is it a new thing if our enemie do vs the worst iniurie he may? If our friend forget himselfe somtimes? if our sonne or seruant commit some fault? That great Captaine *Fabius* said that this ordinarie excuse, *I had not thought it*, was a base one: but I thinke it a most abiect thing in a man. Bethinke thy selfe of all things and expect, euen in good manners there will be somerhing harsh; mans nature beareth with trayterous friends, she endureth vngratefull men, she suffereth the couetous, she winketh at the impious. When thou wilt censure the manners of one man, thinke vpon the publique; where thou wilt most of all reioyce, there most of all wilt thou feare; where all things seeme vnto thee peaceable, there shall not want such things as shall hurt thee, yet lie they couered; thinke that will bee somewhat hereafter that may offend thee. A Pilot hath neuer so cunningly discharged himselfe of all straights and perrilous passages, but that he hath alwayes an eye to his Anchor and tackle, to haue all things in a readinesse when neede requireth. Before all things remember thy selfe of this, that the power to doe euill is villeinous, execrable, and wholly vnfitting for a man by whose benefits

Against insolence.

nefites the wildest beasts are tamed. Behold the Elephants kept vnder yoake, children and women riding boldly vpon the backs of Bulls, Serpents that slide vpon the tables, and slip into the bosomes of men without doing them any harme, and Beares and Lions within doores, that suffer their mouthes to be handled, and fawne vpon their Masters. Thou wouldest be ashamed to change thy manners with bruite beasts. It is a hainous crime to hurt a mans countrey, and therefore a Cittizen likewise, for he is a part of his countrey. The parts are holy if the whole be venerable, therefore man to man, for he is a Cittizen in this great Cittie, which we call the world. What if the handes would harme the feete, and the eyes would not helpe the hands? Euen as all the members are accorded together, because that it importeth the whole body, that the partes whereof it is composed should be entire; so ought we to support one another, because we are made to liue in societie. But this societie cannot continue, if the parts of the same assist not and maintaine not one another. We would not flie from Vipers, and Serpents that haunt the water, and other creatures that are hurtfull, eyther in their biting or stinging, if we could tame them; or keep them eyther from hurting our selues or other men. We will not therefore strike a man because he hath offended, but to the end he offend no more, neyther is punishment euer reserued to the time past, but that which is to come, because it is not ordained to entertaine Anger, but to preuent it: for if euery one should be punished that hath a depraued and offensiue minde, no man should be exempt from punishment.

A worthy induction of exercises and good carriage toward our neighbours.

CHAP. XXXII.

The refutation of their false opinion, that thinke it a great good to worke other mens euill.

BVt wrath hath some pleasure in it, and it is a contenting thing to be reuenged. It is farre other wise. For euen as it is an honest thing in regard of benefites, to returne a good turne for a good turne, so is it not in requiting iniuries with iniuries: in the one it is a dishonest thing to suffer our selues to be ouercome, and in the other to ouercome. This word reuenge is full of inhumanitie, and yet is entertained for a wise thing, and differeth from contumely in nothing but in order. He that requiteth one iniury with another, offendeth more excusably. A certain inconsiderate fellow strook *Cato* in the Bath, for who is he that had known him that would doe him iniury? and yeelding him afterwards some satisfaction, *Cato* said vnto him, *I remember not that thou didst strike me*. He thought it a wiser part not to acknowledge the wrong then to reuenge it. Thinkest thou that he was not iniuried in receiuing this outrage? In no sort. He did himselfe much good, for he began to know what *Cato* was. It is the part of a great mind to despise iniuries: it is a contumelious kinde of reuenge, that he thought him vnworthy to reuenge himselfe on. Many whilst they reuenge themselues for euery slight offence, haue made their iniurie the greater. That man is great and noble, that after the manner of a mightie wilde beast, listneth securely the barking of lesser Dogges: but, saith he, we shall be contemned lesse, if we reuenge the iniuries we receiue. If we come thereunto as to a remedie, let vs come without Anger; not as if it were a pleasing thing to be reuenged, but because it is profitable: but oftentimes it hath bin more wisdome to dissemble then to reuenge.

What magnanimitie is.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIII.

An answer to the reply that to revenge a man selfe is to make himselfe feared by all men.

BVT those injuries that are done vs by mightie men are not only to be suffered ioyfully, but patiently. They wil doe it againe, if they beleeue they haue done it. Those mindes whom Fortune hath made insolent haue this detestable qualitie in them that they hate those whom they haue harmed. Famous and memorable is his speech who was become olde in the seruice of Kings, when a certaine man asked him: *How he had attained so rare a thing, as old age in his seruice in Court? By suffering iniuries* (saith he) *and by giuing thankes.* Oft times it is so profitable not to reuenge iniurie, that it beseemeth vs not to confesse the same. *Caius Cæsar* hauing imprisoned the sonne of one *Pastor* a famous Knight of Rome, being offended with the niceness of his attire and the curious frizling of his haire, when his Father required him to grant him his sonnes life, as if he had beene admonished to punish his misdeeds, commanded him forthwith to be put to death, yet least he should seeme to behaue himselfe too cruelly towards the Father, he inuited him to supper the same day. *Pastor* came thether with a merrie countenance, *Cæsar* carowsed to him nine ounces of wine, and set an attendant expressely to see whether hee did him reason. The poore man drunke vp all, as if hee had drunke the bloud of his sonne. After this, hee sent him perfumes and a crowne; commanding the messenger to obserue whether he tooke them: he receiued them the same day, wherein he had buried his sonne. The poore guest of a hundreth yeares of age, and such a one as was troubled with the gout, lay almost sousked in wine, yet drunke he vp such large potions, that might seeme intolerable, had he banquetted at his childrens birth-day, yet shed he no teares, neither suffered he any signe of griefe to slip from him. Hee supped as if hee had gotten his sonnes pardon. Doest thou aske me why? He had an other: what did *Priamus*? dissembled hee not his displeasure? imbraced hee not the Kings knees? he applied those fatall hands to his reuerend lippes that were imbrewed with the bloud of his sonne; hee supt, and yet without perfumes, without crownes; and him did his cruell enemie exhort with many comfortable speeches to eate his meate, not to the end he might emptie hugh cuppes, setting a watch ouer his head to obserue him. He had contemned *Pastor* had he feared, but now pietie pacified his wrath. He was worthie to haue libertie, to depart from the banquet to gather vp his sonnes bones: yet suffered hee not this. Meane while that courtous and gentle yong man inuited the good old Father, prouoked the Father in merrie cups to burie and pacifie his cares. Contrariwise, *Pastor* fained himselfe merrie, and forgetfull of that which had hapned the same day. His other sonne had died likewise, had not the Father and guest pleased the tyrant *Caligula*, that inuited him.

The miserie of old Courtiers.

A notable example of Achilles.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

With whom soeuer we are to deale withall, choler is vnnecessarie. And this consideration is the second remedie.

SO then we ought to auoid wrath whether it bee with our equall, with our superiours or inferiours. To striue against our equals is a matter doubtful, against our superiours is furie, against our inferiours is basenes. It is the part of a silly and miserable man to bite him that biteth him. Gnats and Ants turne there heads backe to

to bite if a man layholde of them. Weake Creatures suppose themselues hurt if they be touched. It will make vs more vnited, if wee bethinke our selues, how much he may profit vs hereafter with whom we are angrie; and the offences will bee redeemed with mercies. Let vs also thinke on this what commendation the fame of Clemencie will yeeld vnto vs, and how many hath pardon made profitable friends. Neither let vs be angry with the children of our aduersaries and enemies. Amongst the examples of *Syllaes* crueltie this is not on of the least, that he depriued all their children who were proscribed from all publike office and authoritie. It is an extreme injustice for a man, to make any one the heire of that hatred which he hath borne to his Father? As oftentimes as wee shall be slow in pardoning, let vs bethinke vs whether it should be good for vs, that all the men of the World should be so affectioned against vs. How often times doth he require pardon, who would not pardon? and how often hath a man humbled himselfe at such another mans feet, whom hee before time hath driuen out of his presence. What is more glorious then to change enmitie into amitie. What more faithfull confederates haue the people of Rome, then these who were their most mortall enemies. What should the Empire bee at this day, except wholesome prouidence had mixed the conquered with the conquerors. Shall any man be angrie with thee? reconcile thou him by thy benefits. The displeasure sodainly qualeth when as the one part forbeareth to contend. No man fighteth except he be resisted. If both parts are contentious he hath the better hand, that first retireth him selfe, and hee is conquered that ouercommeth. Hath he striken thee? flie backe, for in striking him againe thou shalt giue him both occasion to strike often & an excuse for striking: thou canst not be parted from him when thou wilt. Would any man strike his enemie so grieuously, that hee should leaue his hand in the wound, and could not recall himselfe from the stroke? but wrath is such a weapon as it cannot scarcely be recalled.

Here is some abrupt breaking of.

The third remedie to giue them the vpper hand, whom wee haue the aduantage of.

The fourth to giue place to such as are quarrelsome.

CHAP. XXXV.

The fift to discharge our selues of that which hindereth vs so much as Anger doth.

WE furnish our selues with conuenient armes with a sword not long or ouer short, shall wee not auoid the impulsions of the minde more grieuous, more furious, and irrecvocable then these? wee take pleasure in that Gelding that staieth as soone as he is rayned in, that keepeth him in his ordinarie pace, that knoweth when to turne, and which may easily be brought backe to the place where hee began his first carier. We know that our nerues are out of frame, when as they are moued against our willes. Hee is either aged or of a weake constitution who when he would walke, runneth: we suppose those motions of the minde to be the healthfulleſt and strongest, which are disposed at our pleasure and not as they list. But nothing hath profited vs so much as first, to behold the deformitie of a thing, and afterwardes the danger. There is no passion more deformed then this which spoyleth the faireſt faces of the World and maketh those eyes dreadfull which before time were peaceable. All seemelines abandoneth those that are angrie, and if he bee as decently arrayed as any man can desire, he will draw his gowne aside, and will cast of all care of himselfe. If the haire of his head be naturally or artificially well trimmed, a man shall see it stare and stand vpright. If the spirit be moued, the veines swell, the breast is shaken with vio-

The fift consideration, the deformitie of Anger.

The discription of wrath both in bodie and mind.

lent

lent breathing, the voice in issuing forth puffeth vp the necke with furie. The joynts tremble, the hands shake, all the bodie is tossed likea Pinnace in a tempest. In what estate thinkest thou is the minde inwardly, when such deformitie theweth it selfe outwardly? How more terrible is the inward countenance? how more violent the breath? how more intended the passion, which would burst it selfe, vnlesse she inforced her passage? Such is their countenance, as the enemie hath, or wilde beastes imbrued with slaughter, or of such as are addressed to spoile and slaughter. So deformed furies as the infernall monsters are imagined by the Poets, begirt with Serpents and breathing fire. Such as the most dreadfull monsters of Hell assume vnto themselues, when they issue forth to inkindle warres, to sow discord amongst Nations and to dismember peace. In such manner should wee picture out anger, that hath fierie furie in her eyes, a crie compounded of puffing, lowing, mourning, and other such confused and dreadfull noyces, shaking in both her handes her dierfull weapons without care of couering her bodie, frowning, couered with bloud and wounds: yea mortified with strokes which shee hath giuen her selfe, her gate ridiculous and furious, all her behauiour confused and confounded, running here and there to ouerthrow all that which she meeteth with all, hated of all, and aboue all things wishing her owne death. And if she cannot doe worse, desirous to teare Heauens, Seas and Earth, from their places, in breefe no lesse hurtfull then hatefull. Or if a man wil behold her in such sort as our Poets describe her:

A liuing description of anger.

She in her hand shaketh a bloudie whip.
or,
Hauing her cote or in many peeces rent,
And with the bloud of guiltlesse men besprent.

Or if any man may imagine any more horrible face of a horrible passion.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The vse of a glasse good to reframe choler.

SOme (saith *Sextius*) that were angrie haue profited themselues by looking into a looking glasse, for they were troubled in beholding so great a change in themselues, in that they knew not themselues at that time. But how little was that which this image reflected from the glasse to represent and expresse their true filthinesse and deformitie? if the minde might haue beene seene; and might shine, and shew it selfe in any matter, she would confound vs in beholding her so sordid, so inraged, so deformed, and puffed vp. And now as yet her lothsomenesse is so great, that she passeth thorow bones, and flesh, and whatsoeuer other impediments. But what if shee were seene naked. For I beleeue that no man is terrified from wrath by beholding a glasse: what then? hee that came vnto a looking glasse to reforme himselfe, had alreadie conformed himselfe. They that are angrie haue no seemely countenance, their lookes are dreadfull and cruell, and such would they seeme to be as they desire to be. Rather ought we to consider this how many men wrath hath armed to wound themselues. Some thorow to much rage haue burst there veines, and by force of crying haue vomited bloud, and abundance of humour being thrust into their eyes hath dulled and dimmed the sight and the cleerenesse thereof, and such as were sicke haue relapsed

The seuenth remedie, is to consider how many men he hath armed.

relapsed into diseases. There is no more swifter way vnto madnesse then this. Many therefore haue continued the furie of their wrath, neither could recouer againe that vnderstanding that they themselues exiled. Furie prouoked *Aiax* to death, and wrath put him in furie. They wish death to their children, peuertie to themselues, ruine to their houses; and denie themselues to be Angrie, resembling those that are furious; who being enraged say they are not mad. Most friendly to their enemies, most dangerous to their dearest friendes, forgetfull of Lawes except they may hurt thereby, incensed vpon the least occasion: neyther affable in speech nor compainie or intertainment. They doe all things forcibly, they are addressed to fight with their swords & to die on their swords. For a mightie euill hath surprised them, and such as exceedeth all other vices. Other sinnes enter by little and little, the force hereof is sodaine and vniuersall. To conclud she keepeth all other affections in subjection, and conquereth the most vehementest loue. They haue therefore murthered the bodies whom they haue loued, and euen enfolded in there armes: whom they haue fitted to their graues. Wrath hath spurned at auarice, the most indurate and least flexible euil, inforcing her to scatter her riches, and to set fire on his house and goods, when they were all gathered together. What hath not the ambitious man cast away his so long affected tokens and titles of majestracie, and repulsed that honour which was offered vnto him? There is no affection ouer which wrath hath no power.

The conclusion is that choler is an extreme euill and the rather because it spareth no vices.

The end of the second Booke of Anger.

A TREATISE OF ANGER,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS FRIEND NOVATVS.

The third Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE prosecuteth the other part of the remedie against Anger, which hee placed in the midst of his former Booke, but differred the same. That we sinne not in Anger, that is that wee refraine the same and represse it; which is performed in diuers sorts. But it must bee done alwayes and presently in a head-long, and vnbridled affection which ARISTOTLE *excuseth: But he accuseth him, and once more discouereth the loathsomenes of Anger. These things performeth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then groweth hee to diuision alleadging that he will speake of three things. First, how we may not bee angrie. Secondly, how we may be freed from Anger. Thirdly, how we may pacifie and please such a one as is Angrie. These although in other places he performeth with repetition of the former, yet performeth he it worthily, and profitably till the end of the Booke: and thou shalt haue golden and diuine admonitions and sayings.*

CHAP. I.

To refraine wrath in such manner as wee ought, we must learne the nawtres of men that are attainted therewith.

NOW, my *Nouatus*, will wee attempt to doe that which thou thy selfe hast most instantly desired, namely, how wee may roote out Anger out of our mindes, or at leastwise bridle it and inhibite the assaults thereof. This must bee done sometimes openly and in all mens sight, when as yet the force of the euill is as yet so smal as it cannot endure it: sometimes secretly when as it is to much inflamed and is exasperated and increaseth vpon euerie impediment. We must consider what forces she hath, and how intire they be. Whether she is to be chastised and driuen backe, or whether wee ought to giue place vnto her, whilst the first tempest be pacified for feare least shee carrie away those remedies with her, that should reclaime her: and consideration is to

to be had, according to euery ones manners. For some are ouercome by prayers, some insult, and are exasperated by submission: Some are ouercome with terrors, some hath reproofe, other some confession, the third hath shame reuoked from their purpose; and some by delay, which is the true though slowest remedie of these so head-long passions, whereunto at the last wee must descend. For other affections admit delay, and may bee healed by little and little, but the sodaine and head-long violence of Anger proceedeth not leasurely, but is wholy intire in the beginning. Neither doth she solicite mens minds after the manner of other vices, but she transporteth them, but vexeth them being no Masters of themselues, and that are as desirous of their owne euill as of an others. Shee sheweth her selfe not only furious against that she vndertaketh, but against all that which casually encountereth her in the way. All other vices incite the minde, wrath casteth it downe head-long. The rest although they cannot resist their affections, at least the passions themselues maintaine themselues, this no otherwise then lightning and tempest and other impressions of the ayre (which are sodaine and fall in an instant) reinforceth it selfe and increaseth more and more. These other vices are estranged from reason, this is wholy destitute, and is a furie. The rest haue light accessions and decieueable increases; in wrath the mindes of men are prostituted and dejected. There is no passion more astonished, that vrgeth more, nothing that imployeth his forces more desperately, and swiftly, or whether it bee that shee get the vpper hand (which maketh her more proud) or whether shee hath beene repulsed (which inflameth her with furie) she giueth not ouer, neither retireth although she haue beene repulsed, and when Fortune presenteth her not with any aduersarie shee striketh and biteth her selfe, prouided that shee may maintaine her selfe: For her beginings are small, but she becommeth marueilously great.

CHAP. II.

That all ages, men, and people are attainted with Anger which may not be said by other passions.

SHee ouerslippeth no age, shee exceptеth no kind of men. Some Nations thorow the benefit of pouertie are exempted from dissolution, neither know they what it is: some others haue fled Idlenesse, because they are still in trauell and wander from one Countrie to an other. They that liue rudely and rustikely haue neuer vsed trumperies, nor fraud, nor any of those mischeefes which are bred in places more frequented. There is no Nation vnder Heauen, whether they be Greekes or Barbarians, how puissant soeuer they be, that can say that they are exempted from the assaults and instigations of anger, no lesse pernicious to those, who are subject to certaine Lawes, as to those whose Law is force and amongst whom the strongest is the greatest. To conclude those other passions inuade men in particular; but wrath is the only passion that layeth hold vpon all men. Neuer was it seene, that one only Nation was suppriſed with the loue of one only woman. Neyther hath a whole Citie fixed their hopes vpon mony and lucre. Ambition seazeth this or that man only. Tyrannie hath not dominion in all places. But oftentimes anger hath possessed whole troopes, men, women, old young, Princes and their people haue gathered together to satisfie Anger. And a multitude being incensed by two or three words of him that lead them the way, were moued to mutinie. Forthwith haue they addressed themselues to

A liuely representation of publike furie.

fire

fire, and he that for his eloquence was accounted gracious in al mens eyes, in the middest of honour and the height of his Discourse, hath purchased the displeasure of the whole Assemblie. The Legions haue darted their Iauelins against their generall. The people haue bandied against the Senate, and without expecting the elections or the nomination of Chieftaine of the Armie, haue suddenly of themselues chosen out Captaines to execute their furious designes, and rushing into the houses of men of honour, and the best Cittizens, haue executed and put them to death. They haue broken the lawes of Nations by outraging Embassadours, and vnspeakeable furie hath possessed the whole Cittie, they haue not allowed time, to the end the publique insurrection might be pacified, but incontinently haue armed their Nauie, and manned it with the first Souldiers they could get. Without order, without respect of auncient ceremonies the people haue issued forth, being guided and gouerned by their own furie, laying holde on what socuer weapons came casually to their hands, armed themselues therewith, and finally by a great and miserable ouerthrow, haue receiued a iust punishment for their rashnes and audacious follie.

CHAP. III.

THis is the end of those Barbarians, who runne thus inconsiderately to warre, as soone as any appearance of iniury hath seized their light braines: they are suddenly moued, and whether despite driueth, they rush in desperation into those Regions which they intend to spoyle, without apprehension of danger, or obseruation of discipline; contrariwise, they seeke out misfortunes, they take pleasure to receiue wounds, and to runne in furiously vpon the points of the sword, and to make them way by the wounds which they receiued. It is not to be doubted, sayest thou, but that the effect of choler is very great and dangerous, shew vs therfore som remedies and means how it may be healed. But as I said in my former Bookes, *Aristotle* stands forth, and pleades for Anger, and willes vs not to extinguish it wholly in vs. He alleadgeth that it is the spurre of vertue, and that if a man be depriued thereof, his heart is disarmed, and he becommeth recreant, idle, and vnable to execute any great attempts. It is very needfull therefore to reproue the villeiny and beastlines of this vice, and to set before mens eyes how monstrous a thing it is for a man to be so hatefully and violently bent against another, and what furie is in him who ruinateth himselfe in ruining another, and pretending to plunge and drowne certaine things in the Sea, he cannot effect his purpose but by plunging and drowning himselfe. What then? Will any man call him sensible or discreet, who being surprised as it were with a tempest goeth not but is driuen, and seeketh a furious passion? Neyther commanded other to execute his vengeance, but he himselfe will be agent to performe it, hauing his heart and hand stretched out to satisfie his cruelty, and without sparing (fierce hang-man that he is) his owne and onely friends, yea, and those whom after he hath massacred, he will presently mourne for. Is it possible that any man should admit this passion for an abbetor and companion, and vertue who shutteth out all counsailes, without which vertue can execute nothing. Fraile and sinister are those forces, and powerfull to their owne preiudice, into which the sickenesse and the violence of the fit haue driuen the sicke patient. Thinke not therefore that I employ my selfe vnprofitably in defaming Anger, as

He reyseth against Aristotle who maintaineth Anger, and shewth the baseneſſe and villeiny thereof.

as if men alreadie doubted thereof. I doe it because there are some found amongst the Philosophers of greatest note and reputation, who hath pleaded for her and said that she is profitable, and animateth the mind vnto battel, and that in humane actions and all other affaires, we ought to manage them with some vigour. But least any man should be deceiued, or should imagine, that either in a certaine time and place it was a thing that were profitable, it behoueth mee to discouer the violent and vnbrideled rage thereof, and set her downe with all her equipage, such as are her racks, her nerues and strings, her hailes her gibbets and stakes to be burned at, and hookes to dragge dead bodies, diuers sortes of shackles, diuers sorts of torturs, the rearing of the flesh and members, the branding in the forehead, the denhes of sauage beasts. Let Anger be placed amongst all these instruments where she may gnash her teeth, and whistle out some direfull and horrible noyse, being of her selfe more hideous then all that whereof she maketh vse to execute her furie.

See Aristotle in the fourth booke of his morall ship. 21.

CHAP. IIII.

CErtainly although we call the rest in question, yet is there no passion more deformed then this, as in our former Bookes wee haue presented her fierce and furious, sometimes pale, hauing suddenly repulsed all her bloud to the heart, then inflamed againe, as if her whole heate and spirit were mounted againe into her countenance, hauing her colour bloudie, her veines swolne, her eyes sometimes quiuering an sparkling, sometimes fixed and setled vpon something. Moreouer, she hath teeth that grinde, crack one against another, desiring to deuoure some one, and making such a noyse as wilde Boares are accustomed to doe when they rub and sharpen their fangs. Adde hereunto the beating of her handes and breast, her often sighes, her groanes, drawne from the depth of her heart, the agitation of her whole bodie, her speech intercepted with sudden exclamations, her trembling lips sometime closed and mumbling diuers menaces. I beleeue that the wilde beastes being pressed by famine, or that beare an arrow fixed in their entrailes, yea, and then likewise when they are at their last bay, are not so hideous as a man inflamed with choler. But if you will spare a time to heare her speeches and menaces, which the heart vttereth with tormented rage, would not euery man incontinently retire himselfe from such a danger, when he shall perceiue that Anger beginneth by his owne miserie? Wilt thou not therefore haue me admonish those, who do all that they can, to make it knowne, that they are cholericke, and thinke it to be a proofe of their value, that a man transported with choler cannot be called couragious and free, but feeble and slaue vnto all others? Wilt thou not suffer me to aduertise those that are more circumspect to looke about themselues, that some other passions of the minde doe inuade the wicked, but Anger stealeth into the hearts of the most learned Clerks, and that otherwise behaue themselues like good men, so that some men thinke Anger to be a token of simplicity, and ordinarily we suppose that he that is most honest, hath his part of this infirmitie.

The continuation of this description, and a liuely representation of Anger.

CHAP. V.

How hurtfull wrath is, and the three principall remedies thereof.

VHereto then tendeth this Discourse? To the end that no man should suppose himselfe to be warranted from this passion, because she inducteth those men that are modest and peaceable by nature, to become rude and violent. Euen as a good disposition of bodie, and the care to maintaine our selues in health, preuayleth nothing against the plague, which indifferently lateth holde both on weake and strong; so in Anger there is a danger as well for them that are disordered, as for those men that are sober and peaceable, and haue care of themselues, the more the trouble, which Anger causeth in them is great. But for as much as the first remedie is not to be angrie, the second to refraine Anger, the third to remedie another mans Anger, I will first of all shew the meanes how to auoyde Anger, secondly, how we may discharge our selues of Anger, if it beginneth to be enkindled in vs; thirdly, in what sort we may pacifie a man that is displeased, and temper and reduce him to reason. We shall subdue Anger, if from time to time we represent vnto our selues all those vices that are hatched vnder this passion, and if we consider the same as we ought, with all her dependances and appurtenances; we must accuse her before our selues, condemne her, examine her infirmities, and lay her open to view; then compare her with the most detestable vices, to the end that as yet we may be better instructed what she is. Auarice gathereth and locketh vp for a honest man that is not couetous: wrath consumeth all, and gratifieth very few, and is welcome to none. An angry Master hath driuen som of his seruants to runne away, some hath he put to death, when as he lost more by being angry, then that was for which hee was angry: wrath hath made the father mourne, the husband to bee diuorced, the magistrate to be hated, and the Candidate to be repulsed. It is worser likewise then ryot, because she taketh pleasure in her owne delights, this in another mans sorrow. She surpasseth malignitie and hatred; for they are contented to see any man become vnhappie, this will make them vnhappy; the other two reioyce at those euils which come casually, she cannot expect fortune, she will hurt him whom she hateth, and will not be hurt. There is nothing so grieuous as secret hatred, but wrath concealeth it. What is more lamentable then warre? therein is it that men discouer their displeasures. Moreouer, that publique and priuate Anger is a weake and forceleſſe warre. Furthermore without recounting those damages which we will adde hereafter, nor of ambushes, nor of perpetuall cares which engender so many quarrels, wrath intending to reuenge her selfe punisheth her selfe, she is the canker of humane nature. For Nature inciteth vs to amitie, Anger to hatred; Nature commaundeth vs to assist one another, Anger to hate one another, the one commandeth vs to profite, the other to hurt. Adde hereunto, that whereas indignation proceedeth from an ouer great suspicion of himselfe, and seemeth to be couragious, yet is she weake and infirme; for no man is lesse then he by whom he suspecteth himselfe to be contemned. But a man that is truely valiant, and that knoweth his owne worth, reuengeth not an iniurie, because he feeleth it not. Euen as arrowes recoile backe if they be shot at some stonie and hard marke and such solid things as are strucken, procure his griefe that striketh them; so is there no iniury that may pierce a great heart, it is farre weaker then that she attempteth. How farre more worthy a thing is it to dispise all iniuries and contumelies, as if the mindo were impregnable. Reuenge is

is a confession of paine. The minde is not great which is animated by iniurie. Eyther a stronger then thy selfe, or a weaker hath wronged thee; if he be weaker then thy selfe, spare him, if mightier support thy selfe.

CHAP.

The effects of true magnanimitie, approued by a fit compariſon.

THere is no one more certain argument of true magnanimity, then if thou resolue thy selfe, that nothing may befall thee that may moue thee. The highest and best gouerned part of the world, and next vnto the starres, is not troubled with clouds, nor subiect to tempeſts, nor afflicted with shortnes: there is no tumult in the same, the inferiour heauens push forth lightenings. In like sort a sublimed and high spirit is alwayes quiet, and placed in a peaceable station, restrayning in himselfe that, whence Anger borroweth an occasion of contention. It is moderate, venerable and setled. But thou shalt finde none of these in an angry man: for who is he that is betraied to sorrow and furie, that hath not reiected his former modestly? Who is he that is turbulent in passion, and incensed against another man, that hath not dispossessed himselfe of all shamefastnesse? What man is he that is displeased, that keepeth any measure, or remembreth him of his duety, or containeth his tongue, who hath beene Maister of any one part of his bodie, who could gouern himselfe? That notable lesson of *Democritus* to finde out the true repose will profite vs infinitely, *If we doe nothing eyther priuately or publikely that exceedeth our forces.* Neuer doe things succeede so happily vnto any man who intermedleth with many affaires, but that sometimes by some one man, or from the affaires themselues; there ariseth some fault which disposeth the heart vnto Anger. Euen as he that trauelleth hastily thorow the frequented streetes of a Cittie, must meete with many men, and in one place slip, in another be stopped, and in a third be besprinckled with dirt; so in the trauaile & walkes of this life, so confounded and confused, there happen many impediments and manie quarrels: the one hath deceiued our hope, another hath deferred it, another hath intercepted it; the euents haue not beene answerable to our expectation. Fortune is not so addicted to any man that she yeeldeth him euery way correspondence in his manifold attempts. It followeth therefore that he knoweth not what it is to endure men, nor the estate of humane affaires, who thinkes that any thing befalleth him otherwise then hee made reckoning of. To the end therfore that the mind may be quiet, it is not to be tossed, neither as I said, troubled with the managing of many affaires; nor to be charged with mighty affaires, and such as exceede her strength. To vse an easie matter to carry light burthens, and to cast them from one shoulder to another, without letting them fall. But if any one hath loaded vs, and the burthen be heauy, we carry it with much labour, and finally we discharge it vpon those that are neere it vs, or if we pant vnder the burthen by reason we are ouer loden, it is hard for vs to goe forwards or backewards without staggering.

CHAP. VII.

How requisite mediocritie and temperance are in managing the affaires of this life, and intemperating and quieting the minde.

KNow thou that the same falleth out in ciuill and domestique matters. Those affaires that are easy and light, accompanie him that doth them, those that are ouer-great and exceede his might, that acteth them, are vneasie to compasse, and after a man hath laid holde of them, they puzzle and oppresse him that carrieth them: finally when he thinketh that he hath best hold of them, hee stumbleth, falleth, and his burthen rowleth downe vpon him, and troubleth him. Thence falleth it out often times, that hee who vndertaketh difficule matters, and would make them easie, is frustrated of the most part of his thoughts. In all thinge enterprises, measure thy selfe together with those thinges which thou wilt manage, and whereunto thou addressest thy selfe, otherwise the displeasure thou shalt conceiue in leauing thy worke vnperfect, will make thee maruellously pensiue. In this place wee ought to obserue whether a man bee of a violent spirit, or setled, or fearefull: In a generous mind, repulse will inkindle wrath, in a faint and abiect minde, sadnesse: Let therefore our action bee neyther too small nor too audacious, nor too wicked; let vs follow those things that are answerable to our hope, let vs attempt nothing, that when wee haue attained the same, will make vs wonder at the successe thereof.

CHAP. VIII.

Noble obseruations for all men.

LEt vs take order that wee receiue not such an injurie which wee cannot disgeast. Let vs lead our liues with temperate and familiar men, not with those that are troublesome and foolish: men inuest their manners with whom they are conuersant. And as some infirmities of the bodie are deriued and transported by attouchment, so the soule communicateth her infirmities and passions, to those that approch her. A Drunkard hath drawne his companion into loue with wine, and the companie of dissolute fellowes hath effeminated a man who should be as hard as the rocke. Auarice empoysoneth those that dwell neere vnto her; contrariwise, there is the same reason as is touching vertues, which moderate all things that are with them: neyther was any profitable countrey or wholsome aire more healthful for mans bodie, then for good mindes that are scarce setled to conuerse with good men, which thing how auaileable it is thou shalt vnderstand, if thou consider how wilde beasts are tamed by mens handling, and how the fiercest beast laieth by his furie, if he hath long time bin vnder the discipline of a man. That which is furious in her is lenified and tempered by little and little. Moreouer he that conuerseth with peaceable and good men, not only becommeth better by reason of their example, but in as much likewise as he findeth no occasions to be displeased, he is not in practise of the passion. He ought therefore to flie from all these, who in his knowledge are disposed and easily prouoked vnto Anger. And who are they, saist thou? many such as vpon diuers causes will doe the same. The proude man will offend thee with contempt, the rich man with contumely, the lasciuious man with iniurie, the hatefull man with malignitie, the quarrelsome by contention, the boaster and lyer by vanitie. Thou wilt not endure to be feared by a suspicious man, to be ouercome

come by an obstinate, to be scorned by an effeminate man. Make choice of simple facile and moderate men, who wil neither prouoke thee to wrath, nor be moued though thou offend them. But as yet more profit shalt thou reap from submisse, curteous, and affable men, yet not so pliant as they may proue flatterers, for too much flatterie offendeth angry men. I had a friend & he an honest man, but yet otherwaies too ready to be moued, who was as litle pleased with flatterie as he was with reproofe. It is well known that *Celius* the Oratour was extremly cholerick with whom, as it is reported, there supped a client of his within his chamber, who was indowed with singular patience, but hard was it for him being met with such a companion, to auoid his displeasure, with whom he supped. He therfore thought it to be the best to smooth him vp in whatsoeuer he said, & to giue way to him. *Celius* could not indure this smoothing, but exclaimed. *Speake somewhat against me that we may be two.* But he also because being angrie, he saw the other pacified & silent gaue ouer his displeasure, because he had no aduersary. Let vs therefore at least-wise make choice of these (if we be priuy to our own imperfections) that wil apply themselues to our manners and discourse, vndoubtedly they will make vs delicate and bring vs into an euill custome, not to giue care to any thing that is displeasing vnto vs, yet shall this profit vs, that they allow vs some intermission and quiet in our errour. A hard and vntamed nature likewise will indure a flattering and affable entertainment. Nothing is harsh and displeasing when we smooth and handle it gently. As oft as the disputation shall bee longer or more eager, let vs resist at first before it be inforced. Contention nourisheth it selfe and layes holde on those that flie her. It is easier for a man to abstaine from a debate, then to retire himselfe.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth expedient against Anger is neither to charge that minde or body to much.

MOreouer such as are angrie ought to forbeare all serious studies, or at least wise they are to exercise them without lassitude, and the minde ought not to be busied in many things, but to be entertained with more pleasing studies. Let the reading of Poets pacifie him, and the ouerloking of Histories content him with varieties, let him be handled more tenderly and delicately. *Pithagoras* pacified the perturbations of the mind by his Harpe. But who knoweth not that Clarions and Trumpets doe wonderfully moue? and that there are some straines of voice and musick which make the mind tractable? Great things are profitable for confused eyes, and there are other coulors that content the feeble sight, and the brightnes of some other doth blemish them, so the studie of pleasant stories doth comfort languishing spirits. We must flie the places, the pleas, and courts where audience is giuen, all which doe exulcerate the minde, and bewaare likewise to werie our bodies. For lassitude consumeth all that which is sweete and plausible in vs, and awaketh that which is sharpe and stirring. For this cause they that haue no good stomack intending to imploy themselues in some matters of importance, are accustomed to represse the cholericke humor which trauell stirreth ouer much, by eating some little thing, and the rather because hunger extinguisheth naturall heat, hurteth the bloud, and staieth the course therof, by reason that the veines are trauelled, or because the body being attenuated & faint incountereth the soule. Vndoubtedly for the same cause & consideration sicknes & old men are subject vnto anger. And therfore for the same causes are hunger & thirst to be auoided because they exasperate & inflame mens minds.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The fifth expedient is, the knowledge that we ought to haue of our selues and the infirmities of our mindes.

IT is an old saying, *That it is easie to driue a wearied man into the frets.* As much may bee said of him that is a hungrie, of him that is drie, and by euery man that is displeased at any thing: For as vlcers vpon euery light touch, and afterwards vpon a shew of touching, seeme painfull, so the minde that is affected, is offended with the least things, in so much as a salutation, an Epistle, an Oration, and Interrogation prouoke them to displeasure. Such as are pained, are neuer touched without complaining. And therefore it is the best to take medicine vpon the first sence or appearance of the sickenesse, in like sort to giue no libertie to our discourses, but to refraine them carefully. But when the passions begin to take head, and burst forth it is an easie matter to restraine them. There are certaine signes which goe before a sickenesse. Euen as tempests and showers haue certaine signes before they fall, so Anger, loue, and all these stormes which vexe the minde; haue certaine tokens to presage them. Such as are subiect to the falling sickenesse vnderstand that their fit is at hand, when as the tops of their fingers and toes are cold, when their sight is darkned, when their memorie faileth them, when their head turneth, and their nerues are contracted; Then haue they recourse to their accustomed remedies to preuent their fall: that is at hand: by potions or perfumes they driue away that sickenesse which in this sort alieneth their sences, with fomentations they resist the conflict of their cold, and the rigour of their infirmitie. If these remedies relieue them not, they retire themselues apart and fall where no man seeth them. It shall profit a man much if he know his disease, and if hee bee experienced to cut of the violence thereof, before it hath gotten power to exspaciate. Let vs consider what it is that offendeth vs most. One man is moued by bitter words, another by some outrages that are offred him. This man will haue his nobilitie supported, that man his beautie. Such a one desireth to be reputed a gallant fellow, that other to be most learned; this man is impatient of pride, that other of contumacie. He thinketh his seruants vnworthie to draw him to displeasure. The other is a Tyrant within doores, and gentle without. Such a one thinketh himselfe mocked, if he bee intreated. That other a contumely if hee bee not requested. All men are not strooken in one place.

CHAP. XI.

The sixth meanes to bridle Anger. Be not too curious.

THou must therfore know what is weake in thee, to the intent that most of al thou maist preuent the same: it is not expedient for vs to see al things, nor to heare all things. Let many injuries passe by vs, and he that indeuoreth himselfe not to know them, is for the most part waranted from thē. Wilt thou not be angrie? be not curious. Who inquireth what is spoken against himselfe? Who wil sound and search out what euill speeches are spoken by him secrerly, doth himselfe disquiet himselfe. An euell interpretation maketh vs suppose that a word which is spoken by vs is a great outrage. Some things therfore are to be differed, some things to be deluded, and some things to be pardoned. Wrath in diuers sorts must be circumscribed, and diuers things are to be turned to jest and sport. They say that *Socrates* hauing

hauing receiued a boxe on the eare, said nothing else but: *That it was a great fault, that men knew not when they should come abroad with a helmet vpon their heads.* It skils not how the injurie be done, but how it is suffered. Neither see I why moderation should be a hard matter, when as I knew that the minds of certaine Tyrants being puffed vp by fortune and libertie, haue represssed that crueltie which was familiar vnto them. It is reported that *Pisistratus* a Tyrant in Athens, when as a certaine Drunken man, that sat at banquet with him, had spoken manie thinges against his crueltie (and there wanted not some) who would haue executed whatsoeuer hee should haue commaunded, and one man on this side, and another on the other, laboured to inkindle his displeasure) that hee tooke all things patiently, and answered those, that prouoked him after this manner: *That hee was no more angrie with him, then if a blindfolde fellow hauing his eyes tyed vp should runne vpon him.* The greater part of men haue bred quarrell to themselues; either by suspecting false things, or by aggrauating small things.

A notable example.

CHAP. XII.

The seuenth meanes not to seeke out euill occasions, and if they proffer them selues to repulse them.

OFtimes Anger seeketh vs out, more oftentimes search wee her, which is neuer to bee called for, but euen then when wee light vpon her, then ought we to reject her. No man saith vnto himselfe; *This for which I am displeased, either I haue done my selfe, or else I might haue done it.* No man estimateth the minde of him, that committeth the fault, but the fact it selfe. Yet this is to be lookt into, whether he did it wittingly or casually; whether he were compelled or deceiued; whether he did it for hatred or reward; whether of his owne accord or by another mans instigation. Furthermore, the age and fortune of him that doth this is to be respected much, to the end we may support the one with sweetnes, the other with respect. Let vs put our selues in his place against whom we are displeased; now doth the wrong estimation of our selues make vs angry, and those things which we would doe we will not suffer. Each man is not patient; but the greatest remedie against wrath is delay, that the first furie thereof may bee represssed, and that mist which dulleth our mindes eyther may be dispersed, or be lesse thicke. There are some of those things which carry thee away headlong, which I say, not a day but an houre may rectifie, some of these will wholly vanish. If in this case we demand delay, it then appeareth that it is not Anger but reason that commandeth. What soeuer it be thou wouldest know what it is, deliuer it into the hands of time. A man cannot diligently obserue that which passeth away swiftly. *Plato* could not obtain any delay from himselfe when he was angry with his seruant, but commanded him presently to lay by his coat, and to yeeld his shoulders to the stroaks of the whip, which he himselfe would lay on. After he knew that he was angrie, he withdrew his hand that was ready to strike, and strooke like vnto him that was like to be striken. Being afterwards demaunded by his friend, who came thither by chance, what he did? *I* (saith he) *chastise a man that is angrie.* This wise man, astonished at this his deformed countenance and iesture, tooke no more heed to his slaue, because he had found another, whom he ought rather to haue chastised; he therefore deprived himselfe of that authoritie ouer his seruants; and notwithstanding because his seruant had committed some fault that was worthy punishment, hee said vnto SPEVSIPPVS, *I pray thee chastise my seruant with stroakes, because I am angrie.*

angrie. He beateth him not for that which another had beaten him: I am angrie, ſaid he, I ſhall doe more then I ſhould. I will doe it more willingly. Let not this ſeruant be in his power that is not Maſter of himſelfe. Will any man commit reuenge to a wrathfull man, ſince *Plato* hath taken his authority from himſelfe? Let nothing be lawfull for thee as long as thou art angry; why? becauſe thou wilt haue all things lawfull for thee. Fight thou with thy ſelfe, if thou canſt not ouercome thine Anger, ſhe beginneth to ouercome thee; if ſhe be hidden, if we cannot giue her iſſue, let vs burie the ſignes thereof, and let vs as much as in vs lyeth keepe it hidden and ſecret.

CHAP. XIII.

The eighth meanes. Containe thine Anger inwardly, and ſhew it not outwardly.

THis cannot be done but with great labour; for ſhe deſireth to leap out to inflame the eyes, and to change the face: but if ſhe may once ſhew her ſelfe without vs, ſhe is aboue vs. Let vs hide her in the loweſt retreat of our breaſts, and let her there be concealed, but ſo, as ſhe tranſport vs not; and which is more, let vs change all her ſigns, & all her marks to the contrary, let our countenance be more peaceable, our voyce more tempered, or pace more ſetled; let vs by little conforme both the interior and exterior parts. It was a ſigne of Anger in *Socrates* when he humbled his voyce and ſpake ſparingly; for at that time it appeared that he reſiſted himſelfe. He was therefore both perceiued and reproued by his familiars; neyther tooke he in ill part to heare the reproofe of his concealed Anger. Why ſhould he not reioyce becauſe many vnderſtood his Anger, no man felt it, but it had beene perceiued, except he had giuen his friends power to chide him, as he himſelfe had aſſumed the authoritie to reproue them. How much more ought we to doe this? Let vs intreat euery one of our deereſt friends at that time, eſpecially to vſe his moſt libertie againſt vs, when we are leaſt able to endure him, neyther let him flatter with our Anger. Againſt ſo powerfull an euill, and ſo gratious in our eyes, let vs call for our friends helpe whilſt our eyes are opened, and we are Maſters of our ſelues.

CHAP. XIIII.

Now by example expreſſeth he the effects of choler.

THey that can hardly beare Wine, and that feare the folly and inſolence of drunkenneſſe, command their ſeruants to carry them from the place where they ſolemnize their feſtiuals. They that haue the experience, that their intemperance hath been the cauſe of their ſickeneſſe, forbad their ſeruants to giue them their wills during the time of their infirmitie. It is the beſt for it to prouide ſome impediments againſt knowne vices, and aboue all things ſo to compoſe our minds, that although it be ſhaken by the moſt grieuous and ſudden accidents that may be, it eyther feele not wrath, or to reſtraine and embaſe the weight of the iniurie, that hath beene vnaduiſedly offered him, without diſcouering his griefe. That this may be done, it ſhall appeare manifeſtly, if out of a great many examples, I ſhall produce ſome few, out of which a man may learne both how great euill anger hath in it, when ſhe vſeth the power of the moſt mightieſt men, and how much ſhe may command, as ſoone as ſhe is curbed by a greater feare. *Cambyſes* the

the King, a Prince too much ſubiect to wine, was admoniſhed by *Prexaſpes*, who was one of his Minions, to drinke leſſe, ſaying, *That drunkenneſſe was a loathſome thing in a King, who was followed by all mens eares and eyes.* To this he anſwered, *To the end thou mayeſt know* (ſaid he) *that I am neuer out of temper, I will preſently approue that after wine both mine handes and eyes can doe their office.* Hereupon hee began to drinke more freely then otherwiſe he was accuſtomed, and in greater cups, and being thus loaden and drunke with wine, hee commanded his ſonne who had reproued, to get without the doore of the Pallace, and laying his left hand on his head, to ſtand there vprightly; then bent he his Bow, and with the Arrow he ſhot, diuided he the young mans heart, as he had proteſted to do, and opening his breaſt he ſhewed him the head of the Arrow ſticking in his heart, and looking backe vpon the father, he ſaid, *Now Sir, is not my hand ſteddy?* who denied that *Apollo* could haue ſhot with better leuell. The gods confound him, more ſlauiſh in mind then in condition; for praiſing ſuch an action wherunto it was ouermuch for him to be an aſſiſtant. He thought he had gotten a good occaſion to flatter, when his ſonnes breaſt was diuided into two parts, and the heart as yet panted vnder the wound: he ſhould haue conteſted for glorie againſt *Cambyſes*, and challenged him to a ſecond proofe, whether he could as rightly hit the heart of the father, as he had done of his ſonne. O cruell King, worthy that all his ſubiects bowes ſhould be bent againſt him. When we haue curſed him that ended his banquets with puniſhments and ſnaggals, we cannot but deteſt *Praxaſpes* for his vnnatural commendation of the ſhot, as well as *Cambyſes* for ſhooting it. We ſee how the father ſhould haue demeaned himſelfe, being vpon the dead bodie of his ſonne, and witneſſe of the murther whereof he was the cauſe. That which is now in queſtion appeareth that choler may be ſuppreſſed. He curſed not the King, neyther vttered he one word of compaſſion, although his heart were as much wounded as that of his ſonnes. It may be ſaid, that he deſeruedly deuoured his words, for had he ſpoken any thing as if he had beene diſpleaſed, he could haue done nothing that became a father. It may ſeeme, ſaith he, that he behaued himſelfe more conſiderately in that caſe, then when he reproued *Cambyſes* for his immoderate drinking; and it had been better for him to haue ſuffered him to drink wine then bloud, who hauing the cup in his hand, and being occupied in drinking, ſuffered others to liue in peace: he was therefore to be numbred for one of thoſe, who to their great miſeries haue made it manifeſt, how deare good counſailes coſt them who are Kings fauourites.

Herodot. lib. 3.

CHAP. XV.

The ſecond example of Aſtiages and Harpagus.

I Doubt not but that *Harpagus* had ſpoken ſome ſuch like thing to his Maſter *Aſtiages* King of Perſia, by reaſon whereof he was ſo much incenſed, that he feaſted the olde man with the fleſh of his children, and afterwards asked him how hee liked the dreſſing. Afterwards, as ſoone as he ſaw that he was glutted with his owne miſeries, he commanded their heads to be brought forth, and asked him, *How beliked them?* The wretched man wanted no words, he faltred not in his ſpeech, but ſaid, *With a King every ſupper is pleaſant.* What profited he by this flatterie? This, that he was not inuited to the relicks of the banquet. I forbid not the father to condemne the Kings action, I forbid him not to ſeeke a condigne re-

uenge for so horrible an iniurie, but this in the interim will I say, that wrath which ariseth from extreame euils may be hidden, and be constrained to speake wholly contrary to his minde. This restraint of sorrow is necessary for those especially who haunt the Court, and are inuited to Princes Tables. Thus must they eate with them, thus must they drinke, thus must they answere, thus must they smile at their childrens funerals. Let vs consider whether life bee a thing that should be so much set by, although it concerne not this matter. Shall we take pleasure to remaine in so loathsome a prison? Shall wee counsaile our selues to continue vnder the yoake of murtherers? Contrariwise, we will make it knowne, that in all oppressions the way of libertie is laid open to vs. If the minde be infirme and miserable through his owne fault, he may end his miseries in himselfe. I will say both to him that attended the King, who shot his arrowes against the hearts of his frinds, and to him whose Master glutted the fathers stomacke with his childrens bowels. Why mourneſt thou mad man? Expecteſt thou that some enemie destroying thy nation, or that some puissant King marching out from a farre, shall reuenge that iniurie which is done vnto thee? On what side soeuer thou turneſt thy selfe, there is the end of these miseries. Seeſt thou yonder steepie place? from thence mayeſt thou descend to thy libertie. Seeſt thou that Sea? Seeſt thou that Riuer or that Pit? Libertie sitteth in the bottom therof. Seeſt thou that short, withered, and fatall tree? Libertie dependeth thereon. Seeſt thou thou thy throat, thy weasand-pipe, thy heart? These are the meanes to escape seruitude. Thou sheweſt mee too dangerous and busie meanes to escape, and such as require a great minde and courage. Enquireſt thou which is the way to libertie? Euery veine in thy bodie.

Two sloe ill and prophane resolutions, touch not too neere those rockes, leſt they sinke thee.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the patience which is requisit in aduersities.

AS long therefore as there is nothing in our opinion so intollerable that it should expell vs out of life, let vs remoue Anger from vs in whatsoeuer estate we shall be. Pernicious is she to those that serue; for indignation serueth not but to increase her torment, and the commandements that are giuen her seem to be more grieuous and troubleſome, the more obstinately shee suffereth them: so the wilde beast, the more he struggles in the net, the more is he intangled: so birds, whilst fearefully they shake off the bird-lime, intangle and snare all their feathers. There is none so hard a yoake that so much hurteth him that beares it willingly, as him that repineth against it. The onely remedie of the greateſt miseries is to suffer them willingly, and to apply himselfe to those necessities which present themselues. But whereas this continencie is profitable for those that serue, so the bridling of affections, and of this especially which is so furious and vnbridled, a passion is most necessary for Kings. All things goe to wracke when fortune permitteth as much as Anger perswadeth; neyther can that power continue long which is exercised to many mens miseries: for great men put themselues into manifold danger, when common feare ioyneth those together who lament in their particular. Diuers therefore of them haue been slaine by seuerall persons, and sometimes by the whole multitude, when sorrow hath constrained them to ioyne their displeasures in one. But diuers haue so exercised their Anger, as if it had been a Kingly matter. Amongst these was *Darius*, he (after he had extinguisht the Empire of the Magies) ouercame the Persians, and

and a greater part of the East. For hauing denounced warre against the Scythians that dwelt about the countrey, a Noble and auncient Gentleman called *Oebasus*, besought him that he would leaue one of his children behinde him, to be a comfort to his father, and content himselfe with the seruice of two of them, he promised more then he required at his handes, and that hee would dismisse them all; hereupon he causeth them to be slaine, and cast their bodies downe before their fathers eyes, to the end he might not be esteemed cruell, if he had carried them away all three.

CHAP. XVII.

The fourth example of Zerxes and Pithius, Herod and Plutarch.

BVt how much more facile was *Zerxes*, who when *Pithius* the father of fiue sons, required the dismission of one of them, which soeuer he pleased, gaue him leaue to chuse him whom he best liked, and afterwards when he had made his choyce, diuiding that sonne into two pieces, he cast them on eyther side of the way, and by this sacrifice purified his armie? But this Prince was chastised according to his demerites: for after he had beene ouercome and discomforted on euery side, and beheld the heapes of dead souldiers on euery side, hee marched thorow the midst of their murthered carkasses. Such was the naturall furie of barbarous Kings, ignorant and enemies of good letters, whence ensued Anger. But I will bring thee forth *Alexander* out of *Aristotles* schoole, who in midst of his festiuals, and with his owne handes murthered his owne friend *Clitus*, who had bin brought vp with him, because hee could not flatter, and from a Macedonian and free man would not become a seruile Persian. He likewise exposed *Lysimachus* (who was as familiar with him as the other) to the furie of a Lion. But did this *Lysimachus* (who had so happie fortune to escape the teeth of a Lion) for this cause become more milde, when he obtained a kingdome? no. For hee cut of the nose and eares of *Telesphorus* the Rhodian, who was his deere friend and afterwards (as if hee had beene some strange beast) kept him closed in a cage, wherein he fed him, being vnable to obserue any thing of a man in him, by reason of the deformitie of his face, of hunger and filth, and his ordure, wherein this poore Creature lay buried; hauing his knees and handes hardned, because the cage was ouer low for him; and would not suffer him to stand, vpright. Besides by reason of often rubbing himselfe his sides were all flead so that he seemed lothsom and dreadfull to all those that beheld him, and being made a Monster by this punishment, he lost also all compassion. Yet when he was most vnlike vnto a man, who suffered these thinges, yet was hee more vnlike, who did the same.

CHAP. XVIII.

Other examples taken out of the Roman hiſtories.

I Could haue wished that this cruell passion had remained amongst the Barbarians, and had not taken possession of the hearts of vs that are Romanes, with other vices drawne from forraine Countries, and with the furie of diuers new punishments, and meanes of reuenge. *Marcus Marius*, in whose honour the people had raised Statues in euery streete, to whom with franckinsence and wine the Romanes sacrificed as

to a god. By *Lucius Syllaes* cõmand had his legge broken, his eyes pulled out, and his hands cut off; and as if he had killed him so oft as he wounded him, by little and little, he peece-meale drew euery part of him in peeces. Who executed this commandement? Who could it be but *Cataline*? Who at this time exercised his hands in all hainous stratagems. Hee cut this poore body in peeces before the Tombe of *Quintus Catulus*, troubling with extreame insolence, the reuerend Ashes of the mildest man of his time, on which *Marius* a man culpable in manie kindes (yet agreeable to the people and not without cause, although it may be that it was more then reason) shed his bloud drop by drop. Worthy was *Marius* to endure those things; *Sylla* to command it, and *Cataline* to execute it. But vnworthie was the commonweale to receiue into her body at once, the swords both of her enemies and Citizens. Why seeke I out so farre-fet examples? Not long since *Caius Cæsar* caused *Sextus Papinius*, whose father had beene a Consull, and *Bollenius Bassus* who had beene Threasurer, and the sonne of his procurer, and other Senatours and Romane Knights, to be whipt and tormented in one day, not because they had offended, but for his minde sake. Againe, so impatient was he to differ his content, which his immeasurable crueltie incited him to take without delay, that walking in an Allie of his mothers garden, which seperateth the porch from the riuer banke, hee beheaded some, with diuers Ladies and Senatours by torch-light; what is that which prouoked him? what danger either publicke or priuate threatned him to execute those persons by night? Was it so great a matter to stay till day light? But he would not haue his Pantofles on, when hee caused Romanes and Senatours to bee murthered.

CHAP. XIX.

Here continueth he the monstrous description of Caligulaes crueltyes.

NOw proude his crueltie was, it shall bee materiall to examine: although some may esteeme that wee wander from the purpose, and containe not our selues in the right path, but this shall bee a prancke of worth enraged aboue ordinarie. He had caused Senatours to be whipped: yea, so great was his insolence that it might be said, that it was an ordinarie matter. Hee had subiected them to those torments and so cruell; that might bee possibly inuented, as to traine them and brake them by ropes, to torment them by pressing, by racke, by fire, and by his furious countenance. And in this place, some may answere and say, what a trifling matter is this, if three Senatours were like base slaues whipped and burned, by such a man who daily meditated on the death of the whole Senate, who wished that the Romane people had but one head; to the end that there so many offences committed in so many places and times, might bee punished in one strooke, and at one time? What hath beene lesse heard of then night punishment? Whereas thefts are wont to bee hidden by night: and punishments, the more publicke they be, the more profit they for other mens example and amendment. In this place some will answere me; That which thou so much admirest at, is this beasts daily exercise. Hee liueth for this, he watcheth for this, he studieth for this; Truely there shal no other man be found that had gouernement, ouer these whom he commanded to bee punished, that stopped their mouthes with a spunge, for feare least they should haue libertie to speake. What euery dying man had not this benefit to bemoane himselfe? But hee was

afraide, least some extreame paine should make any man vtter his minde boldly; and he feared likewise lest he should heare those things which he would not. He knew also that there were many other infinite things, which no man durst obiect against him, except it were such a one that was ready to suffer death. When as spunges were not in readinesse, hee caused the wretches garments to be cut in pieces, and to be thrust into their mouthes; what crueltie is this? Let it be lawfull for a man to draw his last breath; giue place to the Soule that shee may freely depart; Let her bee suffered to haue passage by some other way, then by the wound which the body hath receiued.

CHAP. XX.

The cause why he made mention of Caligulaes crueltyes.

IT were too long a matter to adde vnto these, how many of their fathers whom hee had put to death, were murthered the same night by the hands of Centurions, by the command of this pitifull Prince, who thought good by these meanes, to deliuer the fathers from bewailing their childrens deathes? For my intention is not to discouer *Caius* crueltie, but the miserie of Anger, which not onely executeth her furie against one man or other, but also spoyleth whole Cities and Nations, and beateth riuers also which are free from all sence of paine: As *Cambyses* King of Persia, who cut off the noses of all the people in Syria, by meanes whereof the place was afterwards called Rhinocolura. Thinkest thou that he spared them, because he cut not off their heads? Hee tooke delight in a new kind of punishment. Such like should the Æthiopians haue suffered, who by reason of their long life, are called *Macrobij*. For against these, because they entertained not willingly the subiection that was offered them, but gaue free answeres to those Ambassadours that were sent vnto them, which Kings call contumelious. *Cambyses* was mad at them, and without prouision of pronant and victuals, without discouerie of the Countrie, by vnhaunted and sandie wayes, heled all his troopes that were fit for the warre, which after the first dayes march wanted victuals, neither did the barraine and vnmanured Countrie, vntracted by any foote, minister them any thing. First satisfied they their hunger with the tender leaues and tops of trees, then by leather molified by fire, and whatsoeuer necessitie had made meate. But when as amidst the sands both rootes and herbes failed them, and the desert was found voide of all liuing creatures, they killed euery tenth man, and thereby had sustenance more dreadfull then famine; yet notwithstanding, all this Anger carried the King on headlong. Hauing lost one part of his Armie, and eaten another, vntill such time as he feared least amongst others that were called, the lot should fall on himselfe, then at length sounded hee a retreate. In the meane space, the best fowle was kept for his vse, and the instruments of his banquets were caried vpon Cammels, whileft his Souldiers cast lots which of them should die miserable, and which of them should liue worse.

Cambyses brutish rage.

CHAP. XXI.

THis man was angrie with a Nation vnknowne vnto him, and innocent of themselues, yet such as had he prospered should haue tasted of his furie. But *Cyrus* was angrie with a Riuer: For marching on diligently to the warre, the greatest moment whereof consisteth in taking oportunities and intending to surprise Babilon, hee attempted to passe ouer the huge Riuer of Gynde, which was scarcely passable in the height of Sommer, and when the water is at the lowest. There one of those white horses which were wont to draw his Kingly Chariot, was carried away violently by the streame, whereat the King was mightily mooued, and swore that he would bring that Riuer which had carried away his Princely baggage to that passe that euen verie women should bee able to get ouer it without wetting their shooes. Which said, he imployed all his forces herein, and continued so long that hauing digged nine score chanels to turne the Riuer, he afterwards reduced it into three hundreth and sixtie armes or brookes, so that that great channel became drie, the waters being dreined by so many other wayes. Thus spent he the time which is an irreuocable losse in affaires of consequence, thus abated he his Souldiers courage, who were broken by vnprofitable labours, and had lost their occasion and preparation for the assault, whilst he hauing proclamed warre against his enemies, grew at ods with a Riuer.

He returneth to Caligula by his example to make Anger odious, and to kindle others to mercy, he sheweth the vnlike behauiour of Antigenus.

CHAP. XXII.

THis furie (for what else canst thou name it?) seazed the Romans likewise. For *Caius Cæsar* ouerthrew a faire house of pleasure which was builded for pleasure neere to Ponzol, because sometimes his mother had beene kept prisoner in it, and made the fortune thereof notable hereby. For when it stood: the passengers that sailed by, enquired what it was, and now they demaund why it is ruined. And as well oughtest thou to thinke on these examples, to the end to auoide them, as on those on the contrarie part which thou art to follow, which are both moderate and gentle; who neither wanted cause to bee angrie, nor power to reuenge themselues. For what was more easie and facile for *Antigonus?* then to command two of his Souldiers to be put to death, who leaning vpon the Royall tent, did that which men doe most dangerously and willingly that thinke euill of their Prince. *Antigonus* heard all that they speake, because betwixt them that talked, and him that heard there was but a Tapestrie, which he softly pulled aside, and said *Get somewhat further of for feare, least the King heare you.* The same Prince vpon a certaine night, when hee had heard certaine of his Souldiers detesting and cursing him diuers wayes, who had led them into that journie and durtie march, came vnto them that were most displeased, and whereas they knew not by whom they were helped, he satisfied them, and said: *Now curse* Antigonvs *by whose fault you were drawne into these miseries, but wish him well, notwithstanding who brought you out of this bog.* The same as patiently endured the reproches of his enemies, as of his Citizens. When as therfore the Græcians were besieged in a small Castle, and contemning the enemie mie by reason of the place jested vpon *Antigonus* deformitie, and sometimes derided his low stature, otherwhiles his hooked nose. *I am glad said he, and, conceiue some good hope if I haue* Silenvs *in my Campe.* After hee had ouercome these brablers by famine, he vsed the captiues in such sort, that he placed those that were fit for warre amongst his owne companies and the rest he sold by the Crier, and this he said, he would not haue done vnlesse it had beene expedient for them to haue a Gouernour who had so bad tongues. His Nephew was *Alexander*, who darted his Iauelin against his table-guests, who of these two friends which he had, as I told you a litle before, made the one a pray to a Lion, the other to himself. But of both these, he that was deliuered to the Lion liued.

This was Bacchus companion and the eldest amongst the Satires.

CHAP. XXIII.

The second example of great mildenesse and mercie.

HEe had not this vice eyther from his grandfather or his father: for if there were any other vertue in *Philip* it was this, that he was patient in all reproaches, which is a mightie instrument for the safetie of a Kingdome. *Demochares*, who for the libertie and petulancie of his tongue was called *Parrhesiastes*, came vnto him amongst other Athenian Embassadours, and hauing courteously giuen audience to their Embassage, *Philip* said, *Tell me if I may doe any thing that shall be grateful to the Athenians.* Demochares vndertoke the answer, and said, *Goe and hang thy selfe.* They that stood about him were displeased at so vnhumane an answer, whom *Philip* commanded to be silent, willing them to dismisse that *Therstes* safe and sound. *But you* (saith he) *the rest of the Embassadors, tell the Athenians that they are more proude that speake thus, then they that heare them spoken without reuenge.* Avgvstvs Caesar spake, and did many things that were worthy memorie, whereby it appeareth that he was Master of his owne Anger. *Timagines* the writer of Histories had spoken somwhat against himselfe, somewhat against his whole family; neither lost he that which he had spoken, for an audacious kind of jesting is the soonest entertained and diulged by euery man. *Cæsar* oft-times gaue him warning hereof, and wished him to vse his tongue more moderately, and seeing that he perseuered, he forbad him his house. After that *Timagines* liued till he was very olde, in *Asinius Pollio's* house, beloued of the whole Cittie, notwithstanding *Cæsars* repulse, euery mans doores was open to him. Afterwards he recited and burned those Histories which he had written, and cast those bookes into the fire which contained the acts of *Augustus Cæsar*: and thus waged he warre with *Cæsar*. No man for all this refused his friendship, no man fled from him, as though he were blasted: there was alwayes that gaue him entertainment in the height of his disgraces. All these, as I said, *Cæsar* endured patiently, neyther was he mooued therewith, notwithstanding that *Timagines* had violated both his praises and actions. He neuer was displeased with him that entertained his enemie, this onely said he to Pollio, *Thou nourishest a beast*; and when he addressed himselfe to giue him an answere, the Emperour preuented him, and said, *He is at thy command* Pollio, *much good do it thee with him.* And when as *Pollio* said, *If thou commandest me* Caesar, *I will presently forbid him my house. What said he, thinkest thou? I will doe this, who haue reconciled both of you and made you friends?* For *Pollio* in times past had beene angrie with *Timagines*; neyther had he any other cause of dislike towards him, but because *Cæsar* had entertained him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

What profite a man should take of the precedent examples, and what consideracions besides this we ought to annex, the better to refraine Anger

LEt euery man therefore say vnto himselfe as often as he is prouoked, Am I more powerfull then *Philippe*? yet he patiently suffered disgraces without reuenging them. Can I doe more in my priuate house then *Diuus Cæsar* thorow the whole world? yet was he content to locke vp his gates against him that had slandered him. Or why should I for a bolde and jesting answer, a proude looke, or the grumbling and vntowardnesse of my slaue, expiate his fault with whips and fetters? Who am I that no man dare offend mine eares? Many haue pardoned their enemies, shall not I pardon such as are sluggish, negligent, and branglers? Let age excuse a childe, her sex a woman, libertie a stranger, familiaritie a domestick. He offended me but euen now. Let vs bethinke our selues how often he hath contented vs; But oft-times hath he offended otherwise? Let vs endure that which we haue suffered long. He was my friend: he did that which he pretended not. Is he an enemie? He did that which he ought to doe. Shall we endure a wise-man? let vs pardon a foole. What soeuer befalleth vs, let vs say vnto our selues, that the wisest commit many errours, and that no man is so circumspect whom Anger doth not sometimes take tardie: none so mature and stayed, eyther in his wordes or actions, whose grauity may by fortune be drawne into some inconsiderate action: no man so fearefull to offend, that whilst he flyeth from offences, falleth not into them.

CHAP. XXV.

A continuation of the profits we gather by the precedent consideration.

EVen as a poore man taketh comfort in his miserie, when he seeth other great mens fortune stagger, and with a more temperate minde hath bewayled his sonnes death in a corner of his chamber, who seeth the wofull funerals of the heire of a Kingdome solemnized and borne forth; so with a more peaceable and contented minde shall he endure to be harmed and contemned by another man, whosoeuer bethinketh himselfe that there is no Potentate so great, who is not, or may not be attempted with iniurie. And if the most wisest doe offend, let vs thinke with our selues that there is no fault which is not excusable. Let vs consider how oftentimes our yong yeares haue beene scarce diligent in performing ducties, immoderate in speech, scarce temperate in wine: if he be angry, let vs giue him time wherein he may consider what he hath done, and hee himselfe will reproue himselfe; in conclusion, hee will punish himselfe, yet for all this must not we be angrie. This is vndoubtedly true, that he hath exempted himselfe from common men, and raised himselfe to a higher degree, that despiseth such as prouoke him. For it is the propertie of true magnitude, not to feele that he is strooken. So hath a furious beast, stalking a long with a setled pace looked backe on those Dogs that barked at him. So doe the enraged billowes of the Sea insult in vaine against an immoueable rocke. He that is not angry hath neuer beene shaken by iniurie, he that is angrie is moued: but he whom for the present I haue mounted aboue all incommoditie, with a certaine embrace entertaineth the chiefest good, being equall not onely to himselfe, but also to fortune. What soeuer thou doest, thou art not great enough to obscure the brightnesse

nesse that enlightneth me. Reason to whom I haue assigned the conduct of my life, defendeth the same. The Anger will hurt me more then the offence; and why? Because there is a certaine measure in the offence, but I know not how farre mine Anger will transport me.

CHAP. XXVI.

A pertinent answer to those that alleage that they can endure many things, for by this meanes they deprive themselues of that excellent happinesse which courtesie produceth.

BVt, sayest thou, I can endure nothing, it is a grieuous matter to me to sustaine an iniurie. Thou liest: for who cannot endure iniury that can suffer Anger? Furthermore, thou pretendest to charge thy selfe with iniury and Anger both at once. Why sufferest thou the cries of a sicke man, the strange speeches of a lunatick, and the strookes of thy little children? Forsooth because they seeme to be ignorant of what they doe. What skilleth it by what errour any man becommeth imprudent, since imprudence is an equall excuse for all those that are attainted therewith? What then, sayest thou, shall he remain vnpunished? Thinke that thou wouldest, yet it shall not be so: for the greatest chastisement that a man may receiue who hath outraged another, is, to haue done the outrage, and there is no man that is so rudely punished, as he that is subiect to the whip of his owne repentance. Moreouer, it behoooueth vs to regard and consider the condition of humane affaires, to the end we may be vpright Iudges of all accidents. But he is vniust who vpbraideth a priuate man with that imperfection which is common to all. If a man be blacke amongst the Moores, or hath a redde head, and curled after the manner of the Almaines; this is no dishonour to him, but becommeth him well. That which is common to a whole nation, defameth not a particular: but those things that I haue set downe before, depend but on the custome of one countrey, which is but a little corner of the earth. Consider therefore whether it be not an easier matter to excuse it, which is the practise of the whole world. We are all of vs inconsiderate and improuident, all of vs vncertaine, irresolute, and ambitious. But why hide I a publique vlcer vnder milder wordes? We are all of vs noughts. What soeuer therefore is reprehended in another, that shall euery man finde within his owne bosome. Why obserueth thou his bleakenesse of colour, his leanenesse of bodie? It is a common plague. Let vs therefore be more temperate one towards another, we liue euill men amongst euill men: there is one thing onely that can make vs quiet; a mutuall facilitie in conuersation. This man hath now iniured me, but as yet I haue not harmed him; yet now perhaps hast thou hurt some bodie, or at leastwise thou wilt hurt.

CHAP. XXVII.

How much the consideration of our weakenesse beareth against Anger, which is the ninth meane to refraine it.

EStimate not this houre or this day, looke into the whole habite of thy minde, if as yet thou hast done no euill, yet canst thou doe it. How farre better is it that an iniurie should be salued then reuenged? Reuenge consumeth much time, exposeth her selfe to many iniuries whilst she is stung with one. Wee are all of vs more long time angrie then we are hurt; how farre better is it to take another course, and not in this sort to sort vices together? Should a man be thought well in his wits

if

if he should kicke at a Moyle with his heeles that had strooken him, or teare a Dogge with his teeth that had bitten him? These, sayest thou, know not that they offend. First of all, how vnmust is he who is displeased when men come vnto him to reconcile themselues? Againe, if it restraine thee from being angrie with beasts, because they are destitute of reason; in the same ranke number him that doth something without iudgement: for what skilleth it if he resemble not beasts in any other thing, in the fault which excuseth beasts, hee sheweth himselfe as brutish as they be? He hath offended; for this is the first and this is the last. Thou hast no cause to beleeue him, although he saith, I will not doe it againe. Thou shalt see that he will once more offend thee, and another him, and the whole course of life shall be trauailed with errours: we must handle sauage things courteously. That which is wont to be said in sorrow, may effectually be spoken likewise in Anger. Whether wilt thou giue ouer once or neuer? If once, it is better to leaue off Anger, then to be left by Anger: but if this fault shall alwayes continue, thou seest how vnquiet a life thou denouncest to thy selfe, as it befalleth him who is alwayes swolne vp, and incensed by wrath.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The tenth means, not to seeke any occasion of displeasure.

Vrthermore, if thou thy selfe seeke not the occasions and meanes to prouoke thine Anger, and it thou enkindlest not thy displeasure, thou shalt see it depart from thee of her owne motion, and time will weaken it daily. How farre better is it for thee that thou shouldest surmount her, then that she should be Mistresse of thee? Thou art angry now with this man, now with that man, now with thy slaues, anon after with thy francklins, now with thy father or mother, now with thy children, with those of thine acquaintance, then with such as thou hast but newly met withall: for the occasions present themselues in euery place, except a peaceable minde containe and gouerne vs. Furie will driue thee hither and thither, and as new prouocations shall arise, thy rage shall be continued. Goe to vnhappy man, and when is it that thou wilt loue? O how good time looosest thou in so bad a thing? How farre better were it now to get thee friends, and to mittigate thine enemies, to gouerne the Common weale, to transfer thy indeuours to the gouernement of thy familie, then to looke about thee what iniurie thou mayest doe another man. What wound thou mayest inflict eyther on his dignitie, or his patrimony, or his body? When as this cannot befall thee without contention and danger, although thou encounter with thine inferiour. Although thou see him tyed hand and foote, and that he be in thy power to do with him whatsoeuer thou pleasest, oftentimes it hath beene seene that a man in striking another with all his force, hath put his shoulder out of ioynt, or his arme, or hand, or else in biting hath broken his teeth, and spoyled his gummes. Anger hath made many men lame, and hath weakened many; yea, euen then when she hath gotten matter of patience. Adde hereunto, that there is not any thing so feeble in this world, that perishes without putting him in danger that would crush or breake it. Sometimes griefe, and sometimes casualty hath matched the strongest with the weakest. And which is more, the most part of those things which moue vs, doe harme vs more then we hurt other men. But there is a great difference whether a man oppose himselfe against my pleasure, or

The eleuenth consideration, is, that we hurt our selues more then we doe our enemies.

or whether he hinder it not, whether he take it from me, or giue it me not. But we account it all one whether a man take from vs any thing or denie vs; whether he cut of our hopes, or differ them: whether hee be against vs, or for him selfe; whether for the loue of another man, or the hatred he beareth vs: But some haue not only just, but also honest causes to stand against vs. The one defendeth his father, the other his brother, another his vncle, the third his friend, Yet pardon we not those that doe these thinges, which should they not doe, we would condemne them: nay more which is incredible, oftimes we allow of the deed, but condemne the doer.

CHAP. XXIX

The twelfth, beware to confolld ly iudgment and hate not him whom thou praisest, and least of all him whose miserie requireth thine assistance.

But yet assuredly euery great and just man affectioneth and wel respecteth him amongst his enemies; that most valiantly and aduenturously behaueth himselfe, for the libertie and conseruation of his Countrie, and wisheth himselfe such a Citizen and such a Camerado as that is in his dangers. It is a shamefull thing to hate him whom thou prayseft; but how farre more shamefull to hate any man, for that for which he is worthie of mercie: if any one being taken prisoner, retaineth as yet some remainders of his libertie, and sheweth not himselfe soreadie in base and troublesome businesses, if hauing thorow idlenesse gathered so much fat, that he cannot come so swiftly as his Masters horse or coach: if wearied with all dayes trauaile he sleepe; if he refuseth to labour in the fieldes or doth not bestow himselfe so, as a stout pesant should doe; by reason hee had liued in a Citie, where he had much ease, and that now he is tyed to a businesse that is tedious and continual, let vs consider whether he cannot doe that which we would require at his hands; or if he will not doe it: wee shall beare with diuers men; if wee indeuour our selues to judge before we be displeased. But now we beleeue that which the first assault of our passion buzzeth in our eares; afterwardes although wee bee mooued vpon no ground: yet perseuer we least wee should seeme to haue begunne without any cause, and that which is most damnable, the iniquitie of wrath maketh vs more obstinate. For wee nourish and increase the same as if it were an argument of just Anger, to bee grieuously angrie. How farre better is it to examine the beginnings, and to consider how harmelesse? That which thou seest fall out in bruit beasts, the same shalt thou discouer in man, we are troubled with friuolous and vaine things.

CHAP. XXX.

The thirteenth, Except thou wilt become a beast be not moued at friuolous and vaine matters as they are accustomed to doe that are ouertaken by Anger.

A Red colour exasperateth Bulles, the Aspe is inkindled in the shadow, a white Cloath prouoketh Beares and Lions. All things that nature hath made fierce and dreadfull are astonished at a little matter. The same befalleth disquiet and fooolish mindes. They are strooken with suspition of thinges, and in such sort as some times they call moderate benefits injuries, in which the most frequent, but the most, yet truly the most vrgent causes of choler consist. For we are angrie with our dearest friends, because they haue done vs lesse courtesie then we expected, then other

other men haue done vs; when as there is a preſent and readie remedie for them both. Hath he fauoured another man more? let vs delight our ſelues with ours without comparison: he ſhall neuer be happie, that tormenteth himſelfe at an other mans felicitie. I haue leſſe then I hoped for? But happily I haue hoped more then I ought. This part is moſt of all to be feared. Hence ariſe moſt dangerous diſpleaſures, and ſuch as inuade the moſt holieſt and bleſſedeſt thinges of the World. *Iulius Cæſar* was killed by a greater number of his friends, then of his enemies: whoſe immeaſurable hopes he had not ſatisfied. Such was his intention, neither euer was there any man that carried himſelfe more better, or more liberally, when hee became Maſter of his enemies, for hee challenged nothing to himſelfe, but the power to diſtribute; but here could he ſatisfie ſo many importunate deſires, when as all men deſired ſo much as one man could? Hee ſaw therefore with naked daggers, thoſe followers of his about his throne; and amongſt the reſt *Tullius Cimber*, who before time had beene an affectionate partaker of his, and thoſe other, who after the death of *Pompey* were become *Pompeians*.

CHAP. XXXI.

The fourteenth Haue mercy reſpect to another mans good then to thine owne and neuer thinke that thou haſt obtained to litle.

THis verie paſſion hath rayſed the ſubjects againſt their Prince, and vrged the moſt faithfull to conſpire the death of thoſe, for whom and in whoſe preſence, they had deſired in times paſt to looſe their liues. He that hath reſpect to another mans good, neglecteth his owne. And thereupon wee are angrie with the gods likewiſe, becauſe ſome one man out-ſtrippeth vs, forgetting our ſelues how much and how important enuie followeth them at their backes, yet ſo great is the importunitie of men, that although they haue receiued much, yet ſuppoſe themſelues to be indignified, becauſe in their iudgements they are capable of more. Gaue he me a Prætor-ſhip? but I looked for a Conſul-ſhip. Gaue they me twelue Maces? yet they made mee not an ordinarie Conſull. Would hee haue me to vndertake the charge of numbring the yeare? but he failed mee in the election, when I ſought for the Pontificiall dignitie. Haue I beene brought into the Colledge of Biſhops and Augures? but why in companie? Hath hee conſumated my dignitie? but he hath allowed nothing towardes my charge and patrimonie: Hee gaue mee that which he ought to haue giuen to an other, he added nothing of his owne. Rather giue thankes for thoſe thinges which thou haſt receiued, exſpect the reſt, and rejoyce, becauſe that as yet thou art not full. Amongſt all other pleaſures, it is no ſmall one, to ſee that there is ſomewhat remayning, for which thou maiſt hope. Haſt thou ſped better then any other? rejoyce, becauſe thou art the firſt amongſt others that hath thy friendes heart. Doe many exceede thee? conſider that the number of thoſe that march after thee, ſurpaſſeth thoſe whom thou followeſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

The fifthteenth, to digeſt thy wrath a little & take leaſure to conſider what commandement the paſſion hath giuen thee, and whereupon it is founded.

ASkeſt thou me what is the greateſt vice in thee? thou forgeſt falſe conſiderations, thou highly prizeſt thine owne giftes, and neglecteſt others. Let one thing deter vs in an other. Let vs bee afraid to be angrie with ſome for reuerence ſake, let vs forbeare other, and for pittie ſake endure other ſome. Vndoubtedly we ſhall performe a goodly peece of worke, if we ſhut our vnhappie ſlaue in priſon. Why are we ſo haſtie to beat him: and ſo ſudden to breake his legges? this power will not be loſt, if it bee deferred. Let that time come wherein wee may be Maſters of our ſelues. Now ſpeake wee out of paſſion: when, thee is quailed, then ſhall wee ſee how weightie this debate is. For in this eſpecially are wee deceiued. Wee come to knifes, to capitall puniſhments: and by bonds, impriſonment, and famine, we reuenge the crime which ſhould be chaſtiſed by whipping and ſlighter puniſhments. How (ſaiſt thou) commandeſt thou vs to conſider, how all thoſe things, whereby we ſeeme to be harmed, are triſling, miſerable, and childiſh? But I for mine own part would perſwade nothing more then to take vpon vs a great minde, and to examie and ſee how theſe things for which we quarrell runne and ſweat, after how humble and abject they bee, and ſuch as are not to bee reſpected and thought vpon by any man, that thinketh on any high or magnificent matter. There is much brabling about monie, thee weareth the Courts of Pleas, thee ſets the fathers and children together by the eares, thee mixeth venomes, ſhe deliuereth ſwords as well into the hands of the executioner, as of the ſouldier, ſhe it is that is embrewed with our bloud. For her are the marriage beds of man and wife filled with brawles, for her the Tribunals of Majeſtrates are ouer-preſſed with throng, Kings are inraged and ranſack countries, and ouerthrow Cities, which were builded by the labour of many ages, to the end that Golde and Siluer might bee ſought out, in the aſhes of the Citie.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The ſixteenth, That all our goods are not worth halfe the labour we imploy vpon them and the leaſte care to enioy them is a wretches miſery.

IT pleaſeth me to behold thoſe caskets of monie, that lie heaped in a corner. Theſe, are they for which men weepe out their eyes; for which the iudgement Hals are confuſed with muttering, for which Iudges being nominated out of remote Countries ſit in iudgment to ſentence whether of both parties auarice is moſt juſt. What if it bee not for a bag or casket of monie, but for a handfull of ſiluer, or for a pennie borrowed or lent to a mans ſlaue, an old man without heires and readie to die, is readie to burſt with Anger; what if for leſſe then the thouſand part of a mans intereſt, a ſickly Vſurer with croockt limmes and lame hands only left him to number his monie, cries it out, and in the very violence of his acceſſions, cryeth out for monie to his ſuerties? If thou bring me forth whatſoeuer mony that is current, and vſuall in all kind of mettals, if thou caſt before me whatſoeuer treaſure, which auarice would burie againe, after ſhe had digged it vp, I thinke that all this heape is not worthie to furrow vp the brow of a good man. How much are they to be laughed at, for which wee ſpend ſo many teares?

CHAP. XXXIIII.

PRosecute the rest somewhat further I pray thee, and consider the eating and drinking, and all that proud equipage that dependeth there vpon, so many labours to keepe the house cleane, so many strokes giuen, so many outragious speeches, and so many vnseemely countenances, suspitions restie lades, Idle slaues, wicked reporters of other mens words: for from all these it commeth that in the end some thinke that nature hath done men wrong, in giuing them the faculties of speaking. Beleeue mee wee are bitterly angrie for such slight things, and for which children are wont to be froward, and to scratch one another. There is nothing serious or great in all that which we doe with so much care & thought. Thence groweth your Choler & Furie because you esteeme these things great which are nothing. Such a one would haue taken away my goodes, that man hauing long time had a good opinion of me, hath finally defamed me, this man would haue corupted my minion. That which should bee the linke of loue which is to will one thing, is the cause of hatred and sedition.

CHAP. XXXV.

A more exact description of this nature of wrath which is tormented at trifles and things of no moment.

THE way that is straight moueth quarrell amongst those that passe thorow it. That which is open and large is ouer narrow for Armies that encounter together. These thinges which you desire because they are small, neither can be transferred to one except they be taken from an other doe incite quarrels and troubles amongst those that affect the same things. Thou art angrie if thy fräckling or thy wife or thy retainer answer thee, & afterwards thou coplainest that the cõmonwealth hath lost all libertie, which thou thy selfe hast exterminated out of thine own house. Again if thou speak vnto thy seruant, and he answere thee not thou termest it disdaine and rebellion. Thou wilt haue him speake, thou wilt haue him hold his peace, thou wilt haue him laugh, what before his Master saiest thou I before the Father of the family. Why criest thou? why chidest thou? what moueth thee in the midst of thy supper to call for scourges, because thy seruants talke or because thy attendants are not serviceable, or because no man answers thee? Hast thou no eares but to heare Muricke, and pleasing songs and wordes well fitted and pleasing? yet must thou heare men laugh, crie, flatter, plead, tell joyfull and tragicall newes, and mens tongues and the cries of diuers Creatures. Poore man why art thou affrighted at thy seruants crie, at the tinging of a Basson, at the noice of a dore that is opened and locked? although thou bee so delicate, yet must thou heare the cracke of thunder. That which is spoken of the eares, may be transferred to the eyes, which are no lesse troubled with obiects when they are badly addressed: for they are offended at a spot, or soyle, or siluer plate badly clensed and their tinne platters if they shine not at the sunne. For these eyes that are delighted with nothing but Marble and Iasper finely polished, that like no table except it be of costly wood, and well carued, which will not fix themselues in the house, except on these things that are guilded and embossed; without dores with content enough, behold the rugged and durtie waies and

and the most part of those that meet with them badly clothed, and the walles of Cities halfe eaten away, ruined and vnequall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The eighteenth, Giue ouer to corrupt thy senses and call thy minde euery day to a reckoning.

WHat is the cause then why that which offendeth them not abroad, chafeth and troubleth them thus in their houses, but an equitable and patient opinion in publicke, but a crabbish and quarrelsome disposition at home? All our sences are to bee brought to a conformitie. By nature we are patient, if our mind cease to corrupt them, which is daily to be drawne vnto an accompt. This did *Sextius*, that when the day was spent and he retired himselfe to rest, was wont to examine his minde after this maner. What infirmitie in thee hast thou healed this day. What vice hast thou resisted? In what part art thou bettered? Anger will cease and become more moderate, if she knowes that euerie day shee must appeare before a Iudge. What therefore is more laudable then this custome, to examine our daily actions? What sleepe followeth after this scrutenie? how quiet, pleasing, and free is it, when either the minde is praysed or admonished, and being a watch-man and secret censor of himselfe, examineth his defects? I vse this power, and daily pleade before my selfe, when the candle is taken from me, and my wife holdeth her tongue, being priuie to my custome. I examine the whole day that is past, and ruminate vpon actions and wordes. I hide nothing from my selfe, I let slip nothing: For why should I feare any of mine errours, when as I may say: See thou doe this no more: for this time, I pardon thee. In that dispute, thou speakest more rashly, see that hereafter thou contend not with such as are ignorant, they wil neuer learne, that neuer learned. Thou hast more freely admonished such a one then thou oughtest, and therefore thou hast not amended him but offended him. In regard of the rest, see not only whether it were true which thou spakest, or whether hee to whom it was spoken can endure to heare truth.

CHAP. XXXVII.

The nineteenth, That it is vnpossible to continue in life except thou refraine choler.

A Good man reioyceth when he is admonished, a wicked man cannot brooke a reprooue. At a banquet some mens bitter iests and intemperate words haue touched thee to the quicke. Remember to auoyde the vulgar companie: after Wine mens words are too lauish, and they that are most sober in their discourses are scarce modest. Thou sawest thy friends displeased with the Porter of a Counsailers chamber, or some rich man because hee would not suffer him to enter, and thou thy selfe being angry for this cause growest in Choler with the cullion. Wilt thou therefore be angrie with a chained dogge, who when he hath barked much will bee pacified with a peece of bread? get further off him, and laugh. He that keepeth his Masters doore, and seeth the threshold besieged by a troop of soliciters, thinketh himselfe no small bug, and he that is the Client thinketh himselfe happie in his owne opinion, and beleeueth that so hard an accesse into the chamber is an euident testimonie, that the Master of the same is a man of

great qualitie and a fauourite of Fortune. But hee remembreth not himselfe that the entrie of a Prison is as difficult likewise. Presume with thy selfe, that thou art to indure much. If a man bee cold in Winter; if hee vomit at Sea, if hee bee shaken in a Coach, shall hee maruell hereat? The minde is strong and may indure all that whereunto hee is repared. If thou hast beene seated in a place scarce answerable to thine honour, thou hast beene angrie with him that stood next thee, or with him that inuited thee, or with him that was preferred before thee, Foole as thou art, what matter is it, in what place thou art set at the table, a cushion cannot make thee more or lesse honest. Thou wert displeased to see such a one, because hee spake euill of thy behauiour. Art thou at that point? by this reckoning then *Ennius* in whose poetrie thou art no wayes delighted, should hate thee, and *Hortensius* should denounce warre against thee, and *Cicero* if thou shouldest mocke his verses, should be at ods with thee.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The twentieth and last to take profit by the examples of patience and meeknesse.

WHen thou suest for an office doest thou not peaceably entertaine those that giue their voyces to the election, although they nominate not thy selfe? Some man hath disgraced thee? what more then *Diogenes* the Stoicke was, who discoursing one day very effectually vpon the subiect of Anger, was scornfully spit vpon by a froward yongman; this injurie entertained he both mildly and wisely. *Truly* (saith he) *I am not Angrie, yet doubt I whether, I ought to be angrie.* But our friend *Cato* demeaned himselfe better, whom as he pleaded a cause; *Lentulus* that factious and seditious fellow in the time of our fore-fathers, hawking vp from the depth of his stomacke a thicke and filthie spittle, blew it right into the midst of his for-head. For in wiping his face he said no other thing but this. *Truely* LENTVLVS *I will now maintaine it against all men that, they are deceiued, who say thou hast no mouth.*

CHAP. XXXIX.

NOW my *Nouatus* we are alreadie instructed how to gouerne our mindes, if either they feele not wrath, or bee superiours ouer it. Let vs now see how we may temper other mens Ire, for not only desire we to be healthfull our selues, but to heale others. We dare not attempt to moderate and pacifie the first anger by persuasion: for the is deafe and mad: We wil giue her some time, remedies are best in the declination of fauours, neither will we attempt her when she is inflamed, and in furie, for feare least in striuing to quench, wee inkindle the same; the like will we doe in respect of other passions. Repose healeth the beginning of sicknesses. How much (saist thou) doth thy remedie profit, if it pacifie, Anger when of her selfe, she beginneth to be pleased? First it is the cause that it ceaseth the sooner, then will it keepe her least she fall againe, and shall receiue the passion it selfe which he dare not pacifie it. It shal remoue all instruments of reuenge

uenge, it shall faine displeasure, to the end that as a helper and companion in her sorrow, it may haue more authoritie to counsaile her, it shall coyne delayes, and whilst she seeketh greater punishments, deferre the present. It shall by all means giue rest and remission to furie, if she be more vehement it shall eyther induce shame or feare in her, against which she shall not be able to resist; if she be weake it shall inuent discourses, eyther gratefull or new, and winde her away with a desire of knowledge. It is reported that a Phisitian when he had a Kings daughter in cure, and could not performe the same without the meanes of a launcet, that whilst he gently handled her Pap that was greatly swolne, he conuayed his launcet into a spunge, and so opened it. The mayden had repined should he haue ministred the remedie openly, and shee because she suspected it not, suffered the paine.

CHAP. XL.

How by words well applyed, or by authority we may haue ouer men, wrath may be pacified.

SOme things are not healed except they be deceiued. To one of these thou shalt say, Beware lest thy wrath be pleasing to thine enemie. To another, Take heed lest the greatnesse of thy minde, and thy reputed courage in all mens iudgement be brought in question. Truely I am displeased with him, and that beyond measure, yet must we stay our time, and we will be reuenged. Conceale thy displeasure a while whilst thon mayest, and we will pay him home double. But to checke him that is angrie, and to oppose thy selfe against him, is to cast oyle on the fire. Thou shalt attempt him diuers wayes, and after a friendly manner, except happily it be so great a person, that thou mayest diminish his wrath, as *Augustus Cæsar* did when he supped with *Vedius Pollio*, one of the seruants had broken a crystall glasse, whom *Vedius* commanded to be carried away, and to be punished by no ordinary death: for he commanded him to be thrown amongst his Lampries, which were in kept a great Fish-pond. Who could otherwise thinke but that he did it to entertaine his excessiue pleasures? The boy escaped out of their hands, and fled to *Cæsars* feet, desiring nothing else but that he might die otherwise, and not be made meate for Fishes. *Cæsar* was moued with the noueltie of the crueltie, and commanded him to be carried away, yet willed that all the crystall vessels should be broken in his presence, and that the Fish-pond should be filled vp. So thought *Cæsar* good to chastice his friend, and well did he vse his power. Commandest thou me to be dragged from the banquet, and to be tortured by new kinds of punishment? If thy cup be broken shal mens bowels be rent in pieces? Wilt thou please thy selfe so much as to command any man to death where *Cæsar* is present?

CHAP. XLI.

Now addresseth he himselfe to exhortation, perswading vs to auoyde furie.

THus ought we to oppose our selues against a powerfull person, to the end that from a more eminent place a man may assaile a wrath that is intractable, and such a one as this whereof I lately tolde you, fierce, cruell, bloudie, which could not now receiue any cure, but by the feare of a thing more greater then it selfe. Let vsgiue repose vnto our mindes, which we shall doe if we dilate continually

vpon the precepts of wisedome, and the acts of vertue, and likewise whilst our thoughts desire nothing but that which is honest. Let vs satisfie our conscience, let vs doe nothing for vaine glorie sake, let thy fortune be euill, so thine actions be good. But the world admireth those that attempt mightie matters, and audacious men, are reputed honourable, and peaceable are esteemed sluggards. It may be vpon the first sight, but as soone as a well-gouerned life sheweth that it proceedeth not from the weakenesse, but the moderation of the mind, the people regard and reuerence them. So then this cruell and bloudie passion is not profitable in any sort; but contrariwise, all euils, fire, and bloud feedeth her, shee treadeth all modestie vnder foote, embrueth her hands with infinite murthers; she it is that teareth children in sunder, and scattereth their limmes here and there; she hath left no place voyde of hainous villeynies, neither respecting glorie nor fearing infamie; incurable, when of wrath she is hardned and conuerted into hatred.

CHAP. XLII.

The continuatiō of those persuasions which are easie to be practised, especially if we consider the shortnes and incertainty of our liues.

LEt vs abstaine wholy from this vice, let vs purge our mind and pull vp those passions that are rooted in it, whose hold-fast be it neuer so little, will spring againe where soeuer it is fastened; and let vs not onely moderate our Anger, but wholly root it out, and driue it from vs. For what temper is there in an euill thing? But wee may, if so be we will endeuour; neyther will any thing profite vs more then the thought of mortality. Let euery one say vnto himselfe, as if it were vnto another, What helpeth it vs, as if we were borne to liue euer, to proclaime our hatreds, and mispend so short a life? What profiteth vs to transfer those dayes which we might spend in honest pleasure, in plotting another mans miserie and torment? These so short continuance would not be hazarded, neyther haue we any leasure to loose time. Why rush we forward to fight? Why beget we quarrels against our selues? Why being forgetfull of our weakenesse, embrace we excessiue hatreds? And being readie to breake, our selues rise vp to breake others. It will not be long but eyther a feauor, or some other infirmitie of the bodie will preuent these hatreds which we hatch in our implacable mindes. Behold death at hand, that will part these two morrall enemies. Why tempest we? why so seditiously trouble we our life? Death hangeth ouer our heads, and daily more and more layes holde on him that is dying. That very time which thou destinatest to another mans death, shall be the neerest to thine owne.

CHAP. XLIII.

The conclusion, wherein he discourseth summarily the goods that proceed frō a peaceable life, & the euils that are caused by Anger.

WHy rather makest thou not vse of this short time of thy life, by making it peaceable both to thy selfe and others? Why rather endearest thou not thy selfe in all mens loue whilst thou liuest, to the end that when thou diest thy losse may be lamented? And why desirest thou to put him lower, whose authoritie is too great for thee to contend against. VVhy seekest thou to crush and terrifie that base and contemptible fellow that barketh at thee, and who is so bitter and troublesome

troublesome to his superiors? Why fretest thou at thy seruant? thy Lord? thy King? Why art thou angry with thy clyent? Beare with him a little, behold death is at hand which shall make vs equals. We were wont to laugh (in beholding the combats which are performed on the sands in the morning) to marke the conflict of the Bull and Beare when they are tied one to another, which after they haue tyred one another, the Butcher attendeth for them both to driue them to the slaughter-house. The like doe we; we challenge him that is coupled with vs, we charge him on euery side, mean while both the conquered and the conqueror are neere vnto their ruine. Rather let vs finish that little remainder of our life in quiet and peace, and let not our death be a pleasure to any man. Oft-times they that were together by the eares haue forsaken their strife, because that during their debate, some one hath cryed fire that was kindled in a neighbours house, and the enteruiew of a wilde beast hath diuided the thiefe and the merchant. We haue no leasure to wrestle with lesser euils, when greater feare appeareth. What haue we to doe with fighting and ambushes? Doest thou wish him with whom thou art displeased, any more then death? Although thou sayest nothing to him he shall die; thou loosest thy labour, thou wilt doe that which will be done. I will not, sayest thou, forthwith kill him, but banish, disgrace, or punish him. I pardon him rather that desireth his enemie should be wounded, then scabbed; for this man is not onely badly but basely minded, whether it be that thou thinkest of death or any one more slight euill, there is but a very little difference betwixt the day of thy desire, vntill the punishment which such a one shall endure, or till the time thou shalt reioyce with an euil conscience at the miseries of another man: for euen now, while we drawe our breath we driue our spirit from vs. Whilst we are amongst men, let vs embrace humanitie, let vs be dreadfull or dangerous to no man; let vs contemne detriments, iniuries, slaunders, and garboyles, and with great mindes suffer short incommodities, whilst we looke behinde vs, as they say, and turne our selues, beholde death doth presently attend vs.

The end of SENECAES *three Bookes of Anger.*

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

To *NERO CÆSAR.*

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THese Bookes were written in the beginning of NEROES *raigne, which he himselfe manifestly proueth in his first Booke and ninth chapter, whereas he writeth that hee was entred into the nineteenth yeare of his age. And vndoubtedly both the words and matter are worthy of a Prince; and I would to God they would reade the same, and from thence gather the fruits of mercie and magnitude. He beginneth with* NEROES *praise, and that deseruedly; for his beginnings were moderate. Afterwards in his third Chapter he deuideth his writings into three parts: the one of Manuduction, the other which explicateth the nature of Clemency, which leadeth men thereunto and firmeth them. In the first, the first whole Booke intreateth thereof, and in the foresront he setteth downe the profite of Clemency, and how greatly it beseemeth Kings. That Clemency well becommeth them, because they are the heads of the Common-weale, and we as the bodie and members. But who is he that spareth not and nourisheth not his body? And that shee is necessary also where there are many offenders, whom if thou punishest alwayes, thou makest the Common-weale a solitude. By the example of the gods, who spare vs. Likewise in regard of fame, because Kings actions are the obiects of all mens eyes, and the least crueltie is too long. By their security; for they that gouerne thus are more secure, and he annexeth some notable actions of* AVGVSTVS. *Contrariwise, in tyrants who worke their owne destructions by cruelty, hatreds, and perrils. But a Prince doth therefore punish seldome, mildely and temperately, with the minde, and after the example of Parents, and that moderation is fruitfully vsed in Schooles, Campes, among it beasts and seruants: yea, it is vsed by nature, by the example of Bees, whose King hath no sting. But now a Prince when he punisheth, either punisheth for his owne or another mans cause: in his owne cause he ought not to be rigorous, because he liueth in so high a fortune that he needeth not the solace of reuenge: not in another mans cause, but according to the Law, to amend them, or make other better or more secure. And all these things the seldomnesse of punishment*

nishment will effect, they that are often, are set light by, and are despised. In the shutting vp he setteth downe the detestation of crueltie, and the mischifes and ouerthrowes that grow by her.

CHAP. I.

How requisite it is for the great men of this world to studie how to moderate their mind, which they may doe the better if they meditate what preheminence they haue aboue other men.

NERO CAESAR, I haue determined to write of Clemencie, to the end that in some sort I may serue thee for a mirrour, and shew thee to thy selfe, in such sort, as thou mayest receiue a perfite contentment thereby: for although the true fruite of vertuous actions be to haue done them, and that without vertues themselues there is no recompence whatsoeuer, that is worthy of themselues, yet there is a certaine pleasure ro examine and visit a good conscience euery wayes; and then to fixe a mans eyes vpon this infinite multitude, turbulent, seditious, passionate, that bathe themselues willingly in other mens blouds, yea, in their owne, if they haue broken the yoake that restraineth them, and to speak thus in himselfe to himselfe. I am he amongst all other mortall men, who haue beene agreeable to the gods, and whom they haue chosen for their liefetenant vpon the earth. I haue the power of life and death ouer all nations. It lyeth in my hands to dispose the estate and condition of euery man; fortune pronounceth by my mouth that which she intendeth, that euery man shall haue and possesse in this life: whole Nations and Cities conceiue occasion of reioyce by my commandements. There is no Nation whatsoeuer that flourisheth not by my good will and fauour; vpon the least inkling I shall giue, so many thousands of swords, which haue beene sheathed by my peace, shall be drawne againe. It is in my power to ordaine what Nations shall be exterminated, which shall bee transported from one country to another, which infranchised, or made subiect; what Kings shall be conquered, and whose heads shall be adorned with the royall wreath; what Cities shall be ruinated and what builded. Being thus possessed of so great power, neyther hath wrath, nor youthly heate, neyther folly or insolence of men, who haue often made the most temperate to loose their patience, neither the proude designe to make shew of my power, in causing other men to feare, a glorie too frequent amongst such as are Monarches, haue neuer inforced mee to chastise or put any man to death wrongfully. My sword is hidden, nay more, kept in the sheath. The bloud of my meanest subiects is carefully spared by me. Although a man haue many imperfections, yet in regard he is a man, he is gracious in mine eyes: my seuerity is hidden and my Clemencie apparant. Such a watch haue I ouer my selfe, as if I were to yeelde an account to the lawes (which from obscuritie I haue brought to light) of all mine actions. I haue pardoned one by reason of his youth, another because he was olde, that man because of his magistracie, that other for his obscuritie: and when in those that were faultie I found not any occasion of mercie, I bare with them for the loue of my selfe. If the immortall gods summon me this day to yeeld vp my reckoning, I am readie to account for the whole world. *Cæsar* thou mayest boldly speake this, that of all those things which thou hast imbraced vnder thy protection and safe-guard, thou hast taken nothing from the Common-

Common-wealth, eyther by violence or cunning. Thou hast wished and purchased innocence, which is a praise very rare, and such as yet hath not bin granted to any Prince. Thou looseſt not thy paines, and this thy ſingular bountie hath not met with ingratefull or miſconceiuing ſubiects. Each one acknowledgeth the good thou haſt done them. Neuer was man ſo beloued by another as thou art by the Romane people, whoſe great and continuall felicitie thou art. But thou haſt laide a waighтie burthen on thy ſhoulders. No man ſpeaketh more now of the former yeares, either of the Empire of *Auguſtus* or *Tiberius*. Neyther ſeeke they any patterne beſides thy ſelfe, whereby they may gouerne their life. One yeare of thy gouernement ſheweth that which we hope for in the yeares that follow, which would hardly be imagined, if this thy bountie were borrowed for a time, but is naturall. For no man can long time conceale his imperfections, and the actions ſuddenly diſcouer what the hidden nature is. Thoſe things that containe verity, and which grow from that which hath ſome firmitie in it increaſe, and from time to time waxe better and better. The Romane people were very much perplexed whilſt they ſtood in expectation, whereunto thy generous nature would apply it ſelfe at the firſt. Now are all mens deſires accompliſhed and aſſured; for it is not to be feared that thou wilt forget thy ſelfe ſuddenly. Too much felicity maketh men ouer-greedie; neyther are deſires at any time ſo tempered, that they ſtay themſelues vpon that good which is befalne them. Euery one aſcendeth from great vnto greater, and they that haue attained ſuch things as they hoped not for, embrace ſtrange deſignes: yet all thy Cittizens do now confeſſe that they are happie, and that nothing can be added to their felicitie, except it ſhould be perpetuall. Many things cauſe them to confeſſe thus much, namely, their great and aſſured repoſe, with all the commodities of life, which is a good which befalls a man very hardly, and vpon the end of his yeares. Furthermore, a iuſtice placed aboue all iniurie. They repreſent vnto themſelues, and ſee an excellent formie of publique gouernement, which containeth all that which is requiſite to eſtabliſh a perfect libertie, prouided, that it be ſeconded by a continuall diligence. But principally both great and little are rauiſhed, in conſidering thine affabilitie, ſo equall and anſwerable to all mens expectations. For as touching thine other vertues, euery one partaketh them according to the proportion of his fortune, and expecteth more or leſſe of thy larges; but all of them in general depend vpon thy Clemencie: neyther is there any one ſo aſſured in his innocence, that had not rather proſtrate himſelfe before thy Clemency, which is ſo readie to excuſe and winke at euery mans faults.

CHAP. II.

Although the mercie and benignity of Princes ſeeueth for ſuch as are guilty in eſpeciall, yet hath the innocent and vertuous ſcope & proſit thereby.

BVt I know there are ſome that thinke that Clemency emboldneth thoſe men that are moſt wicked, becauſe it ſtandeth in no ſtead, except it be after that the fault is committed, and this vertue onely ceaſeth amongſt thoſe that are innocent. But firſt of all, euen as the vſe of Phyſique is as honourable amongſt the ſicke, as it is amongſt the whole; ſo although the nocent cry vpon Clemencie, yet the innocent forbeare not to reuerence it. Moreouer, Clemencie hath place in the perſon of thoſe that are innocent, becauſe the qualitie of the perſons putteth them in danger; and Clemencie not onely aſſiſteth the innocent, but oftentimes vertue likewiſe by reaſon, that the times may become ſuch, that ſuch things may be oppreſſed and puniſhed, which ſhould be praiſed. Moreouer, a great part of men may grow to an amendment in their liues; yet muſt we not alwayes pardon the greater number that offend. For where the difference betwixt good and bad men is taken away, there followeth a confuſion and a breaking forth of errours. There muſt therefore be ſome moderation practiſed that knoweth how to diſtinguiſh good minds from reprobate; neyther ought a Prince to haue a confuſed and vulgar, neither too reſtrained Clemency: for it is as great cruelty to pardon all, as to pardon none. We muſt holde a meane; but becauſe moderation is hard to be obſerued, what ſoeuer is like to be more then equitie requireth, muſt incline more to humanitie then rigor.

CHAP. II.

Diuiſion of the Booke.

BVt theſe things ſhall more fitly be decided in another place: for the preſent I will diuide this matter into three parts. The firſt ſhall ſerue for a Preface or Induction. The ſecond ſhall expreſſe the nature and habitude of Clemencie: for whereas there are vices that counterfeit vertues, they cannot be diſtinguiſhed except thou ſet downe ſome markes whereby they may be knowne. Thirdly, we will enquire how the minde attaineth to this vertue, how he fortifieth himſelfe thereby, and by vſe maketh her his owne. But it muſt needes appeare that of all other vertues there is none more conuenient for man, becauſe there is none more humane then it: and not onely amongſt vs Stoicks, who maintaine that a man is a ſociable creature, and is made for the common good of others; but alſo amongſt thoſe that giue moſt ouer to pleaſure, all whoſe ſpeeches and actions tend to their particular profite. For if a man ſeeke for repoſe and idlenes he hath found in Clemencie a vertue agreeable to his nature which loueth peace and reſtraineth the hand. But of all others Clemencie becommeth no man more then it doth a Prince: for ſo is great power honourable and full of glorie in great Potentates, if they vſe it for the comfort of many; as contrariwiſe force is pernicious that ſerueth to no other end but to offend others. A man cannot ſufficiently expreſſe how firme and well grounded his greatneſſe is, whom all men know to be as much for them, as he is more highly raiſed aboue them, whom they obſerue to keepe continuall watch; for the ſafetie of them all in common, and of euery one in particular, vpon whoſe approach they runne not away, as if any euill meered them, or that ſome cruell beaſt broke out from his denne, but they flocke and run vnto him, as to a gracious and ſhining ſunne, readie and addreſſed to all future vpon their weapons, who haue plotted treaſons againſt him, and to make a bridge of their bodies for him, if for the conſeruation of his life it were needfull for him to march vpon the bodies of men that were mangled and cut in pieces. They watch about him during the time that he ſleepeth, by day time they inuiron his perſon on euery ſide, and leſt any one ſhould hurt him they expoſe themſelues to all dangers for him, what ſoeuer they be that preſent themſelues. This conſent of Nations and Cities, in louing and maintayning their Kings, and employing their bodie and goods in defence of a Princes life, is grounded vpon good reaſon. Neyther is this baſeneſſe and madneſſe in them for one man, yea, and he ſometimes olde and decrepit, in ſo many thouſands to attempt vpon the points of their enemies weapons,

An excellent comparison.

weapons, and to redeeme one ſoule by the death of many, and that one an olde and weake man ſometimes. Euen as the whole bodie ſerueth the ſoule, and by meanes therof ſeemeth more great and of fairer appeareance, wheras the ſoule contrariwiſe, lyes hid and inuiſible, without any certaine knowledge in what place it remaineth; and yet notwithſtanding the hands, the feete, the eyes doe ſerue the ſame, the skin as her Bulwarke defendeth her, and ſhe it is that ſtayeth or maketh vs runne hither or thither at her pleaſure; ſo that if ſhe be couetous we trauell whole Seas to become rich; if ambitious, we preſently offer our right hands to be burned, or we voluntarily leap into the fire: ſo this infinite multitude which inuiron one onely ſoule, is gouerned by the ſame, and guided by reaſon it ſelfe, which would otherwiſe depreſſe and oppreſſe her owne forces, except ſhe were ſuſtained by his counſaile.

CHAP. IIII.

The loue betweene Prince and ſubiect is the maintenance of an eſtate.

THey therefore loue their owne ſafetie, when as for one man they leade ten legions to the battell, when they runne reſolutely to the charge, and preſent their breaſts to bee wounded, to the end their Emperours coulors ſhould not be taken. For he it is that is the bond, whereby the Common-wealth is faſtened together; he is that vitall ſpirit by which ſo many thouſands liue: of her ſelfe ſhee ſhould be nothing but a burden and pray, if ſo be that ſoule of the Empire were taken from her.

The King in ſafetie, all men liue in peace,
The King once loſt, then faith and troth doth ceaſe.

To gouerne well and to obey well are the two ſtrongeſt pillers of an eſtate.

Such an accident ſhall extinguiſh the peace of Rome, this ſhall bring the fortune of ſo great a people vnto ruine. So long ſhall this people be freed from this danger, as long as ſhe knoweth how to endure gouernement, which gouernment if at any time ſhe ſhall ſhake off, or hauing caſt it off by any caſualtie, ſhall refuſe to vndergoe againe this vnitie and contexture of ſo great an Empire, ſhall be diuided into many partes, and euen then ſhall Rome ceaſe to commaund when ſhee refuſeth and neglecteth to obey. It is not therefore to be wondered at that we loue Princes, Kings, and Tutors of publique States (by what name ſoeuer they be called) more then our priuate familiars. For if men of the beſt iudgement doe thinke that that which concerneth the Common-wealth is of greater importance then that which toucheth their owne particular, it followeth that he, vpon whoſe ſafetie the whole Common-wealth hath an eye ſhould be more deerely loued then any other. In time paſt *Cæſar* ſo vnited and enboſomed himſelfe in the Common-wealth of Rome, that the one might not be ſeparated from the other without the ruine of them both; for as he had neede of forces, ſo had they of a head.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

By the ſimilitude of the head and members, that Clemencie is wholy neceſſarie to Princes, ſince their ſubiects expoſe themſelues to all dangers for them.

IT ſeemeth that this my Diſcourſe is eſtranged too farre from mine intended purpoſe, but to ſpeake the truth, it neerly concerneth the matter. For if it be ſo as we may truely conclude, that thou art the ſoule of the Common-wealth, and ſhee the bodie; Thou ſeeſt, as I thinke, how neceſſary Clemencie is: for thou ſeemeſt to ſpare thy ſelfe when thou ſpareſt others. Thou oughteſt therefore to beare with euill ſubiects, no otherwiſe then thou wouldeſt doe with languiſhing members; and if ſometimes there be neede of bloud-letting, take heed leſt the veine be opened more largely then the ſickeneſſe requireth. Clemency therefore, as I ſaid, is agreeable vnto all mens nature, but eſpecially it beſt befitteth Princes, becauſe in them ſhe findeth more people to preſerue, and a greater matter wherein to ſhew herſelfe. For how little hurteth a priuate cruelty? but Princes diſpleaſure is a warre. But whereas amongſt all vertues there is a certaine concord and agreement, neyther is the one more better or more honeſt then the other, yet are there ſome vertues that are more fit for ſome perſons. Magnanimity becommeth euery mortall man, yea, euen he that is the moſt baſeſt and abiecteſt man of the world. For what is greater and more manly then to repulſe aduerſe fortune? Yet this magnanimity ſheweth it ſelfe more amply in greater fortune, and appeareth more powerfull in the Tribunall then neere the earth. Into whatſoeuer houſe Clemencie commeth, ſhe maketh the ſame more peaceable; but in the Pallace the rarer it is, the more wonderfull it is: for what is more wonderfull then he againſt whoſe wrath nothing can make head, to whoſe ſeuere ſentence euen they that are condemned giue conſent; whom no man will queſtion with, why he did this, nay if he be extraordinarily angry, dare intreat for any thing; to lay hold on himſelfe, and to vſe his power more mercifully and mildely, and to thinke this in his heart no man can kill contrary to law, no man can pardon but my ſelfe? A great minde becommeth a great fortune, and if he mounteth not himſelfe as high as ſhe is, and if hee raiſe not himſelfe aboue her, he embraceth her likewiſe, and bringeth her to the ground. But it is the propertie of a great minde to be pleaſing, peaceable, ſetled, deſpiſing all iniuries and offences, as being raiſed to a higher eſtate. It is a womaniſh qualitie to be enraged with wrath, and after the manner of wilde beaſts (and they not the moſt generous) to bite and trample downe thoſe that are vnder their feete. Elephants and Lions paſſe by thoſe whom they haue murthered and caſt downe. Thoſe beaſts that haue no noble heart are the moſt obſtinate. Inexorable and cruell Anger becommeth not a King; for he is not very much eminent aboue him, with whom by reaſon of diſpleaſure, he maketh himſelfe equall; but if he giue pardon, but if he giue dignitie to thoſe that haue endangered and deſerued to looſe their eſtates; he doth that which no man elſe can do, except he that hath power and principallity: for life is often taken from him that is a ſuperiour, but neuer giuen to him that is an inferiour. To ſaue is the property of an excellent fortune, which may neuer more be wondred at, then when he hath gotten the opportunity to doe that which the gods doe, by whoſe benefite both good and euill men are borne into this world. That Prince therefore that taketh vpon him the minde of the gods, let him willingly entertaine ſome of his ſubiects becauſe they are good and profitable, leaue the reſt as men to make vp the number, let him reioice that ſom are, & other ſom let him ſuffer.

CHAP. VI.

Crueltie displeaseth Cities and Countries, mercie maketh them fortunate.

THinke what solitude and desolation there would bee in this Citie (in which a World of people going and comming incessantly by the spacious streetes cease not to justle one another as oftentimes as something hindereth their walke which is as a violent torrent which a man would staie, in which three streetes are requisite at one time, for three Theaters and in which as much corne is consumed as is gathered in many Countries) if a man should leaue none but such, as a seuere Iudge would absolue. Who is hee amongst the receiuers and treasurers that shall get his *Quietus est*, if he be as strictly examined: as he doth others? Is there euer an accuser without a fault? And I know not whether there be any man more difficult to giue pardon then he that hath often deserued to beggc the same. Wee are all faultie, the one more, the other lesse, the one of deliberate purpose, the other being driuen there vnto by aduenture, or drawne by other mens wickednesse. Sometimes we haue not constantly perseuered in one good resolution, and haue lost our innocence with griefe, and in spight of our selues; neither only for the present doe we amisse, but vntill the last houre of our life, we shall be still full of sinne. Although a man hath so well purged his minde that nothing can trouble or deceiue him any more yet by sinning hee attainted his innocencie.

CHAP. VII.

A most strong reason to perswade Princes to be mercifull to their subiects.

BEcause I haue made mention of the gods behold heare an excellent patterne which I present vnto a Prince, to conforme himselfe thervnto (that is to say) that hee deale with his subjects in such sort as hee would haue the gods to deale with him: were it expedient for vs that the gods should neuer excuse our pardon or faults, but that they should persecute vs with all rigour? Should there bee any great Prince in this World be found who should liue in assurance and whose members the *Aruspices* should not gather vp? But if the mercifull and just gods punish not the faults of mightie men by confounding them by lightning, how much more just is it, that a man who hath the charge ouer men should exercise his Empire with mercifull minde, and thinke whether the state of the World be more gracious or fairer to the eye, in a faire and bright day, or when as all things are shaken with thunder-crackes and lightnings flash on euerie side. But one and the same is the estate of a quiet and moderate Empire, of a faire and shining Heauen. A Kingdome where crueltie raigneth may be compared to a troublesome and obscure time, vnder which euery one trembleth and waxeth pale, by reason of the sodaine crackes of thunder, and where he that troubleth others is as wonderfully troubled for his own part. We pardon those priuate men more easily, who reuenge themselues obstinately, for they may bee hurt, and their sorrow commeth from injurie. Besides they feare contempt, and not to reuenge an injurie, seemeth rather to bee an infirmitie then Clemencie. But hee that may easily reuenge, and yet forbeareth the same, obtaineth a certaine commendation of mercie. Men of bare qualitie may more freely exercise their hands, contest, striue, and giue libertie to their passion. The strokes betwixt equals

quals are light, but exclamation and too much intemperance in wordes, ill beseemeth Majestie.

CHAP. VIII.

THinkest thou it a grieuous matter, that the libertie of speech should bee taken from Kings and permitted to inferiours? This saiest thou, is a seruitude and not an Emperie. But their condition is different, who lie hidden in community which they exceed not, whose vertue appeare not but strugglo long time, and whose vices lie hidden in obscuritie. But common report awakeneth your actions and wordes, and therefore there are no men that should bee more carefull of their reputations, of whom men speake much, and in diuers places, whether they doe well or euill, How many things are there which are vnlawfull for thee, but permitted vs by thy benefit. I may walke alone in any part of the Citie without feare, although I be accompanied by no man, and no man attend me from home, and without any sword by my side, but in the fulnesse of thy peace thou must liue armed. Thou canst not wander from thy Fortune, she will besiege thee, and whether soeuer thou goest a great traine will follow thee. Beholde whereunto soueraigntie is subject, she cannot become lesse, but this necessitie is common to thee with the gods. For they are tied vnto Heauen, it is not permitted them to descend from thence, neither is it secure for thee to descend from the throne of thy greatnesse. Thou art nayled to thy greatnesse. Few men know our dessignes and businesse, wee may goe forth and returne and change our fashion without any publique note taken of vs. Thou canst no more bee hidden then the Sunne. A great brightnesse inuironeth thee round about, towards which all men bend their eyes. Thinkest thou that thou commest forth? no thou risest like the Sunne. Thou canst not speake but all the people of the World vnderstand and marke what thou saist. Thou canst not be angrie but all men tremble. Thou canst not afflict any man, but all that are about thee shake for feare. Euen as the lightnings fall to few mens perill but to all mens feare, so the chastisements of mightie Potentates are more full of feare then of euill, and not without cause. For in him that can doe, all men consider not what he doth, but what he may do. Moreouer, patience maketh those priuate men, disposed to indure those injuries that are offered them easily enough; But Clemencie is a more assured safegard to great men. Because a frequent reuenge represseth the hatred of a few men, but prouoketh infinitie others. The will to reuenge ought sooner to faile then the cause. Otherwise as the trees that are pruned, spread forth in many more branches, and many kindes of seeds, are cut to the end they may grow more thicker; so the crueltie of a King increaseth the number of his enemies in extinguishing them. For the Parents and Children, the Allies and Friends succeed in their place, who are slaine.

CHAP. IX.

HOW true this is I will admoniſh thee by a domeſtique example. *Cæſar Auguſtus* was a mercifull Prince, if any man ſhall eſtimate him, from that time hee vndertooke the Empire (although in the common calamitie of the Common-weale, his ſword was vnſheathed.) When as he had growne to thoſe yeares of age wherunto thou haſt now attained, and had gotten nineteene yeares on his backe; and had hidden his dagger in the boſome of his friends, laid ambuſhes to defeat *Marke Anthonie* the Conſull, being one of the Confederates in the Triumuirate; about the fortieth yeare of his age, and being reſident in France, there was tidings brought vnto him, that *Lucius Cynna* a man of weake judgement had conſpired and plotted treaſon againſt him. It was told him where, when, and how he ſhould be attempted by one of thoſe, who was a partie in the confederacie. Whereupon he reſolued to reuenge himſelfe vpon him, and cauſed a counſell of his friends to bee aſſembled. He tooke no reſt that night, where as he thought with himſelfe, how hee ſhould put a young Gentleman to death of Noble parentage, and who but for this one fault was vpright enough: and beſides was *Cneius Pompeius* Nephew. Now could he not execute one man alone, becauſe at ſupper time hee had diſcouered to one that was called *Anthonie* the whole edict of the proſcription: Grieuing therefore and diſquiet in minde, he vttered diuers ſpeeches, and each of them contrarie the one vnto the other, what then (ſaith he) Shall I ſuffer him that would murther mee to walke at his pleaſure, and ſhal I liue perplexed. Shal he remaine vnpuniſhed, who not only hath reſolued to kill me, but to ſacrifice mee (for their intent was to aſſaile him at a ſacrifice) who haue bin aſſailed in vain by ſo many ciuill warres, and attempted by ſo many battels both by Sea and Land? After ſome pauſe and ſilence he exclaimed againe more violently againſt himſelfe, then againſt *Cynna*, and ſaid why liueſt thou, if thy death be profitable and pleaſing to ſo many? When ſhall I ſee the end of ſo many puniſhments? is there not bloud enough ſhed yet? my head is the marke wherat ſo many yong Roman gentlemens ſwords are aimed. Is my life ſo deere vnto mee that for the conſeruation thereof, ſo many ſoules ſhould periſh? At laſt *Liuia* his wife interrupting his diſcourſe, ſaid vnto him: Will you vouchſafe a womans counſaile? Doe that which Phyſitians are accuſtomed to doe. Who when as vſuall remedies take no effect, doe attempt the contrarie. Hetherto thou haſt profited nothing by ſeueritie. After *Saluidienus* thou haſt ruinated *Lepidus*, after *Lepidus Murena*, after *Murana Capio*, after *Capio Ignatius*, without reckoning vp the reſt, whoſe impious and impudent attempts make me aſhamed. Now make thou triall what thy mercie will profite thee. Pardon *Lucius Cynna*, his treaſon cannot be denied; hee cannot hurt thee now, but may increaſe thy renowne *Cæſar* being glad, that he had met with ſuch an aduocate, gaue his wife thankes, and preſently diſcharging thoſe friendes he had called to counſaile, he cauſed *Cynna* alone to be called vnto him, and commaunding all the reſt out of the Chamber, after he had commaunded them to ſet *Cynna* a chaire faſt by him, he begunne thus. This firſt of all doe I require at thy hands, that thou interrupt me not, neither that thou exclaime in the midſt of my diſcourſe, hereafter thou ſhalt haue libertie to ſpeake. Thou knoweſt *Cynna* that hauing found thee in mine enemies Campe; and knowne thee not only to be a ſuggeſted, but a born enemie vnto me, how I ſaued thy life, and reſtored thee

The great wiſedome of Liuia.

thee to all thy patrimonie. At this day thou art ſo happie, and ſo rich that the Conquerours beare enuie againſt thee that were conquered, when thou waſt a ſutor for the *Pontifice*, I gaue it thee neglecting diuers others whoſe parents had attended me in my warres. Hauing thus and ſo well deſerued at thy hands, thou haſt reſolued to murther mee. When as *Cynna* began to crie out, that ſuch madneſſe was farre from him. *Auguſtus* ſtaid him and ſaid. Thou keepeſt not thy promiſe with me *Cynna*? for it was agreed betweene vs that thou ſhouldeſt not interrupt me. I tell thee thou prepareſt to kill me, he told him the place, the confederates, the day, and the order of the ambuſh, and who was the man ſhould ſtrike the ſtroke. And when he perceiued him troubled, and not only ſilent becauſe he had promiſed to be ſo, but becauſe he was guiltie. With what minde ſaid he doeſt thou this? To the end that thou thy ſelfe maiſt bee Emperour? Truly the Common-weale ſhould bee hardly incombred, if none but I were the let of thine authoritie and dignitie. Thou canſt not gouerne thine owne houſe. Of late a franckling of thine hath had the credit to condemne thee in juſtice for particular affaires. Is this the eaſieſt buſineſſe thou canſt vndertake to conteſt and contend with *Cæſar*? Take it to thee, if I bee the only man that hinder thy hopes, I ſurrender it. *Paulus*, *Fabius Maximus*, the *Coſſi* and *Seruilians* and ſo many Gentlemen of value, and Children of ſuch worthie perſons, that doe honour to their Statues, thinkeſt thou they will indure thee? But leaſt in repeating his Oration, I ſhould fill vp the greater part of this volume, who was well knowne to haue debated with him for the ſpace of two whole houres, after he had long time diſcourſed vpon that puniſhment wherewith he would content himſelfe, he added. Well *Cynna* once more I giue thee thy life, before times as to mine enemie, now as to a Traitour and a Paracide. From this day forward let friendſhip be continued betweene vs, and let vs ſtriue to the vttermoſt to make it knowne, whether I haue giuen thee thy life with a better heart, or thou accepted the ſame with a more aſſured thankfulneſſe. After all this of his owne accord, and vnasked he gaue him the Conſul-ſhip, complaying of him that hee durſt demand nothing, ſo that euer after *Cynna* was a moſt affectionate and faithfull ſeruant of his, and made him his heire, and neuer after this did any man conſpire againſt *Auguſtus*.

The effect and fruites of mercy.

CHAP. X.

THY great grand-father gaue them life, whom hee ouercame; for had he not pardoned them ouer whom ſhould hee haue had gouernment? *Saluſt*, the Coccians, the Duilliens and all the Souldiers of the firſt companie of his Gard had borne Armes againſt him, notwithſtanding he inrowled them, & choſe them to be the neareſt about his perſon. The *Domitians*, *Meſſalaes*, *Aſiuians*, and *Ciceroes*, and all the moſt famous perſonages in *Rome* were indebted to his Clemencie. How long time bare he with *Lepidus*? he ſuffered him for many yeares to walke with that Equipage that became a Prince, and would not ſuffer the Office of high Biſhop to be transferred vnto him, except it were after his death, for hee had rather that it ſhould bee called an honour then a ſpoile. This Clemencie of his brought him to that ſecuritie and felicitie which hee inioyed, this made him gratefull and gracious in all mens eyes, although hee had laid holde on the Common-weale, who as yet knew not what it was to endure the yoake of ſubjection,

Other teſtimonies of Auguſtus his mercy.

iection, such a name at this day doth this mercie of his giue him, that other Princes will hardly obtaine during their liues. We beleeue him to be a God, not by any decree or ordinance: we confesse that *Augustus* was a good Prince, we acknowledge him well worthy of the name of the father of his countrey, for no other cause then for this, that hee reuenged not those contumelies that were offred him (and which in Princes eares are wont to sound most harshly) no more then he did his actuall iniuries, for that he smiled at reprochfull speeches that were offered him, for that he seemed to punish himselfe when he persecuted others, for that whomsoeuer he had condemned for the adulteries of his daughter, he was so farre from executing them, that in their dismission, and for their better securitie he gaue them passports and safe conducts. This is truely called pardoning, that when thou knowest that there are diuers that are addressed to be angrie for thee, and gratifie thee if thou hast caused any to be put to death, thou not onely contentest thy selfe to giue life, but also procurest that he to whom thou hast giuen it be maintayned and conserued.

CHAP. XI.

To perswade Nero to continue his Clemencie, he compares him with Augustus Cæsar, and sheweth that Nero had the aduantage in this respect, because his predecessor had that praise also after his cruelty committed, he in the entrance and infancie of his gouernment.

THus *Augustus* behaued himselfe when he was olde, or at leastwise when olde age began to seize vpon him: In his youth hee was hote, wrathfull, and did many things which he neuer lookt backe vnto without remorse. No man dare compare *Augustus* courtesie to thy Clemencie, although he equall thy young yeares with his more then mature age. Suppose that he were moderate and mercifull after he had dyed the *Actian* Seas with bloud of Romanes, sunke in the Scicilian both his owne and forraine ships, sacrificed a great number of men vpon the altars of Perusa, and caused many multitudes of men to be put to death in the time of the Triumuirate. But I call not this Clemencie, but wearied crueltie. The true Clemencie and mercie, O *Cæsar*, is that which thou shewest, which hath not begun with the repentance of cruelty, thine is not soyled, thou hast neuer shed the bloud of Romane Cittizens. This in a Prince is the true temperance of a minde, and an incomprehensible loue towards mankind, not to be enkindled with any desire or rashnes, not to be corrupted by the example of former Princes, not to weigh how farre his authority may extend ouer his subiects, but to dull the edge of the Emperiall sword and dignitie. Thou hast exempted thy Cittie, O *Cæsar* from all bloudie massacres, and performed this, which with a great minde thou mayest glorie in, *That thorow the whole world thou hast not shed one drop of mans bloud*: and the more great and wonderfull it is, because the sword was neuer committed to the hands of any one more yonger then thy selfe. Clemencie therefore doth not only make men more honest, but more secure; and is not onely the ornament but the assured safetie of Kingdomes, who thorow Princes haue attained long life, and left their gouernments to their children and nephews, but the power of tyrants is execrable and short. What difference is there betwixt a Tyrant and a King? In appeareance they haue one and the same dignitie, the difference is, that Tyrants take pleasure in their tyrannie, Kings doe iustice but vpon cause and necessitie.

What care Princes should haue to make their end like an vnlike beginning.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The difference betwixt good Princes and Tyrants.

WHat then, are not Kings sometimes accustomed to put men to death? It is true, but so often as they are assured that it is for publique profite. The Tyrants heart is set vpon murther. But a Tyrant differeth from a King in fact, not in name. For *Dionysius* the elder may iustly be preferred before diuers Kings. And what letteth vs to call *Lucius Sylla* a tyrant, who gaue ouer killing when hee found no more enemies? Although he forsooke his Dictature, and tooke vpon him the robe of a priuate Cittizen; yet what Tyrant hath there euer beene that so greedily drunke vp humane bloud, then he was who commanded seuen thousand Romane Cittizens to be slaine? And when as being in counsaile in the Temple of *Bellona*, neere vnto the place where the execution was done, hee had heard the cries of so many thousands that groned vnder the sword; & perceiuing that the Senate was affrighted thereat, *Let vs intend our businesse* (sayth he) *Fathers Conscript, these are but a few seditious persons, whom I haue commaunded to be slaine.* He lyed not herein, for these seemed but a few in *Syllaes* eyes. But hereafter we will learne by *Sylla* how we ought to be angrie with our enemies, especially if being separated from the bodie of Cittizens, they haue taken vpon them the name of enemies. Meane while, as I said, Clemencie effecteth this, that there is a great difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, although both of them are enuironned with guards. But the one maketh vse of these forces to maintaine peace, the other that by great feares hee may pacifie great hatreds. Neyther securely doth he beholde that very guard, to whose custodie he hath committed himselfe, but one, contrary thrusteth him into another; for he is both hated because he is feared, and will be feared because he is hated; and vseth that execrable verse which hath ouerthrowne many;

And let them hate me, so they feare.

Not knowing what furie is engendered in the hearts of subiects when their hatreds are increased aboue measure. For a moderate feare restraineth mens mindes, but a continuall violence, and such as is raised euen vnto the brimme, awaketh and emboldneth those that are deepest asleep, and giueth them courage to hazard all. If thou keepest saunge beasts foulded vp in gins and nets, a horseman may assault them with his weapons at their backes, yet will they attempt their flight by those places they were wont to flie, and will spurne feare vnderfoote. That courage that groweth from extreame necessitie is marueilous forcible. Feare must leaue vs some gap to escape out at, and shew vs lesse danger then hope, otherwise he that was not determined to defend himselfe, seeing himselfe in equall danger, will aduenture vpon dangers, and hazard that life which he esteemeth not his owne. The forces which a peaceable Prince shall gather for the good of his subiects are faithfull and assured; and the braue souldier who seemeth to aduenture for publique security, endureth all trauaile willingly, as being one of the guards of the father of his countrey. But as touching the violent and bloudie Tyrant, his guard must needes be aggrieued at him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

A description of the miserie of Tyrants and cruell Princes, all intending to this point, to recommend Clemency more and more.

NO man can haue ministers of a good and faithfull will whom he vseth in tormenting, in racking, and butchering men to death, to whom he exposeth men no otherwise then he would to beasts. Such a one liueth in no lesse pain and torment then those whom he holdeth in prison, because hee feareth both men and gods as witnesses and reuengers of his crimes, and who is already come to that passe, that he dare not change his manner of liuing. For amongst all other things crueltie hath this cursed euill in her, that she is incorrigible, she perseuereth and is not able to recouer any other better course. One wickednesse must be sustained by another. But what is more vnhappy then he is, who cannot chuse but be euill? O how wretched is that man, but truely to himselfe? For as touching others, it were very ill done by them to haue pittie of him who hath exercised his power with slaughters and rapines, who hath feare of all things as well domestique as forraine, that fearing armes hath recourse vnto his weapons, neither trusting to his friends faith nor his childrens pietie: that hauing regarded in all sorts that which he hath done, and that which he pretendeth to doe, and coming to open his conscience replenished with mischiefes and torments, oftentimes feareth death and desireth it againe as often; more odious to himselfe then to those that serue him. Contrariwise, he that hath the care and charge of a Common-wealth, although he haue a more intent eye to the conseruation of some things more then other things, yet entertaineth all the members of the State as carefully as those of his bodie, enclining alwayes vnto sweetnesse: and if it be expedient for him to doe iustice, he sheweth that hauing no enmity or beastlinesse in his heart, it is to his hearts-griefe that he layeth his hand on his weapon. Such a one, desiring to approue his gouernement to his subiects, exerciseth his power peaceably and to all mens profit, reputing himselfe in his own iudgment sufficiently happie, if he shal make his fortune and condition known, affable in speech, facile in accesse, amiable in countenance, which most of al winneth the peoples hearts, fauourable to honest enterprises, enemy to euill designes; he is loued, defended, and reuerenced by all the world. The same speake men in secret of him as they doe in publique. They desire he should haue issue, and that sterillity caused by warres and other publique euils should be abolished: no man doubteth but that he shall deserue well at his childrens hands, to whom he shall shew a world so happy. This Prince liuing in security, by his owne meanes, hath no need of guard or garrisons, he vseth his armes as the meanes of his ornament.

CHAP. XIIII.

Another instruction for a Prince, to teach him to keepe a measure in his wrrthe.

WHat therefore is his duetie? That which belongs to good Parents, who are wont sometime to admonish their children gently, sometimes to chastise them with threats, and sometimes with stripes. Doth any man of a setled iudgement disinherite his sonne vpon the first offence, except many and mightie iniuries ouercome his patience? except there be somewhat more that he feareth then that which hee condemneth, he will not blot him out of his Testament. Hee assayeth diuers remedies

remedies before hand to reclaime him from his dissolute and inconstant disposition, but when he hath no more hope then assaieth hee his last remedies. No man commeth to practise his extremest chastisements, except hee hath consumed all his remedies. That which the Parent doth, the same ought a Prince to doe: whom wee haue called the *Father of the Countrie* not led thereunto by vaine adulation. For those other names are giuen for honour sake. We haue called them *Great*, *Happie and Augusti*, and haue heaped vp whatsoeuer titles wee could inuent for ambitious Majestie: attributing them vnto these. We haue called him the *Father of the Country*, to the end he might know, that he had a fatherly power giuen him ouer his Countrie, and consequently very moderate, carefull of his children, and prouiding for their good, rather then his own particular. If the father must cut of some one of his members it shal be as late as he can, and after he hath cut it of, he wil desire to reuiue it againe, and in cutting it of, he wil sigh and differ long time, and in diuers sorts. For he that condemneth too soone condemneth willingly also, He that chastiseth ouer seuerely, ordinarily chastiseth vniustly. In our memorie the people of Rome stabbed to death a Roman Knight called *Erixo*, with their bodkins, for whipping his sonne to death. Scarce could the authoritie of *Augustus Cæsar* redeeme the same from the handes of displeased Fathers and children.

CHAP. XV.

Hauing compared a good Prince to a Father, he maketh mention about the end of the precedent section of an euil Father and here of a good, to the end to expresse by the same that a good Prince ought to assay all meanes in respect of his subiects before he descends to extreme vigor.

ARIVS hauing discouered, that his owne sonne had attempted and conspired his death, after hee knew of the fact banished him, for which acte of his all the people commended him, especially for this that hauing banished the parracide to *Marsillies*, hee furnished him, with as great an anuall pention, as hee had allowed him before hee had trespassed in this sort. This liberalitie was the cause, this liberalitie of his was the cause, that in that Citie, where the baddest causes want no aduocates, that no man doubted but that hee that was guiltie, was deseruedly condemned, since the Father who could not hate him, had the courage to condemne him. By this very example I will giue you the meanes to make a comparison betwixt a good Prince, and a good Father. When *Titus Arius* would draw his sonne into question, hee called *Augustus Cæsar* to counsell, who came from his own pallace to this priuate mans house, sat downe as a partie of the counsell; and he said not why came he not to my house? which had it hapned; the censure of the fault had beene *Cæsars*, and not the fathers. The fact being vnderstood, all circumstances examined, the yong man hauing beene heard in his defence, and his answers and accusations considered. *Cæsar* required euery one of the Counsailers to set downe their opinions in writing; to the end that no man should subscribe to his opinion, or if hee spoake that other men should follow him: and before that the billets were opened, he swore that he would not be *Titus Arius* heire, who was reputed a rich man. Some base fellow will say, that *Cæsar* was afraid, lest he should seeme to giue entrance to his hope by the condemnation of the yong man. But I thinke otherwise, that euery one of vs to defence our selues against the false opinions, that men might conceiue against vs, ought to fix our selues vpon the assured confidence of good conscience. Princes ought to doe many things, to get them a good report. He swore that he would not be his heire. That same day *Arius* lost another sonne

but

but *Cæsar* redeemed the libertie of his sentence, and after he had approued that his seueritie was without respect of recompence; of which thing a Prince shold haue an especiall care alwaies, hee sentenced him to bee banished to that place where his father should thinke fit. He iudged him not to be sowed vp in a sack, to be made a pray for Serpents, or to die in prison, remembring himselfe that he sat not there as a Iudge, but as a Counsailer to the father. Hee said that the father ought to content himselfe with the mildest kind of punishment, in regard of his sonne, who was as yet yong and drawne vnto this wicked act, in pursuite of the execution wherof, he had shewed himselfe to be fearefull, which excused him in some sort, and that it sufficed therefore to banish him from Rome, and from his fathers presence.

CHAP. XVI.

By comparison of fathers and Maisters and others in authoritie, and by the example of their gouernment he teacheth a Prince how vnseemly a thing crueltie and too much seueritie is.

A Prince, worthy alwaies to bee called by fathers into their Counsaile, worthy to bee made coheire with their innocent children. This Clemencie becommeth a Prince, that whether so euer hee commeth, should make all things more mild. Let no man be so abiect in a Princes eye, that hee hath no feeling of his death or danger, what soeuer he bee, he is a part of the Empire. Let vs make a comparison, betwixt the smalleſt Kingdomes and the greateſt Empires; There is but one kind of Gouernement. The Prince commandeth his Subiects, the father his children, the maſter his ſchollers, the Captaine or Lieutenant his Souldiers. Shall he not be reputed a wicked father, who with continuall whipping vpon the sleightest occasion, seeketh to still his children? Whether should that Maſter be more worthy the liberall ſtudies, who fleaeth his Schollers, if they haue not exactly remembred their leſſons; or by reaſon of their weake ſight haue faulted in their reading; or he that had rather mend them, and teach them by admonitions and modeſtie? Giue me a Captaine or Lieutenant that is cruell, he will make his Souldiers forſake him, and yet theſe are to be pardoned. Were it a reaſonable matter, to handle a man worſe then we doe bruit beaſts? But hee that is a good breaker of horſes, terrifieth them not with often ſtrookes, for by that meanes he will become more fearefull and ſtubberne, except thou handle and ſtroake him with a gentle hand. The ſame doth the Huntſman, who teacheth his hound to draw drie foote, and who vſeth thoſe whom he hath alreadie trained to the game to rowſe or hunt it. Neither doth hee often threaten them, for therefore their courage is directed, and what ſoeuer forwardneſſe is in them, is daunted by degenerate feare; neither doth hee giue them libertie to wander and ſtray here and there. To theſe maieſt thou adde thoſe that haue the driuing of ſlower Cattle, which being bred vnto reproach and miſerie thorow too much crueltie, are inforced to refuſe their yoke.

CHAP. XVII.

Since a man is the most vntamed creature of the World, we ought to handle him gently.

THere is no liuing Creature more vntoward, none more vntractable by heart then a man is, yet no one is to be ſpared more then hee; For what folly is it for a man to bee aſhamed to ſpend his ſpleene vpon Dogges, and Horſes, or Aſſes, and to intreat a man more rudely? Wee cure ſickneſſes and yet are not angrie with them

them, but this diſeaſe of the minde requireth a gentle medicine and that hee who cureth the ſame ſhould not bee angrie with the ſicke. It is the part of an euill Phyſition to diſpaire, that he ſhall not cure. The ſame ought hee to doe to whom the ſecuritie and protection of all men is committed, in thoſe whoſe mindes are affected, hee muſt not ſuddenly caſt by his hopes, ney ther indiſcreetly pronounce what deadly ſignes there are in the infirmitie. Let him ſtriue with vices and reſiſt them; let him vpbraid ſome with their infirmitie, deceiue other ſome by a gentle cure, becauſe hee is likeſt moſt ſoone and better to heale them by deceiueable medecines. Let a Prince indeuour carefully not only to cure but alſo to giue a ſmooth cicatrix to the wound of offence. A King obtaineth no glorie by cruell puniſhment for who doubteth but hee may? But contrariwiſe his glorie is moſt excellent, if hee containeth his power, if hee deliuer many from the furie of their Enemies, and ruinateth no man by his diſpleaſure.

CHAP. XVIII.

Another reaſon taken by compariſon betwixt the greater and the leſſer if all things are not lawfull in a Maſter ouer his ſeruants, they are no leſſe lawfull for a Prince ouer his ſubiects that are men.

IT is an honour to know how to commaund a mans ſeruants modeſtly, and in our ſlaue wee are to thinke not how much puniſhment he may endure and we inflict vpon him without reproofe, but what the nature of right and juſtice will permit thee: which commandeth vs to ſpare our Captiues and ſuch whom we haue bought to be our bond-ſlaues. How much more juſt is it for thee not to abuſe men free, ingenious, and honeſt, as thy bond-men, but to entertaine them, not ſuch as are vnder thy gouernment, to defend them as thy ſubiects, and not afflict them as thy ſlaues. It is lawfull for bond-men to flie to *Cæſars* ſtatue: Although wee haue authoritie to doe what wee liſt with our ſlaues, there is ſomewhat which the common right of liuing Creatures permitteth vs not to execute vpon a man, becauſe he is of the ſame nature that thou art. Who hated not *Pedius Pollio* more worſe then his owne ſlaues did, becauſe hee fatted his Lamproies with mans bloud? and commanded thoſe that offended him to bee caſt into the fiſh-poole to what other end then to feede Serpents? O wretched man worthie a thouſand deaths, whether he preſented his ſlaues to be deuoured by thoſe Lamproies hee would feed vpon, or whether to this only end hee nouriſhed them, that in that ſort he might nouriſh them. Euen as cruell Maſters are pointed at thorow the whole Citie, and are reputed both hatefull and deteſtable: ſo the cruell demencie of Princes, who haue contracted infamie and hatred againſt them ſelues, are inregiſtred in Hiſtories to bee a hatred to poſteritie. Had it not beene better neuer to haue beene borne then to bee numbered amongſt thoſe that are borne for a publique miſerie?

CHAP. XIX.

Now concludes he as in a generall ſentence that which he ſaid in the beginning that mercie is the moſt noted vertue in Princes.

THere is no man that can bethinke him of any thing that is more ſeemely for him that is in authoritie then Clemencie in what manner ſoeuer, and by what right ſoeuer hee hath the preheminence ouer others. And the more higher his dignitie is that is induced with this vertue, the more noble ſhall wee confeſſe his ornament,

nament, to be which should not be hurtful but composed according to the law of nature. For nature hath inuented Kings, which wee may know by other liuing Creatures and in particular by Bees, whose King hath the largest roome in the Hony Combe, and is lodged in the middle and most secureste place. Besides he laboureth not but examineth the labour of the rest, and when their King is lost the whole swarme is dispersed; also they suffer but one, making choice of him that is the boldest in fight. Moreouer the King is noted for his seemelinesse, in that he differeth from the rest both in greatnesse and goodlinesse: yet herein is he most distinguished from them. Bees are the most angrie and felleft Creatures that be, according to the capacitie of their bodies, and leaue their stings in the wound, but their King hath no sting. Nature would not haue him cruell nor to seeke reuenge that might hazard his life, and therefore tooke away his weapon, and disarmed his wrath. All Kings and Princes ought to consider this excellent example. It is the custome of nature to discouer her selfe in little thinges, and the least Creatures minister vnto vs the most nobleft examples. Let vs not be ashamed to learne some good thing of the smalleft Creatures, since the minde of man ought to be more seeled then euill which hee doth is hurtful and dangerous. By my consent I would haue man reduced to this condition that his wrath should be broken with his owne weapon, and that he might haue no more meanes to hurt then once in his life, not exercise his hatreds by an other mans hands: for easily would furie be wearied; if of necessitie she should act that which she her selfe commaundeth, and if she should expresse her power by the harzard of her life: neyther as yet is shee secured in her match. For he must needes bee surprised with as much feare, as shee would haue other haue feare of her, her eyes bee fixed on euery mans hands, and at such times as a man intendeth not to touch her, shee beleeueth that hee will assault her, and hath not one only minute of repose. Is it possible that any one would liue so vnhappily, when the meanes is offered him to passe his dayes without the hurt of any man, and consequently execute the affaires of his charge in all securitie, and with great contentment? He abuseth himselfe that supposeth that a King is secure in that place, where there is not any one but is afraid of him. One securitie must be assured by an other mutuall securitie. We need not build strong Citadels, on high hils, nor fortifie vnaccessible places, nor cut downe the sides of Mountaines, nor ensconce our selues with many walles and towers. Clemencie will secure a King in the open field. His only inpregnable fortresse, is the loue of his Cittizens. What more worthie thing can a Prince wish for, then to liue in all mens good opinion, and in such loue of his subjects, that their vowes and prayers should incessantly and secretly bee powred forth for his securitie: that if his health be crased, they listen not after his death, but are wonderfully affraid, least they should loose him? that there is nothing so precious in any one of their eyes, that they would not exchange for his health, and securitie; that thinketh that whatsoeuer hath befallen the Prince, is fatall to themselues? Hereby the Prince hath approoued by continuall arguments of his goodnesse, that the Common-weale is not his, but that hee is the Common-weales. Who dare contriue any danger towards him? who would not if hee could, preuent any disaster that is toward him; vnder whom justice, peace, modestie, securitie and dignitie doe flourish, vnder whom the wealthie Cities abound in the plentie of all good thinges? neyther with other mindes reuerence they, or beholde they their gouernour, then if the immortall goddes should vouchsafe them the libertie to behold themselues. And why doth not he

he that solloweth the nature of the goddes, which is to bee gracious, liberall, and powerfull, to doe good, become a second to them? This is it that becommeth a Prince to affect; this ought he to imitate: and as they desire to bee the greateft, so let them indeuour to be the best.

CHAP. XX.

Hauing generally discoursed of Clemencie and Mercie at this present in way of partition, he digesteth and gathereth together that which hath beene said in diuers Chapters, and sheweth that whether a man regard the person of a Prince, or of a priuate man, there ought no cruelty to be vsed.

HE Prince is accustomed to doe justice for two causes, eyther punisheth he the faults that are committed against himselfe, or against another. I will will first of all speake of that which concerneth him. For it is a harder matter for a man to temper himselfe, when hee chastiseth others, to satisfie his priuate disgust, then to propose it for an example. It were in vaine in this place to admonish a Prince, not to believe lightly, to examine the truth, to fauour innocencie, that it may appeare, that he is no lesse carefull to examine that which concerneth him that hath offended, as that which toucheth the Iudge. But this appertaineth to justice, and not vnto Clemencie. For the present we exhort him, that being manifestly wronged, he remaine Master of his own heart, and giue ouer punishment, if so be he may safely doe it; or at least wise differ it, and bee more enclined to pardon those faults which are committed against himselfe, as against others. For euen as hee is not liberall, that cutteth a large thong out of another mans leather, but hee that taketh that from himselfe which he giueth to another: So will I call him mercifull, not that weepeth, and is agrieued at another mans affliction, but him who hauing iust and vrgent occasion, passionateth not himselfe, and knoweth that it is the act of a great minde in the height of his authoritie to suffer injuries, and that nothing is more glorious in a Prince, then to pardon those who haue offended him.

CHAP. XXI.

A subdiuision of his matter, tending to that which he hath spoken of, and shewing that sooner that by reuenge, neither increaseth nor maintaineth his estate, he ought not to suffer him selfe to be mastered by such a passion.

REuenge is ordinarily wont to produce two effects, for eyther it bringeth him comfort that hath receiued the injurie, or putteth him in securitie for the time to come. A Princes Fortune is so great, as it needeth not such like solace, and his power is more manifest, then that hee neede to seeke the opinion of his greatnesse from the ruine of another. This, say I, when hee is assaulted or violated by any of his inferiours, for if he seeth those who sometimes were his equals, become his vnderlings, he is sufficiently reuenged. A Seruant, a Serpent, an Arrow haue slaine a King. No man hath saued a King, except he that saued him were greater then himselfe. He therefore that hath attained the power ouer life and death, ought to vse so great an authoritie bestowed vpon him by the gods courageously, especially towards those, who in his knowledge haue sometime opposed themselues against his greatnesse: hauing attained this dignitie, he is sufficiently reuenged; and hath done that which was requisite for an entire punishment. For he that should die, hath lost his life, but whosoeuer from a high degree, hath beene prostitute at his enemies feet, where hee attendeth the definitiue sentence of his Crowne and life, liueth to his great glorie; that preserueth him: and addeth more to his renowne by his life, then if he had sentenced him.

to death. For hee is the continuall spectacle of another mans vertue. In a triumph he had quickly past by. But if his Kingdome likewise may safely bee redeliuered into his handes, and hee might bee restored to that preheminence from whence he was fallen, his prayse riseth aboue all measure, that was contented from a conquered King to take away nothing but his glorie. This it is to triumph truly in a mans victorie: and to testifie that he found nothing worthie in the Conquerours hands, that was answerable to his worthinesse and value. As touching our Citizens and men that are vnknown to vs, and such as are of base condition, the more moderately must we deale with them, the lesse honour we shall get by afflicting them. Pardon some men willingly, disdaine to reuenge thy selfe on other some, and retire thy hand from them, as if they were some little silly creatures that would soyle thy fingers, if thou shouldest touch them; but as touching those that are eyther to be pardoned or punished in the eye of the State, make vse of the occasion of thy accustomed Clemencie.

CHAP. XXII.

He prosecuteth his partition, and sheweth that a gentle chastisement profiteth more, both to him that is chastised, and to the Prince himselfe then cruell rigour.

LEt vs passe ouer to those injuries that are done vnto another, in punishing which the Law hath obserued three things, which a Prince likewise ought to follow, either to amend him whom he punisheth, or to the intent that his punishmẽt may make the rest better; or that by cutting of the euill, the rest may liue more securely. Those, shalt thou more safly amend with lesse punishment, for he liueth more diligently, that hath some dayes of his life pardoned him to liue in. No man careth for his decaied dignitie. It is a kind of impunitie not to be able to be punished any more. But the fewnesse of executions reformeth the Cities manners the more. For the multitude of offenders breedeth a custome of offence, and the note of infamie is the lesse, the greater the number of delinquents there be: and seueritie by being ouer vsuall looseth her authoritie, which is the greatest honour she hath. That Prince setleth good manners in his Citie, and more happily extinguisheth the vices thereof, if he wink at them, not as though he allowed them; but as if hee were agreiued at them, and with great heart-griefe, was inforced to punish them. The Clemencie of him that gouerneth maketh them ashamed that offend. The punishment seemeth the more grieuous, when the sentence is giuen by a mercifull man.

CHAP. XXIII.

That continuall and cruell punishments, doe not so much represse offences, as the prudent Clemencie of Princes.

BEsides, thou shalt see those thinges oftentimes committed which are often times punished. Thy Father within the space of fiue yeares sowed vp more paracides, then were condemned to that death in all the ages before, as farre as we can gather. As long as there was no law established against this haynous crime, no children durst attempt or imagine this so vnnaturall a wickednesse. For those Law-makers and notable persons most wise and well experienced, thought it better to make no mention of this crime in their Lawes, as a most incredible matter, and such as man should not be so cursed, as to imagine, then to publish by the establish-

establishment of seuere lawes against the same, that so horrible an offence might be committed. Parricides therfore began with their law, and their punishment taught them their offence: Piety was in a desperate estate after we saw these sackes more often then gallowses. In those Citties where men are punished very seldome, euery one agreeth to liue innocently, and they entertaine innocencie as a publique good. Let the Cittie thinke her selfe innocent and she shal be: if she see the number of such as are dissolute is but small, shee is vexed the more. Beleeue me, it is a dangerous matter to let a Cittie see that there are more wicked then good.

CHAP. XXIIII.

He proueth for the third point both by similitudes and examples, that punishments affaire not good men.

THere was a decree set downe in times past by the Senate, that our slaues and free-men should be distinguished by their attire, but afterwards it appeared what danger was imminent if our seruants should haue begun to haue numbred vs. Know this, that if no man be pardoned, this is likewise to be feared, that it will quickly appeare what aduantage the worser part hath ouer the better: no lesse dishonourable are many punishments to a Prince, then many funerals to a Physitian. He that gouerneth more mildely, is obeyed more willingly. Mans minde is naturally rebellious, ouerthwart and proude, he followeth more willingly then he is led. And as generous and noble horses are better guided by an easie bit, so voluntary innocence followeth Clemencie of her owne motion: in the Cittie this sweetnesse is a good that desireth to bee maintayned. So then there is more gotten by following this way. Crueltie is humane euill, it is vnworthy so milde a minde; this is a beast-like rage to reioyce in bloud and wounds, and laying by the habite of a man, to translate himselfe to a wilde beast.

CHAP. XXV.

TEll me *Alexander*, I beseech thee, whether of these two is more strange, eyther that thou command *Lysimachus* to bee cast vnto the Lions, or that thou thy selfe teare him in pieces with thy eager teeth. The throat and crueltie of the Lion is thine owne. O how gladly wouldest thou haue had these clawes, and that great throat, capable to deuoure and swallow men? We requeste thee not that this hand of thine, which hath put to death three of thy dearest friends, should doe good to any man, nor that thy felon heart, the vnsatiable ruine of Nations should glut it selfe otherwise then in bloud and murthers: we will take it for thy Clemency, and so call it, if in murthering thy friend thou make choyce of an executioner amongst the number of men. This is the cause why crueltie is most of all to be abhorred, because she passeth the bonds, not onely of custome but of humanitie. She searcheth out new punishments, and applyeth her mind thereunto, she inuenteth instruments to multiply and prolong paine, and to content her selfe in those torments which other men suffer. Then doth that dire sickenesse of the minde grow into most desperate rage, when crueltie is turned into pleasure, and to murther men is reputed a May-game. For such a man is attended by confusion, hatreds, venoms, swords, by as many dangers is he assaul-

ted as he is the danger of many men, and sometimes by priuate counsailes and sometimes by publique calamities he is surprised and circumuented. For the slight and priuate ouerthrow of some particulars, incenseth not whole Cities: that which beginneth to rage on euery side, and indifferently attempteth all men, armeth euery man against it. The smaller Serpents slip by vs; neyther are they much sought after, but if any one waxeth aboue ordinarie measure and bignesse, and becommeth a monster, when hee hath infected the fountaines by drinking in them, and scortched with his breath, and rent with his tallants whatsoeuer he treads vpon, we shoote at him with Balistils and Crosbowes. The smaller euils may speake faire and so escape, but wee make head against the great ones. If there be but one sicke in a house, it makes no great matter, but when it appeareth by the death of many that the plague is there, the Cittie cries out and euery man flies, and each man lifteth vp his handes to heauen. If some priuate house be set on fire, the neighbours bring in water and quench it; but when the fire is scattered abroad, and layes hold on many houses, it cannot be quenched but by the ruine of a part of the Cittie.

CHAP. XXVI.

He sheweth what danger it is for a man to take pleasure in cruelitie, and how much good Princes get by amiable and curteous entertainement. He concludeth that Clemencie is the fairest flower in their Garland.

SEruile handes likewise haue reuenged the crueltie of particulars, although they saw their death before them. The cruelty of Tyrants, the Nations, people & those that were oppressed, and such as were most neerely threatned thereby, haue attempted to confound. Sometime their owne guards haue conspired against them, and exercised vpon them that perfidiousnesse, impiety, and cruelty which they themselues had learned of them. For what can any man hope from him whom he hath trained vp to be euill? wickednesse appeareth not long time, neyther sinneth she as much as she is commanded. But put case that crueltie be assured; what a Kingdome hath she? No other then the forme of sacked Cities, and the terrible faces of publique feare. All things are sad, troublesome and confused, euen the pleasures themselues are feared: they banquet not securely, and in their feasts though they be drunke they must haue a watch ouer their tongues: they cannot trust their Theaters where men seeke occasions to accuse and put to death nowe this man, now that man. when their banquets be prepared with greater charge, and Kingly riches, and by the excellent inuention of cunning Artists, who is he, I pray you, that would take pleasure to depart from his sports to a prison? Good gods what a mischiefe is this, to kill, to rage, to delight in the noyse of shackles, to cut off Cittizens heads, to shedde bloud in euery place, whersoeuer he commeth, to terrifie men and make them flie from his terrible lookes? What other life would there be if Lions & Beares did raigne? if Serpents and euery other noysome creature should haue power ouer vs? They being voyde of reason, and being condemned by vs for the crime of immanitie, abstaine from those of their owne kinde, yea, and similitude is a protection amongst the sauage beasts, but amongst men only rage forbareth not his deerest friends, but maketh one account of strangers as of home-bred, whereby he may more busily creepe into priuate mens slaughters, and afterwards into the ruine of Nations. He reputeth it to be for his royaltie to cast fire vpon houses, and to plough vp olde Cities: he beleeueth it to be scarce Kingly to command one or two to be slaine, except at one time a troope of miserable

serable men stand subiect to his sword, he accounteth his crueltie to bee inforced and restrained. Tibe hath filled the seas with our companies liues, and to call them backe from death, that are banished to Ile, and to watch a still Cyrene by Clemencie. There is no tirannie so great, so cruell, or barbarous, that can shew the greatnesse of a Prince then such a Crowne, with this inscription Obtuses fornices, not the Chariots of barbarous Nations besprinkled with bloud, nor spoyles gotten in warre. This is a diuine power to saue men by companies, and publikely: but to murther many, and they vnheard, is the act of a Tyrant and Murtherer.

The end of the first Booke of Clemencie.

A DISCOVRSE OF CLEMENCIE,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
To *NERO CÆSAR.*

The second Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

NEce more hee praiseth NERO *and his excellent voice. Then passeth hee ouer to the second part and sheweth the Nature of Clemencie, and defineth the same. He explaineth it the more by the contrarie vice, and bringeth forth Cruelties and describeth it. Afterwards he limiteth Clemencie, and will haue it removed from Compassion, for this is a vice amongst the Stoicks. Neither giueth he leaue to remit or giue pardon, but to saue and to prouide for, and whether they do right in the one or no, then in matter. This is the end of the Booke, but out of the matter, and by the discourse it appeareth that many things are wanting, which haue beene vttered for the iniquitie of the time. Wee haue so rowed for in a worthie Theft: which had it not beene in my iudgement the Second Booke had equalled the first.*

CHAP. I.

He animateth Nero *to continue in his well begunne gouernment, with that placabilitie hee hath theretofore vsed, he secondeth his Counsailes with praises which serue as spurres to a good minde.*

THat which most chiefly moued mee *Nero Cæsar* to addresse and dedicate this discourse of Clemencie vnto thee, was a speech of thine which not only rauished mee with admiration, at such time as I heard it, but as when afterwards I recited it to others. A generous speech, the argumẽt of a great minde and greater lenitie; which was not studied for, or fitted to flatter other mens eares, but sodainly brake forth; and brought thy beautie that cõtended with thy Fortune into the publike eye and censure of all men. *Burrus* a Captaine of thy Gard, a man of honour and knowne by vs for such a one, hauing charge to carrie two theefs to execution, laboured, that thou wouldest signe the sentence that was giuen against them both: which being deferred diuers times, he insisted at last that it might be dispatched. But after that, to thy owne heart's griefe and

and thy distast he had drawne the writing out of his bosome, and deliuered it into thy hands, I know not, I would I could neither reade nor write. O speech worthie to bee heard by all those Nations that inhabite the Romane Empire, and by those neighbour Countries, that are scarcely assured of their libertie, and by those likewise who both in minde and might arme themselues against their prosperitie. O verie worthie to be reuiued in the open assembly of all liuing men, and whereof Kings and Princes might make vse when they should take their oath vnto their Subiects. O speech worthie the ancient innocencie of Mankind, in fauour whereof the former age should waxe young againe. Truly this is the bodie wherein all of vs ought to accord in equitie and Clemencie, driuing far from vs this couetousnesse to enuy other mens fortunes, whence all the infirmities of the minde doe arise. Now is it that pietie, integritie, loyaltie, and modestie, should lift vp their heads, and that vices which haue so tyrannously domineered ouer vs long time, should finally auoid their place, and reduce it to an age more happie and pure.

He prosequeth the continuance of Neroes *Clemencie, to the comfort of his Subiects and the amaze of his enemies.*

THou dost well hope and promise (Sir) that the greater part hereof shall come to passe. This Clemencie of thine shall by little and little be published, and spread thorow all the bodie of thine Empire, and all things shall conforme themselues according to the example which thou giuest them. Good health proceedeth from the head, and afterwardes causeth that all the members are nimble and strong, as contrariwise they languish, if the spirit that quickneth them, bee amated. And both thy Cittizens and associates shall be worthie of this bountie, and good maners shal be re-established thorow out the whole World, & shal be extended in euerie place. Suffer me to insist a little longer one this point, not to the intent to tickle or flatter thine eares, for it is not my custome. I had rather offend thee in speaking truth, then please thee by flatterie. What is the cause then, why I desire thou shouldest bee so familiarly exercised in the knowledge of thy good words and actions? Truly no other but that one day thou mayest thy selfe doe that with iudgment, which now thou sayst and doest by a naturall aptitude of thy minde. This consider I with my selfe that many great, but they detestable speeches of Princes are entred into mens hearts, and are ordinarie in their mouthes as this:

With deadly hate let them pursue me,
Prouided alwayes that they feare me.

Whereunto resembleth that Greeke verse, who willeth that when he is dead,

The solid Earth should with the fire be mixt.

And others of this kinde: But I know not how such spirits, so prodigious and so hatefull, haue expressed their violent and furious conceits in a more plentifull manner. I haue neuer as yet heard a proud word, vttered by a good and mercifull Prince. What is it then that thou art to doe? Forsooth this, that as slackly as thou mayest and with some remorse, and with some delayes also vntill such time

time as thou art inforced thereunto, thou write that which draweth thee in hatred of good letters, yea so as thou doest in temporizing and delaying diuers times.

CHAP. III.

What Clemencie is, and the definitions thereof.

LEAST long time this goodly and pleasing name of Clemencie should happily deceiue vs, let vs see what Clemencie is, what a one he is, and to what end he endeth. Clemencie then is a moderation of the minde, that restraineth the power which a man hath to reuenge himselfe, or it is a gracious moderation of the superiour towards his inferiour, in establishing of punishment. The surest way shall bee to set downe diuers definitions, for feare least one suffice not to expresse the same, and that the forme thereof (if we may so speake) escape vs not. One may therefore say, that it is an inclination of the minde, tending to shew himselfe mercifull when he ought to chastise. This definition will haue some opposition, although it bee such a one as draweth neareſt the truth. If wee say that Clemencie is a moderation remitting somewhat of the punishment which is deserued and due, some one will reply that there is not any vertue that doth lesse then he ought. But all men know that Clemencie is that vertue which remiteth somewhat of that which he might exact. They of weakest iudgement suppose that seueritie is opposed against it, but neuer was one vertue contrarie to another.

CHAP. IIII.

Of Crueltie opposed against Clemencie, and the definitions and kinds thereof laid open by examples.

WHat therefore is opposed to Clemencie? Crueltie which is no other thing then a crueltie of minde in exacting punishments. But there are some that are cruell although they doe not punish any: such as they are who kill men whom they neuer saw, but met with in the way, not to the inteht to lessen the number, but killing them because they tooke pleasure in killing. Moreouer not content to murther, they tortured more bodies as *Busiris Prœrustes* did, and those Pirates who first of all beate their prisoners and afterwards burne them to death and dust. Truely this is crueltie, but because it followeth not reuenge (for she was not injured) neyther is displeased at any mans offence (for no crime hath ouerslipped before) it is not comprised in our definition, which definition contayned an intemperance of the minde in exacting punishment. Wee may well say that this is not crueltie, but beastly furie which taketh pleasure to torment the bodie, and we may likewise call it madnesse, for there bee diuers kindes thereof, and none more certaine then that which extendeth it selfe to murther and massacre men. I will therefore call them cruell, who haue no occasion to punish, yet such as keepe no measure, such as *Phalaris* was, who not contenting himselfe with putting innocents to death, exceeded in his executions all humane and probable measure. We may to auoid all euill, say this crueltie is an inclination of the minde vnto most grieuous punishments. Clemencie driueth this crueltie farre of from her, because she hath better correspondence with seueritie. It is verie pertinent to the matter to enquire in this place what mercie is, for diuers men

prayse her for a vertue: and call a good man mercifull. But this is an imperfection of the minde, Crueltie and Mercie are the two extreames of Seueritie and Clemencie, we must flie both, the one and the other, for feare least vnder appearance of Seueritie we become cruell, and vnder colour of Clemencie shew our selues mercifull. There is not so great danger herein, but they that fall into one extremitie are as much out of the way, as they that fall into the other.

A paradoxe of the Stoickes, which Aristotle answereth in the fourth of his Ethickes and Morals.

CHAP. V.

In this Chapter, he maintaineth the Doctrine of the Stoickes, Against affection, approuing that those Philosophers were not so vnnaturall as they were reported to be.

EVen as therefore Religion reuerenceth the gods, so Superstition violateth them, so all good men should shew Clemencie and Meeknesse, but auoid mercie. For it is nought else but a basenesse of the heart which melteth in beholding an other mans miseries. It is therefore most familiar to those of the baseſt mettals and mindes. Such as are old women and tender hearted females, who weepe to see them weepe, that are condemned, who would willingly breake vp prisons, if so be they were permitted to doe it. Mercie regardeth not the cause but the condition, but Clemencie is conjoyned with reason; I know that amongst ignorant men, the sect of the Stoickes is condemned, for being ouer seuere and such a one as could not giue good counsailes to Kings and Princes. For it is obiected against them that they will not suffer the wise man to vse mercie, and to pardon. These objections considered a part, and by themselues are odious. For this were to cast all those headlong into despaire that haue offended, and to subject all offences to punishment. If this bee so, who are more seuere then this sect, which forbiddeth vs to remember that we are men; and exclude mutuall helpe, which is the assuredest Hauen against the tempest of Fortune. But I say that there is no sect more benigne and gentle then this is, nor that loueth men better, nor that is more intent to the good of all men, in such sort as all the scope thereof, is to serue, succour and procure the good, not only of his Schollers, but also of all other men as well in generall as in particular. Mercie is an infirmitie of the minde, by reason of the appearance of other mens miseries, or a sadnesse conceiued for the euils an other man suffereth, and supposeth that he suffereth them wrongfully. For a wise man neyther troubleth nor tormenteth himselfe, his vnderstanding is alwayes cleere, neyther can any thing happen that may obscure the light thereof. Nothing becommeth a man more then greatnesse of courage; But hee cannot haue a noble heart, that feare and sorrow may animate it, or any of these passions obscure or contract it. This shall not befall a wiseman; no, not in his calamities, but he shall dart backe againe all these arrowes that Fortune hath shot against him, and shall breake them before her face. He shall retaine one and the same countenance, alwaies both peaceable and constant, which hee might not doe if sorrow were lodged in his heart. Ad hereunto that a wiseman is prouident, and hath his counsell in a readinesse, But that which is cleare and pure, neuer proceedeth from sadnesse, which is a trouble of the Soule, and is not proper to examine any action; nor to inuent profitable things, neither oportunely to auoide dangers. So then a wiseman is not mooued with sadnesse for an others miserie, because hee is exempt from miserie; but otherwise, he will willingly and with a ioyfull heart, do all that which the mercifull would doe against their wills.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The description of a wise man according to the doctrine of the Stoickes.

HE will assist his neighbour that weepeth, without weeping himselfe; he will lend him his hand that is in danger to be drowned; hee will lodge him that is famished, feede him that is poore, not with out-rage, as for the most part they doe, who would bee esteemed mercifull, who disdaine and repulse the poore when they aide them, and fearing least they should touch them, but as a man to a man he will giue, as out of the common purse. He shall pardon the Sonne for his Mothers teares, command his greiues to bee loosed; he shall preserue him from the furie of wild beasts, to whose rage he should haue beene exposed, to the content and pleasure of the people, hee will burie the carkies of him that was condemned; But he will doe all this with a peaceable minde, and without change of countenance. He will not therefore be mooued, but will helpe, will profit, as being borne for the common good and the seruice of the Commonweale, whereof he will giue euery one his apart. Yea, he will extend his bountie to the miserable by proportion, and will reforme such as are wicked and to be amended. But to those that are afflicted and oppressed, he will yeeld his assistance more willingly. As often as he may, he will not suffer aduersities to touch them. For how might he better imploy his forces and riches, then in relieuing those whom the inconstancie of worldly affaires hath ouerthrowne. Hee will neither be abashed nor dismaide, to behold the disfigured face of a sicke man, or a begger, or of an olde man leaning on his staffe, but hee will assist all those likewise that deserue, and after the maner of the gods, behold with a bountifull eye the poore that are oppressed. Mercie is a neere neighbour to miserie, for shee hath, and draweth somewhat from her. Know that those eyes are weake which are bloudshot themselues, in beholding another mans suffusion: euen as assuredly we ought not to call them ioyfull but sicke, who cough vpon euery occasion, and that yawne as soone as they perceiue an other man open his mouth. Mercie is an imperfection of the minde, that is too much affectioned vnto miserie, which if a man seeke for in a wise man, it were as much as if he should require him to crie out at the Funeralls of those whome hee neuer heard of. It remaineth to declare why a wise man pardoneth not.

CHAP. VII.

A question depending on the former discourse, whether a wise man pardoneth? He answereth by definition to maintaine that which he said of Mercie.

LEt vs now set downe likewise what pardon is, to the ende we may know that a wise man ought not to giue it. Pardon is a remission of deserued punishments. But why a wise man ought not to pardon, is fully debated by those who decide this matter to the full. For mine owne part to speake shortly, as in a matter referued to an other mans iudgement, I say that he is pardoned that should be punished. But a wise man doth nothing but that he ought, neither pretermitteth any thing of his duetie, and therefore hee quitteth not the punishment which he ought to exact, but that which thou wouldest obtaine by the meanes of pardon, he giueth thee by a more honest expedient. For hee supporteth, counselleth, correcteth, and doth as much as if he pardoned, although he pardon not, because he that pardoneth, confesseth that hee hath omitted something which ought

ought to be done. He will be contented to admonish some without chastising them, considering that they are old enough to amend. Hee will dismisse an other in safetie, although he be apparently guiltie, because he hath beene deceiued, and fell into the offence being drowned in wine. He will dismisse his enemies in safetie, and sometimes with commendations, if they haue vndertaken Warre vpon honest grounds, as for their faith, confederates or libertie. These are not the workes of Pardon but of Clemencie. Clemencie hath free will, shee iudgeth not according to vse and custome, but according to equitie and right, and shee may absolue and taxe the charges at what rate shee listeth. Hee doth none of these things, as if hee had done any thing lesse then iust, but as if that which he had constituted were most iust; but to pardon is this, not to punish those things which thou iudgest worthy of punishment. Pardon is the remission of a deserued punishment. Clemencie effecteth this principally, that shee declareth those whom she dismisseth to be exempted from the punishmēt they should suffer. Shee is therefore more accomplished and honest then pardon. In my iudgement, the controuersie is vpon the word not vpon the matter. A wise man will forgiue many things, and saue many that are scarcely wise, yet such as may become capable. Hee will imitate good husbandmen, who not onely cherish straight and tall trees, but applieth vnder-props likewise to vphold those which are made crooked by some accident. They loppe some left the ouer-thicknesse of their bowes doe hinder their grouth, they nourish some that are infirme by reason of the sterrilitie of the soyle, and to those that spring vnder the thicknesse of a couert, they giue them open ayre.

According to these, a wise man shall see how hee ought to entertaine euery nature, and by what meanes those that are depraued, may be strengthened and straightened. *Many things are here wanting.*

(* * *)

The end of the second Booke of Clemencie.

A TRACT OF BLESSED LIFE,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA TO *IVNIVS GALLO* HIS BROTHER.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

HE wrote this Booke when he was olde, and set it downe for an Apologie against those that calumniated his welth and behauiour. He approoueth that Blessed life consisteth in vertue, yet that shee despiseth not these externall things if they befall her. It is a lofty writing, and excellent in the parts thereof, and because it containeth golden sentences and excellent sayings. There are two parts thereof; First, what Blessed life is, and how a man may attaine thereunto. As touching the former, he denieth that it is to be sought, either in Opinion or Manners; if we keepe the ordinarie way, we stray the farther from her. Reason onely is to be giuen eare vnto, whose faith that Blessed life is not mutable to chaunge, that is placed in vertue, not in pleasure as EPICVRVS would haue it. He, and diuersly he reselleth this with the slaues thereof, so farre as hee will neither lone pleasure ioyned with vertue, but abolisheth this name vtterly; This till the sixteenth Chapter. Thence followeth the other part to the attainement thereof, therefore is euery Vertue to be embraced. And are the rest to be despised? He denieth it; He saith, that externall things may be admitted, but not as the end. Yea, hee maintaineth, that they who as yet are but in the way, and amongst the number of those that are prudent, haue needs of some indulgence of fortune. Here cunningly and manfully enough he defendeth for his owne cause, and inducteth an aduersarie to say: Why hast thou spoken of Vertue? hast thou not other helpes. Why hast thou seruants, Money, Farmes, and Houshold-stuffe? Hee answereth diuersly? And first of all that he is no wise man, but that hee endeauoureth to be wise. Afterwards for these worthy men, PLATO, ZENO, ARISTOTLE, against whom in times past these were obiected. Vertue is a high matter; They are to bee honoured who labour to ascend, although during their attempt, they fall or are hindred. Then purposely speaketh he of Riches, whether a wise man ought to haue them; From the one and twentie Chapter. And he auerreth that they are had but not beloued, yet gotten honestly

nestly that they are, and must be spent bountifully. Hee whetteth his Stile against those long-tongued ablers, and vnder the person of SOCRATES, armeth the edge of his Stile against them. But the end is wanting, and those things that are vsually added, are of an other mans writing, and of a different Argument.

CHAP. I.

It sufficeth not to desire happinesse, we ought to know what true happinesse is, and afterwards by what meanes we attaine thereunto.

ALL men brother *Gallio* are desirous to liue happily, yet blinde are they in fore-seeing that which maketh the life blessed & happy: and so difficult a matter is it to attaine this blessed life, that the swifter euery man is caried with a desire to compasse her, the farther off departeth hee from her, if he haue failed in the way: which when it leadeth vs to the contrarie, the very swiftnesse thereof is the cause of our greater distance from her. First of all therefore we ought to consider what that is which we require: then to looke about vs by what way wee may more speedily attaine thereunto, being assured that in our journie (so the way bee true and straight) to vnderstand how much wee haue daily profited, and howe neerer wee are vnto that whereunto our naturall desire impelleth vs. As long as wee wander hether and thether and follow not our guide, but the dissonant bruite and clamour of those that call on vs to vndertake different wayes, our short life is wearied and worne away amongst errours, although we labour day and night to get vs a good minde. Let vs therefore aduise both, whether wee tend, and by which way we pretend; and walke forward vnder the conduct of some wise man who is exactly instructed and practized in those pathes which wee are to tract. For the condition of this voyage is farre different from other peregrinations: for in them if any certaine place be limited, and we doe but inquire and question with the inhabitants of that place, they will not suffer vs to wander; for here the worst way, and that which seemeth the most shortest and vsuall doth most of all deceiue vs. There is nothing, therefore that is more to be preuented by vs, then that we follow not like innocent sheepe, the troope of those that walke before vs, walking forward not whether we should addresse themselues, but whether we are led by other men. But there is nothing that entangleth vs in greater miseries, then that we couple & apply our selues to euerie rumour, supposing those thinges to be the best which is most approued and receiued by the conceit of all men, and wherof there are most examples, and liue not according to reason, but only according to other mens fashion. From thence proceedeth this so great heape of men tumbling one vpon an other. That which falleth out in a great presse of men, when the people themselues, throng themselues, where no man so falleth, but that he draweth downe an other after him, and the foremost are the cause of the ruine of those that follow: this may'st thou obserue, and see it fall out in euerie estate of life. There is no man that erreth to himselfe, but is eyther the cause or Authour of other mens errour. For much are we hurt because wee apply our selues to those that goe before vs, and whilest euerie man had rather believe, then judge, wee neuer judge of our liues but content our selues alwayes to believe: thus errour deliuered vnto vs from hand to hand,

vexeth and ouerturneth vs, and we perish by other mens examples. But wee shall be healed, prouided only that we separate our selues from the vulgar, but now the people stand out against reason in defence of their owne errour. This therefore commeth to passe that is vsuall in Common Assemblies, wherein, those men whose voices made the Pretor, admire to heare him named; when the inconstant fauour of such a multitude hath whirled it selfe about. Wee approue and condemne one and the same thing. This is the end of all judgments in decision whereof diuers men giue their opinions.

CHAP. II.

He taxeth those who think themselues well gouerned if they follow the multitude.

WHen the question is of happie life, thou must not answere mee according to the customs of those debates which are censured by voyces. *This part seemeth the greater*, for therefore is it the worst; Humane affaires are not disposed so happily that the best things please the most men. It is an argument of the worst cause when the common sort applaudeth it. Let vs enquire what is best done, not what is most vsually done; and what planteth vs in the possession of eternall felicitie, not what is ordinarily allowed of by the multitude, which is the worst interpreter of truth. I call the multitude, as well those that are attired in white, as those that are clothed other wayes, for I examine not the colours of the garments wherewith the bodies are clothed, I trust not mine eyes, to informe me what a man is, I haue a more better and truer light, whereby I shal distinguish truth from falshood. Let the soule find out the good of the soule. If once shee may haue breathing time to retire her selfe into her selfe, O how will shee confesse vnto her selfe, after she hath beene examined by her selfe and say: Whatsoeuer I haue done, yet I had rather it should be vndone; Whatsoeuer I haue said when I recollect it, I am ashamed of it in others; Whatsoeuer I wished I repute it to be the execration of mine enemies; Whatsoeuer I feared, good gods, how better was it then that which I desired? I haue quarrelled with many men, and (if any societie be amongst euill men) I haue altered their hatreds and drawne my selfe into fauour with them; and yet as yet I am not friendes with my selfe. I haue indeuoured to the vttermost to get in fauour with the multitude, and make my selfe knowne vnto euerie man by some noble action; what other thing did I but oppose my selfe against weapons, and shew hatred a place wherein he might bite me? Seest thou these who praise eloquence, that follow riches, that flatter authoritie, that extoll power? all these are enemies or can be enemies, for in effect they are all one. How great soeuer the number be of those that admire, as great is there number who doe enuie.

CHAP. III.

Since we seek for that good which is truly and not apparantly good, let vs not desire our example, either from the exterior apparance or the publike applause.

WHY rather seeke I not some thing out, which is good in vse that I may finde in my minde, not shew in outward appearance? These things whereat we gaze, these things whereat we stare, and with admiration one man sheweth vnto another, doe outwardly shine, but are inwardly miserable. Let vs seeke out somewhat that is good not in appearance, but solide and vnited, and faireſt in that which

which appeareth the least. Let vs discouer this, neyther is it farre from vs, wee shall finde it. Yet hadst thou need to know whether thou shouldest stretch thy hand. But now as if we were in darknes we passe by these things that are neereſt vs, and stumble vpon those things which we desire. But least I draw thee thorow a Labyrinth I will let slippe other mens opinions, for it were too long a matter to reckon them vp and confute them, and let thee know our owne. And when I tell thee ours, I will not tie my selfe to any one of our principall Stoickes: I haue authoritie enough to speake what I thinke, I will therefore follow some one, I will command another to giue a reason of his, and happily being cited after all others, I will disalow none of those things which the former haue decreed, and I will say: *This thinke I ouer and beside*, and in the meane while following the common consent of the Stoickes; I will consent to Nature which is the mother of all thinges. For it is wisedome not to wander from her, but to forme our selues according to her Law and Example. The life then is happie which is according to her nature, which can no otherwise happē thē if the mind be first of all sound, and in perpetuall possession of her health. Againe, if thee be strong, and vehement, and fierce, and patiently likewise apt for the times, curious of the bodie, and those thinges that appertaine thereunto, yet not ouer carefull or diligent in those things which maintaine life, disposed to vse the presents of Fortune, without admiration of any thing: without wondering at any of them, no wayes inclined to seruitude. Thou vnderstandest although I aime it not, that from thence there followeth a perpetuall tranquilitie and libertie, driuing away farre from vs all those things that eyther prouoke or terrifie vs much. For instead of the fraile pleasures, (and for those thinges that are small and friuolous, and that hurt vs at that time, when wee make vse of them to satisfie our passions) there succeedeth an excellent joy assured, and a continnall peace and repose of the soule, and a greatnesse of the minde accompanied with mildnesse. For all furie proceedeth from infirmitie.

CHAP. IIII.

The diuers definitions of a happie life.

AMan may likewise define our good after an other sort that is to say expresse the same thing in other termes. Euen as one and the same Armie sometimes spreddeth it selfe out at large, sometimes restraineth and locketh vp her selfe in a little place, eyther bendeth her selfe like a *Cresceent* with hornes on eyther side and hollow in the midst; or marcheth in a Batalion hauing wings to warrant them, and howsoeuer she is disposed, yet hath she alwayes the same force and resolution to maintaine the partie for which she is leuied, so our definition of the Soueraigne good may sometimes be extended out a farre, sometimes compriſed in few words and gathered as it were into it selfe. It will all come to one if I say: The Soueraigne good is a minde despising casualties, and content with vertue: or an inuincible force of the minde well experienced in the affaires of this World, peaceable in his actions, full of humanitie and regard of those with whom she conuerseth. It pleaseth vs likewise to define it thus, that we cal him a blessed man, who esteemeth nothing eyther good or euill, except a mind eyther good or euill, a respecter of honestie, content with vertue, whom neyther casualties extol nor depresse, who knowes no other greater good then that which he can giue himselfe, who reputeth it for a true pleasure to contemne pleasures. Thou maiest if thou wilt expatiate, turne this definition into one or two other

sorts prouided that the principall remaine. For what forbiddeth vs to esteeme him happie that hath his spirit free, raysed, assured, and firme, estranged from all feare and desire, that esteemeth nothing but vertue and disdaineth nothing but vice? All other the base multitude of things, neyther detracting any thing nor adding ought to blessed life, come and goe without increase or detained of the chiefest good. He that hath layed so good a foundation, shall bee alwayes followed whether he will or no, with a continuall ioy, with a profound content that proceedeth from excellent thoughts, because hee contenteth himselfe which hee possesseth, neyther desireth any more then that hee hath at home why should he make a scruple to change willingly the light friuolous and assured, motions and pleasures of the bodie with goods, so certaine as these other are? that day hee shall recence no pleasure that very day shall hee conceiue no griefe.

CHAP. V.

He confuteth those that set their felicitie on pleasures of the bodie, and defineth what a happie man is.

THou maist then see into what dangerous and miserable seruitude he falleth who suffereth pleasures and sorrowes (two vnfaithfull and cruell commanders) to possesse him successiuely. We must therefore issue out and find libertie and this doth no other thing giue vs then the neglect of Fortune. Then shall that inestimable good arise, namely the repose of the minde retired into an assured place, and mounted so high that she seeth all the mists of errours incontinently, scatter themselues in such sort that from the knowledge of the truth, there proceedeth a great and constant joy a sweetnesse and freedome of conscience wherein the vertuous man shall take pleasure not as they are goods, but as the fruits which proceed from the ground of that good which is in him. Because I haue begunne to discourse liberally, I say that he may be called blessed, who by the benefite of his reason, neyther feareth nor desireth any thing. I make mention of reason because stones, and beasts are both of them destitute of feare and sadnesse, and yet no man will say that they are happie Creatures, because they haue no sence or vnderstanding of felicitie, put into this ranke, those men whose dulnesse of nature, and ignorance of themselues hath drawne them into the number of sheepe and beasts. There is no difference betwixt these and them, because the one haue no reason and the other their reason depraued, and if she discourseth it is onely to weaken and ruinate her selfe. For no man can be called blessed, who is exiled from the truth. That therefore is a blessed life which is grounded vpon an vpright, certaine, and immutable judgment. For then is the minde pure, and exempt from all euils; when it hath no feeling of any rentings or prickings. What soeuer resolued to persist there, where soeuer she is setled, and resolute to maintaine her abode, in spight of wrathfull and repyning Fortune. For in regard of pleasure, although it be dispersed in euery place, although she come from euery part, and trie and attempt by all meanes whereby she may intangle vs, eyther in whole or in part: what man is he amongst men that hath any impression of manhood in him, that will suffer himselfe to bee flattered and tickled therewith day and night, and forsaking the soule, will haue a care of the bodie?

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An answer vnto those that would confound the pleasures of the bodie and the soule together.

BVT the soule likewise (saith hee) shall haue her pleasures. Let her enjoy them, and let her sit as Iudge ouer dissolution and pleasures. Let her glut herselfe withall those things that are wont to delight the senses. Furthermore, let her looke backe to those things that are past, and remembring her selfe of her decaied pleasures let her enjoy those that are neerest her; extend her hand to the future, ruling her hopes, and lifting vp her thoughts to that which is to come whilest the bodie tumbleth in delights and surfets. This in my judgment is a meere miserie, because it is a madnesse to imbrace the euill in stead of the good. Neyther is any man blessed without health, neyther any man healthie, that longeth for hurtfull, and letted healthfull things passe. He therefore is blessed, who hath a right judgment. Blessed is he that is contented with the present whatsoeuer they be, that is a friend to his owne affaires, blessed is hee who in the gouernment of his whole life giueth eare vnto reason. As for those that haue said that the Soueraigne good consisteth in pleasure it behoueth them to consider how sordid and abiect a place it is wherein they haue lodged a thing so precious. For their excuse they alleadge that a man cannot separate pleasure from Vertue, and they say likewise that no man can liue honestly except hee bee pleasant and jouiall; and that to be joyfull and honest, is one and the same thing. Yet see I not how these two things may be coupled together. And why I pray you may not pleasure be deuided from vertue? Forsooth, because euery beginning of good proceedeth from Vertue. From the rootes hereof euen these things spring which you loue, and desire so much. But if these were inseperable, wee should not see that some things are pleasing, but yet not honest, and some things most honest but difficult and such as may not be recouered but by dolour and paine.

CHAP. VII.

A continuation of the former refutation where he sheweth that pleasure is incompatible with Vertue, and consequently is, which is estranged from the chiefest good.

ADde hereunto likewise that pleasure intermixeth it selfe with a most vicious life, but vertue admitteth it not: It is with pleasure yea for pleasures sake that some are vnhappie. Which would not come to passe, if pleasure had intermixed it selfe with vertue, which vertue often misseth neuer needeth. Why vnite you thinges different, nay more, contraries. Vertue is a thing high, kingly, inuincible, infatigable; pleasure humble, seruile, weake, fraile, whose actions and bounds are Tauernes and Brothell houses. You shall find Vertue in the Temple, in the market place, in the Court, in the Court of Guard mustered in dust, cyred with heat, hauing hard hands: pleasure of times lying hidden and affecting darknesse about bathes and Hot-houses, and such places as feare the Constable, daintie, effominate, couzed in Wine, and Perfumes, pale, painted, and beslabbered with medicines. The chiefest good is immortall, it cannot perish, neyther hath it satietie, neyther repentance; for the iust mind is neuer altered; he is neuer hatefull to himselfe, neyther being her selfe the best, hath she cause to change any thing. But pleasure at that time when she most delighteth in extinguished. Neyther taketh she vp great roome, and therefore she quickly filleth and deaeleth, and after the first assault pineth away, and as there is nothing certaine, whose nature is in motion

so can there not bee any substance of that thing that commeth and passeth quickly, and such as is like to perish in the verie vse thereof. For he hath attained thether where he should end, and in beginning hee alreadie regardeth the end.

CHAP. VIII.

In continuing his refutation, he declareth what this manor of speech meaneth, that to liue happily, and according to Nature, is one and the same thing.

EVrthermore the euill haue their pleasures, as well as the good. And the basest take no lesse contentment in their absurdities, then great men doe in things that are excellent. And therefore the Ancients haue commanded, that we should follow the better and not the most pleasing life. For Nature must gouerne vs, she it is that ruleth and counsaileth reason. To liue then happily and according to Nature is one and the same thing. I will now tell you what this is. If wee carefully and confidently conserue the goods of the bodie, according as wee ought, and as they are agreeable vnto Nature, as gifts that haue no continuance, but communicable, from day to day: If wee inthrall our selues not to their seruitude, and if those that haue beene distributed to our neighbours possesse vs not; if that which is agreeable vnto vs, and giuen vs as an ouerplus to the bodie serueth vs only in that Nature, as spies and forlorne hopes in an Armie: in briefe, if they serue vs and command vs not, then may wee say that they are profitable and necessarie for the soule. A man that is entire ought not to be surmounted with exteriour things, he must admire nothing but himself, he ought to be confident, disposed against all casualties, a composer of his own life, and see that his resolution be accompanied with science and constancie, that that which he once hath conceiued, remain vnaltered, and that no exception accompanie his resolution. It is vnderstood likewise although I adde it not, that such a man bee addressed and ordered as he ought, gracious and magnificent in all his entertainments the true reason shall be ingrafted in his sences, and take from thence his principles. For from thence it is and from no other place, that shee extendeth her selfe, to apprehend the truth, and afterwardes returneth into her selfe. The VVorld likewise that imbraceth and comprehendeth all things, and God who is the Gouernour of this World, extendeth himselfe truly to exteriot things, and yet hee returneth in euerie part intirely into himselfe. Let our minde doe the like, that after shee hath serued the senses, and by the meanes thereof, hath extended it selfe to externall things, she may possesse her selfe, in briefe that she may lie and stay her selfe vpon the chiefest good. By this meanes shee shall become a faculte and power according with her selfe; and that certaine reason shall arise which is neither shaken nor extrauagant in her opinions, apprehensions or persuasions, but being well ordered and well agreed with her parts with which shee saith, (if we may so say) in the same time, shee hath attained the fulnes of her felicitie. For shee hath no way that is rugged or slipperie to passe thorow, neyther any wherein she may stumble or fall. She shall doe all that which she listeth, and nothing shall befall her that is vnexspected, but all that which she shall doe shall turne to her good, easily, addressedly, and without delay. For idlenesse and want of resolution discouer contradiction and inconstancie; thou maiest therefore boldly maintaine that the peace of conscience is the Soueraigne good, because it must needes follow, that the vertues remaine there where consent and vnion haue their abode, vices are oddes amongst themselues.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The peace of Conscience is the chiefest good, but Seneca placeth this peace in the sledge of humane reason, which we must beare with all in a Stocke and a Pagan, who knew not what the gift of regeneration was

DVT thou likewise (saith he) honourest Vertue for no other cause but for that thou expectest some pleasure thereby. First Vertue is not therefore sought after, because shee bringeth with her some pleasure, for she produceth it not, and yet is not without it. Neyther labopreth she for this, but her labour is, although she hath an other aime to attaine this likewise. Euen as in a field that is ploughed vp for Corne, some flowers spring vp amongst the good graines, and yet no labour is bestowed on this herbe, although it delight the eye. The purpose of him that sowed the Corne was farre otherwise, this came by chance: so pleasure is not the reward or cause of Vertue but an accession vnto Vertue. Neither is it pleasing because it delighteth; but because it is pleasing it delighteth. The chiefest good consisteth and is grounded on iudgement & the habit of a good mind, which hauing fulfilled his habitude, and confined himself within his limits, the chiefest good is consummate, neither desireth any other thing more. For without all them is nothing, no more then beyond the end. Thou art therefore deceiued when thou askest me, what that is for which I require Vertue: for thou seekest for somewhat that is aboue the chiefest. Thou askest mee what I pretend from Vertue? her selfe: for nothing is better, she is the reward of her selfe. Is this a small thing, when I say vnto thee, that the Soueraigne good is an inflexible vigour, a prouidence, a firme disposition, a libertie, a concord, and beautie of the soule? doest thou looke for any thing more, whereunto these may be referred? why namest thou pleasure vnto me? I seeke for the good of a man, not of the belly, which is more disordered then any bruit beast.

CHAP. X.

That there is neither content nor ioy in the pleasures of this world, when they are neuer so lisle separated from Vertue, which maketh vse of those pleasures with moderation

THou pretendest to be ignorant (saith he) of that which I say; For I denie that any man may liue pleasingly, except he liue honestly likewise: which cannot befall bruit beastes, which measure their good by their bellies. I protest I tell thee both painely and publiquely, that this life which I call pleasant, cannot consist without the adjection of Vertue. But who knoweth not that euen the very foolishest amongst you are the fullest of pleasure, and that iniquitie aboundeth in delight, and that the minde it selfe not only suggesteth some kindes of pleasure, but also many? First insolence and ouer great esteeme of a mans selfe, a pride surpassing all other, a blind and improuident loue of that which a man hath, affluent delights, a joy proceeding from trifling and childish occasions, detraction, and arrogancie, rejoycing in contumelies, sloth and dissolution of the sluggish mind, that is benummed in it selfe. But these doth Vertue discusse, shee puls vs by the eare, and estimateth pleasures before she admit them, neyther careth she much for those, she hath entertainde, (although she admit them) neyther is delighted in the vse of them, but temperance is joyfull: but when as temperance diminisheth pleasures, she injurioth the chiefest good in medling with the same. Thou imbracest pleasure, I moderate it. Thou enjoyest pleasure I vse it: Thou thinkest it to bee the chiefest good I scarcely deeme it good. Thou doest all

things

things for pleasures sake and I nothing when I say that I doe nothing for pleasures sake I speake of that Wise man to whome alone thou granteſt pleasure.

CHAP. XI.

That the voluptuous person is not wise, and consequently is deprived of vertue and hath no part in blessed Life.

BVT I call not him a wise man that is subject to any passion aboue all things, if he be a vassall to pleasure. For being subject vnto her how shall he resist labour, danger, pouertie, and so many tempests as storme about this life? how shall hee indure the sight of death and sorrow, how shall hee sustaine the assaults of this World & of so many other dreadful aduersaries, if he be conquered by such an effeminate enemie? He will doe all that which pleasure perswadeth him vnto. Go to: seest thou not how manie follies she will perswade him to. Shee cannot saust thou perswade any thing vndecently, because she is accompanied with Vertue. Seest thou not againe what the chiefest good should be if he had neede of such a Guard to make him good. But how can Vertue gouerne pleasure, when she followeth her when as it is the part of a seruant to attend, and of a Master to commaund. You make her the seruant that should commaund. But you preferre Vertue vnto a goodly office, you make her a taster to pleasures. But we will see whether Vertue bee lodged amongst those who haue done her so many outrages since she can no more be called Vertue, if she hath giuen ouer her place. In the meane while (for it is that whereof we intreat) I will shew that there are diuers voluptuous men on whom Fortune hath powred all her goods whom thou must need, confesse to be euill. Looke vpon *Nomentanus* and *Apicius* two carefull ingrossers (as these men call them) of whatsoeuer delicate eyther Land or Sea affordeth, and who present vpon their tables all the choice Creatures, that are fit for meate in euery Countrie. Behold these very men who from there beds, behold their Kitchins, who fill their eares with Musicke, their eyes with pleasing shewes, and delight their pallats with sundrie sauces, with soft and gentle fomentations, all their bodie is suppled, and least in the meane while their nostrils should be idle, that very place is filled with diuers odours, wherein the funerall banquet of dissolution is celebrated. Thou wilt say that these men haue their pleasures, yet are they not at their ease, because they rejoyce not in goodnesse.

CHAP. XII.

That the pleasures of wicked men are not truly pleasures but follies, and furies, contrariwise those of the wise are modest.

EVill will befall them (saiest thou) because diuers thinges happen in the interim which trouble the minde, and contrarie opinions shall disquiet the spirits, which I grant that it is so. Yet notwithstauding those very fooles. Those inconstant fellowes whom repentance attendeth at the heels receiuing great pleasure that we must needs cõfesse that they are so far from all trouble as from a good mind and (that which befalleth many) they are pleasant fooles, and merie mad-men. But on the contrarie part, the pleasures of wise men are remisse and modest, feeble enough secret and lesse obserued, because they are not sought after; and if they come without calling, they are lesse made account of or entertained. For they intermixe

intermixe the pleasures of this life, as men are wont to mingle their serious matters with sports and pleasant discourses. Let them desist therfore to joyne inconueniences, and to implicate Vertue with Pleasure, for by such false opinions they seduce those who are alreadie to much corrupted with vice. The one of these abandoned vnto his pleasures alwayes drunke and tumbling on the Earth, knowing well that he liueth voluptuously: beliueth also that hee followeth the Tract of Vertue: because he beleeueth that pleasure cannot bee separated from Vertue, and afterwardes intitleth his vices with the name of wisdome, and publisheth those things which should be hidden. So these kind of men who haue not learned it of the Epicure, surfet in their delights, and being drowned in vices, hide their voluptuousnesse in the bosome of Philosophie: and haue their recourse thether where they heare that pleasure is praised. Neyther estimate they rightly (for such vndoubtedly is my opinon) how sober and moderate his pleasue is: but flie vnto the name seeking out a patronage and excuse for their lusts. They therefore loose that one good which they had in euils which is the shame of offending. For they prayse these thinges whereof they were ashamed and glorie in their vice and therefore youth cannot rowse and recouer it selfe, when they ascribe so faire a title to so foule an errour.

CHAP. XIII.

Why the prayse of pleasure is pernicious.

THis is the cause why this prayse of pleasure is so pernicious because honest precepts remaine buried hereby, and that which most corrupteth is most apparant. But my opinion is (although I speake it to the disgust of those of my Sect) that the precepts of the Epicure are holy, right, and if thou examine them more neerely seuere enough. For he scantleth the wing of pleasure very much, neyther giueth her any libertie, but imposeth the same Law vpon voluptuousnesse that wee doe vpon Vertue. Hee commandeth her to obay Nature, but that which sufficeth Nature is too litle for dissolution. What is it therefore? hee that calleth slothfull idlenesse, and the varietie of gourmandize and dissolution, felicitie; he seeketh a faire pretext for an euill thing, and whileft he commeth thether being shrouded vndor a name of respect he followeth pleasure not that which he hath learned, but that which hee had in her selfe, and thinking his vices had beene taught him in some Schoole, he pleaseth himselfe in them, not fearefully, nor obscurely, yea he surfetteth on them in the sight and presence of all men, I will not therefore say as diuers of our Stoickes doe, that the Epicures Sect teacheth nothing but wickednesse, but this I say that it hath an euill report and is vndeseruedly defamed. No man can know this thing except he be admitted to know the secrets of this Schoole. The front and that which appeareth outwardly is the cause why men detract the same, and speake so sinisterly of it. It is as it were a valiant man clothed in an effeminate robe. As long as thou maintainest modestie, Vertue is in securitie. Thou wilt say that thy bodie is not addicted to any vncleanesse, but thou holdest as (some say) the Drumme in thy hand, and awakenest others to doe euill. Make choice therefore of an honest title, and let the inscription be such as may incite the minde to expell those vices which weaken, as presently as they are intertained, whosoeuer approcheth Vertue, he giueth hope of some generous thing. He that followeth

pleasure

pleasure seemeth to bee weake, broken, effeminate, disposed to doe wickedly. Except some man decipher vnto him what pleasures are, to the end hee may know which of them are limited within a naturall desire: which are carried away head-long and are infinite, and the more they are fulfilled the lesse are they satisfied. Well then let Vertue leade the way, and our steppes shall bee assured. Ouer-great pleasure is hurtfull, in Vertue it is not to be feared that there should bee any thing excessiue, for shee her selfe onely is the meane. That which is tired with his owne greatnesse is not good.

CHAP. XIIII.

How a man will agree pleasure with Vertue.

BVT to those that haue a reasonable Nature, what better thing then reason may be proposed? If this vnion bee agreeable, and if a man will trauell in such companie towardes happie life, let Vertue goe before and pleasure follow after, as the shadow doth the bodie. It is a small matter for a great minde to giue pleasure for a Hand-maid to attend on Vertue, which is the most honourablest Mistresse that a man may meete with all. Let Vertue march before and carrie the Ensigne, yet notwithstanding, we shall haue pleasure, although wee bee Masters and gouernours of the same. Shee will presse vs to grant her something, but shee cannot constraine vs thereunto. But they that haue giuen the superioritie to pleasure, haue wanted both, For they loose Vertue; Moreouer they haue not pleasure; but pleasure is Lord ouer them, with whose want they are eyther tormented, or else in aboundance strangled. Wretched if they be forsaken by her, and more wretched if they be ouer pressed. Like these who are entangled in the Syrtes: Now are they left on drie Land, presently hurred away with the violence of the streame. But this falleth out thorow too much intemperance, and the blind loue we beare vnto the same. He that requireth euill for good, casteth himselfe into great danger if hee obtaine the same. Euen as wee hunt wilde beastes with labour and hazard, and when we haue caught them it is a hard matter to keepe them: for oftentimes they teare their Masters in peices; so fareth it with those who haue great pleasures, for they turne to their great miseries; and surprize them when they imagine they haue the mastrie ouer them. Which the more and greater they be, so the lesse is he, and more subject and slaue vnto many whom the common sort call happie. To continue and prosecute the similitude which I haue proposed: Euen as hee that searcheth the haunts of wilde beastes and accounts it a great matter to catch such dumbe Creatures in his nets, and enuiron some great Forrest with a kennell of hounds, to the end to follow their Tract, forsaketh his better affaires, and renounceth many other offices: so hee that followeth pleasure, neglecteth all other things, respecteth not his former libertie, but dependeth on his belly, neyther buyeth hee pleasures for himselfe; but selleth himselfe to pleasures.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

DVT what (saith he) letteth Vertue and voluptuousnesse to be confounded in one, to the end that from them both the Soueraigne good might be deriued, so that it might bee one thing to be honest, and to be pleasant. Because there should be a pleasant honestie which is not honest, neither shall the chiefest good haue her sincerities, if she discouer ought in her selfe that is vnlike the better. Neyther is that joy which proceedeth from Vertue, although it be good, a part of the chiefest and absolute good. No more then mirth and iocundnesse, although they are deriued from most excellent causes. For these are goods: yet such as attend the Soueraigne good, but perfect it not. But whosoeuer will associate Vertue, and pleasure, and not equall them, by the frailtie of the one he mortifieth all that which is actiue in the other. Finally he inthrall eth that inuincible libertie that knoweth nothing more precious then her selfe. For he beginneth to haue need of Fortune which is the greatest seruitude of all others. And hee is attended by a doubtfull, fearefull, and suspitious life, fearefull of casualties, and suspended vpon the motions of time. Thee giuest not Vertie a seated and immoueable foundation, but commandest her to stand in a slipperie place. But what is so vncertaine as the expectation of casualties, and the varietie of the bodie, and such things as affect the bodie? How can hee obey God, and entertaine euery thing that happeneth to him with a good minde, and cease to complaine of Fate, and be a faithfull interpreter of his owne casualties, if he be shaken with the smallest assaults of pleasures or sorrowes? neyther can he be a good tutor or defender of his Countrie, nor a maintaner of his friends, if hee be inclined to pleasures. Thether therefore doth the chiefest good ascend from whence she may not bee drawne by any force. Whereby there is neyther entrance giuen to sorrow, hope, or feare, nor to any other thing which may indamnifie or lessen the greatnesse of the chiefest god. And only Vertue may ascend thereunto, by her steppes this steepie rocke must be broken, shee will stand stiffly, and whatsoeuer shall happen will endure it, not onely patient but also willing, knowing that euery difficultie of time is but the Law of Nature. And as a good Souldier will endure wounds, number his scarres, and though thrust throw with many weapons, will dying loue that Captaine for whose sake he breatheth his last: so will Vertue haue this Ancient precept in minde, *Morb* after God. But whosoeuer complaineth, weepeth, and mourneth, is compelled to doe that which he is commanded, and notwithstanding is violently enforced to doe that which is enioyned him? But what madnesse is it rather to bee drawne then to follow? As great in truth, as if thorow foolishnesse and ignorance of thy condition, thou shouldest lament, because some misfortune is befalne thee, or shouldest be amazed and diffident, that thou couldest not endure that, which happeneth as well to the good as to the euill: that is to say sicknesse, death of parents and friends, weaknesse, and such other incumbrances of mortall life. Let vs courageously endure all that which the common condition of all things that are created submitteth vs vnto. We are obliged vnto this, to endure all the accidents of our life without troubling our selues with those casualties, which we know how to auoid. We are borne vnder a Royall domination. It is libertie to obey God.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Hee concludeth, that in happie life consisteth in Vertue, and sheweth what counsaileth this Vertue giueth, and what good sure bringeth.

TRue felicitie therefore is placed in Vertue. What wil she counsaile thee to? That thou thinke that neythet good or euill that happeneth vnto thee, neyther by Vertue nor by malice. Afterwardes that by the meanes of God thou remaine alwayes firme and confident against euill, and that as farre as breath in thy power thou follow God. What then is that which is promised thee, if thou behauest thy selfe after this manner? Great things and such as are answerable to those that are diuine. Thou shalt be enforced in nothing; Thou shalt want nothing, thou shalt be free, assured and exempt from all dammage: thou shalt vndertake nothing in vaine: thou shalt doe that which thou pleasest without trouble or disturbance. All thinges shall fall out as thou wilhest: Aduersitie shall not touch thee. What then? shall Vertue onely which is thus perfect and diuine suffice to liue happily? And why should it not suffice? I say this, it is more then sufficient. For what can he want that is contented with euery thing and desireth nothing whatsoeuer? he that hath gathered all things that are his into himselfe; hath no need of any externall thing. But he that tendeth vnto Vertue although he hath gotten the greater part of his way, yet hath he need of some indulgence and fauour of Fortune, who as yet is entangled amidst the cares of this life, and hath not as yet acquit himselfe of those bondes which tie him captiue to this World. What difference then is there, some are tied, some are lockt vp, and some are fettered. But hee that hath gotten more high, and is as it were lifted vp from the Earth draweth his chaine, being as yet not at full libertie, and reputed for a man that is wholly free.

CHAP. XVII.

Hauing so highly spoken of the soueraigne good and of a happie life, He taxeth those that flatter vices.

IF therefore any one of these that barke at Philosophie alleage that which they are accustomed, why then speakest thou better then thou liuest? whence commeth it that thou flatterest a man more greater then thy selfe? that thou estemest money to be a necessarie aide, that thou art moued if thou looosest the same, that thou weepest if thou hearest news of the death of thy wife or of thy friend, that thou art glad if thou bee praised and spoken well of in all places, and that detractions torment thee? Why are thy Countrie grounds better trimmed, then the naturall vse requireth? why keepest thou no ordinary rule in taking thy repast? what meaneth thy house better furnished then other mens? What mooueth thee to drinke Wine more olde then thy selfe? why is euery thing so well ordered in thy house? whence commeth it that thou plantest trees, which serue for no other vse but for shade? whence is it that thy wife weareth the reuenew of a rich family hanging at her eares? And what is the cause that thy Pages are so richly apparelled? why hast thou an arte in thy house to know how to serue the table, and that thy plate is not set vpon thy boord rashly, and at euerie mans pleasure, but is serued in by course, and that thou hast a caruer to cut vp thy daintics? Adde hereunto if thou wilt: Why hast thou goods beyond Seas? And why art thou Master of so many goods that thou knowest not how to number them? Art thou so dishonest and negligent that thou knowest not three or foure of

of thy seruants? or so dissolute that thou hast them in so great number that thy memorie sufficeth not to containe their names? Hereafter I will assist thee in speaking euill of me, and besides this will propose against my selfe more then thou thinkest. For the present, behold what answer I will make thee. I am not wise (and to satisfie thy displeasure the better) I shall not be wise. I require not therefore of my selfe to be equall with the best, but to be better then the worst. It sufficeth me to cut of day by day some part of my vices, and to reckon my imperfections; my health neither is, nor shall be entire. I prescribe vnguents but no exact remedies for my paine of the gout, deadening my feuer, trouble me not often, and that it bee lesse furious and burning then it is. If I bee compared with thee, for swiftnesse of pace I am but a weake runner.

CHAP. XVIII.

That this reproach is not new, That a wiseman in condemning other mens vices beginneth with his owne, and hath a desire to mend himselfe. That we ought patiently to endure faultes because the best haue not escaped them.

SPeake not this for my selfe (for I am drowned in vices) but for him that already hath gotten ground. Thou speakest, saist thou in one kinde but beleeuest in another. This hath beene reproched by some leud companions, enemies of all good men to *Plato*, to the Epicure and to *Zeno*. For all these shewed how wee ought to liue, and not how they themselues lined, I speake of Vertue not of my selfe. When I blame vices I first of all reproue mine owne, and when I may possibly I will liue as I ought. This malignitie infected with diuers poysons shall not driue me from my laudable desseignes. This venome which you vomit out against others, and whore with you poyson your selues shall not hinder me from praysing that life, according to which I know that I ought to gouerne my selfe, although I gouerne not my selfe in that sort as I ought therein. Your malignitie (I tell you) shall not restraine me from adorning that Vertue, which I follow not, although it be estranged and farre off from me. Shall I expect that reproach, shall I in any sort restraine her handes which neyther respected *Rutilius*, nor forbare *Cato*? Why should not any man in these mens opinion, bee ouer rich to whom *Demetrius* the Cynicke seemed not poore enough? O exact person and aduersarie to all the desires of Nature, so farre as he forbad himselfe to demand those things from the vse whereof he had resolued to abstaine. For he maintaineth that the wiseman wanteth nothing. Marke st thou this? he professed not the science of Vertue but of powertie.

CHAP. XIX.

A paradox of the Stoickes, who praise those that murther themselues. The iniquitie of those men that accuse others and yet amend not themselues.

THey denie that *Diodorus* the Philosopher and the Epicure who not long since hastened his own death, by cutting his throat with his owne hands, followed not in this act the Doctrine of the Epicures. Some impute this vnto furie, some vnto folly, and vaine glorie. He contrariwise content and furnished with a good conscience hath giuen testimonie to himselfe in departing out of this life, and hath praised the repose of his dayes and arriued at the port, pronouncing that which you haue heard, in dispight of your teeth and that which you your selues also must say when your turne commeth.

Long haue I liu'd and fully haue I ended,
That race of life that Fortune first commanded.

You dispute of an other mans life, of an other mans death, and barke like little Dogges, against the names of great and laudable men, as if you met with men that were vnknowne. For it is expedient for you, that no man should seeme good, because an other mans vertue should not reproch your iniquities. To your great hearts griefe you compare famous things with your abiections, neither perceiue you, that this boldnesse of yours doth wound you wounderfully. For if the Schollers of Vertue bee couetous, voluptuous and ambitious, what name shall we allot you, who haue the very name of Vertue? You obiect that no man doth that which he teacheth, and that he doth other wise then he speaketh. Is this to be wondred at? Considering that they propose great and valorous things, which are aboue all the tempests of the world, and striue to nayle themselues to the Crosse, wherein euery one of you hath planted some nayle: yea, before they are at the place of punishment, they are content to be tied to any wood that they meete withall. They that doe not chastice and reproue themselues by themselues, are so many times tied vnto the Gibbet, as there are passions that draw them hither and thither, and are so ready to out-rage an other; I would beliue them, were their not some of them that from the gallowes cursed and spit on those that beheld them.

CHAP. XX.

That a man hath ouerhaled much that he hath gotten himselfe good thoughts, although the effects follow not alwaies.

THe Philosophers performe not what they speake, yet performe they very much, because they speake that which they haue conceiued with an honest mind. For if their words and deedes were one, what were more blessed then they? In the meane space, thou hast no cause to despise good words, neither those hearts that are full of good thoughts. You ought to praise the faire and honest occupations of the minde, and the studie of good Sciences, although there follow no effect thereupon. What wonder is it if they that haue attempted high matters, attaine not to honour? Reuerence thou the hardie and difficult enterprises of Vertue, admire the men, although attempting great matters, they faile of their purpose. It is a generous thing, for a man that considereth not his owne, but natures forces, to attempt and vndertake high matters, and to conceiue that in his thought which the most ablest men in the world cannot effect; who hath purposed and said this vnto himselfe; I will keepe the same countenance in beholding death, as I kept when I heard that shee approached me. How great waight so euer shall be imposed on me, I will yeeld my shoulder, and my minde shall sustaine my body. I will make as small reckoning of those goods that I haue, as of those that I haue not, if they lie on the ground in another mans house, it shall not trouble me, neither if they shine about me will I bee proude. I will neither respect the present prosperitie or future aduersitie, I will looke vpon euery mans land as if it were mine owne, and on mine as if it were all mens; I will so liue, as if I knew that I was borne for others, and for that will I giue thankes to nature that hath appropriated me to that vse. What could shee doe more for me? Shee hath giuen me onely vnto all men, and all men vnto me alone, what so euer I haue, I will neither keepe it too niggardly, nor spend it too prodigally. I will beleeue that I possesse nothing more, then that which is well giuen me. I will not esteeme any benefite by the number or waight, nor estemate them any other wayes, but in respect of him that receiueth them.

That

That shall neuer seeme too much to me, which a worthy man receiueth at my hands; I will doe all things, not for opinion but for conscience sake. I will beleeue it is done in the sight of all men, whatsoeuer I doe vnwittingly. The end of my eating and drinking shall be to satisfie the desires of nature, not to fill and emptie my belly. I will bee pleasing to my friends, gentle and facile to mine enemies. I will graunt before I be asked, and will preuent all honest demands. I will remember that the World is my Countrie, that the gods who gouerne the World are aboue me, and stand about me as censors of my deedes and words. And as often as nature shall redemaund my Soule, or reason dismisse it I will depart this life with this testimonie, that I haue loued and laboured to haue a good conscience, and to bee exercised in laudable actions; that no mans libertie hath beene diminished by me, nor mine by any man.

CHAP. XXI.

That good thoughts are the beginnings, and the high waies to good workes.

WHosoeuer resolueth with himselfe to doe this, hee will assay he will walke towards the gods, and aspire vnto great things, although he alwayes attaine them not. But you that hate Vertue and such as are vertuous doe nothing new. For sicke eyes are afraide of the Sunne, and those creatures which see not clearely but by night, are astonished as soone as the bright some day appeareth, and retire themselues to their lurking holes; In briefe, those creatures that feare the light, locke them vp in their retreates. Grieue and spend your wretched tongs in detracting good men; barke and bite at them, sooner shall you breake your teeth then lay hold or hurt them. But why liueth such a one, who saith hee is a friend of Wisedome so deliciously? Wherefore saith he should a man despise riches and yet he hath them? Hee doth nought else but speake against the loue of this life, and yet he liueth. Why commendeth hee sicknesse, and yet so diligently maintaineth and longeth for health? Banishment with him is but a word of no vse, and he saith that the change of a mans Countrie is no euill thing: Notwithstanding, if hee may make choice, hee endeth his dayes in the place where he was borne. He iudgeth that there is little difference betwixt a short and long life, yet if nothing let him he extendeth his age, and flourisheth in quiemesse for many yeares. He saith that these things should be contemned, not in regard of the proprietie and possession, but in respect wee should not haue them with labour, hee will not driue them from him, but will follow them securely when they flit away. In what store-house may Fortune better locke her riches then there, from whence she may fetch them, without complaint of him that keepeth them. *Marcus Cato* when hee praised *Curius* and *Coruncatus* and that Age, wherein it was an offence worthy of censure, to haue some few plates of Siluer, was himselfe master of a million of Gold, farre lesse in respect of the treasure which *Crassus* had, yet farre more then *Cato* the Censor was Lord of. By farre more had he surpassed his great Grand-father, had they beene compared together, then he was surpassed by *Crassus*; And if greater fortunes had befallen him, he had not refused them. For a wiseman thinketh himselfe worthy of all those presents of fortune. Hee loueth not riches, and yet he preferreth them before pouertie, hee receiueth them into his house but not in his minde, neither treadeth them vnder foote in possessing them, but containeth them, and will haue an excellent subiect to exercise his vertue vpon.

CHAP. XXII.

Why a vertuous and good man despiseth not riches, and to what vse they serue him.

VT who doubteth, but that a wise man hath a greater meanes to expresse the worthinesse of his minde, when he hath riches, then when he hath pouertie, who as in pouertie there is but one vertue not to be deiected, not to be depressed. In riches a man may say that temperance, libertie, diligence, disposition, and magnificence, haue a spacious field to shew themselues in. A wise man will not contemne himself, although he be of a low stature, yet could hee wish that he were higher. Though he be slender in body, and haue lost an eye, yet will he be content, yet had he rather that his body were strong enough. Hee will loue it so, when he shall know that there is some thing in him more strong and more vigorous; hee shall endure sicknesse and wish for health. For some things although they be small in appearance, and such as may be taken from vs, without the ruine of the principall good, yet adde they something to perpetuall ioy which springeth from vertue. So doe riches affect and comfort him, as a faire and merrie wind doth a Sailer, as a faire day, or as a couert in cold weather and raine. But who is he say I, amongst our wise men, who account vertue for the only good, that denieth likewise that these which we call indifferent, haue some worth in them, and that some are to bee preferred before others. To some of these some honour is giuen, to some great. Doe not therefore deceiue thy selfe, riches are amongst those things that are to bee desired. Why then saiest thou, doest thou mocke me, when as they are as highly esteemed by thee as they are by me? Wilt thou know how differently they are affected? If riches slip out of my hands, they shall carrie nothing away with them but themselues; Thou wilt be astonished, and seeme vnto thy selfe to be left without thy selfe, if they depart from thee. Riches with me are in some requeſt, with thee in high esteeme. In briefe, my riches serue me, Thou art a slaue to thine.

CHAP. XXIII.

That riches ar honest, both in regard of the getting of them, as in respect of the possession and vse of them.

GIue ouer therefore to forbid Philosophers to haue money. No man hath condemned Wisedome to perpetuall pouertie. A wise man may haue great wealth, but taken from no man, nor bought with the effusion of other mens bloud, gotten without any mans preiudice, without vnlawfull gaine, whose departure shall be as honest as their entrie, whereat no man shall grieue except he be enuious. Vrge against them as much as thou pleasest, they are honest; in which, where as there are many things which euery man would haue called his, yet is their nothing that any man may say it is his. But the wise man will not estrange the bountie of Fortune from him selfe, neither will he glorie or bee ashamed of that patrimonie that he hath gotten with honestie; yet shall hee haue wherein to glorie, if his doores being open, and the Citie admitted to enter to examine his substance, he might say; Let euery man take that hence which he knoweth to bee his! O great man, happily rich, if his actions bee answerable to these speeches of his, if after this speech he haue so much; this I say, if safe and secure he hath submitted himselfe to the Cities search, if no man hath found ought in his house, that an other man may challenge, boldly and openly, hee shall bee rich.

rich. Euen as a wise man admitteth no money into his house that is badly got, so will he not refuse nor exclude great riches, which are the gifts of fortune and the fruites of vertue. For what cause is there, why hee should enuie them a good place? Let them come and dwel with him; he will neither boast of them, nor hide them, the one is the signe of an insolent minde, the other of a fearefull and weake minde; as if containing a great good within his bosome. Neither as I said, will he cast them out of his house. For what will he say? Whether this, you are vnprofitable; or this, I know not how to vse riches? Euen as although he can walke his iourney on foote, yet he had rather get vp into his Coach, so if he may be rich he will, and he will entertaine riches yet as slight and transitorie things, neither will he suffer them to bee burthen some to any other, nor to himselfe. He will giue then, what hearken you now? Why open you your bosomes? he will giue, but either to good men, or to those whom hee may make good. He will giue, but with great deliberation, making choice of the worthiest as remembring himselfe, that hee is to giue an account both of his expences and receipts. He will giue vpon a iust and reasonable cause, for to giue euilly, is a shamefull losse. Hee will haue his bosome open, but not rent, out of which much money shall passe, but nothing shall be lost.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Of the vse of Goods in regard of the diuers reliefe of our neighbours, and how we ought to giue.

HE deceiueth himselfe, whosoeuer thinketh that it is an easie matter to giue; This thing hath great difficultie in it, if so bee it be giuen with iudgement, not scattered by aduenture or rashly. I gaine the heart of such a man, I restore vnto an other, I succour this man, I take pittie on that man; I furnish such a one, because hee deserueth to be warranted from pouertie, and to bee no more busied in seeking his fortune. To some I will not giue although hee want; because, although I should giue yet will he still be needie. To some will I offer, and other some will I presse to take, I cannot be negligent in this thing, I neuer oblige so many vnto my profit as when I giue. What saiest thou, dost thou giue to receiue againe? Yea, to the end I may not loose; yet must the gift that is giuen be in such hands whence it may not be redemaunded, it may be restored. Let a benefit bee bestowed like a treasure that is deepely hidden, which thou wilt not digge vp, except thou hast neede of it. What? hath not a rich mans house abundant matter to doe good? For who would tie liberality only to Citizens and men of accompt? Nature commandeth vs to doe good vnto men, whether they be slaues or free-men, whether they be naturally bred, or by manumission freed of in iust libertie, or giuen amongst friends. What is that to the matter? Where soeuer a man is, there is a place of benefit. The wise man likewise may spred his money in his owne house, and exercise liberalitie, which is not so called, because it is giuen to free-men, but because it proceedeth from a free minde. This liberalitie of a wise man, is neuer employed vpon filthy and vnworthy persons, neither is it euer so wearied, but that as often as he findeth out a worthy receiuer, it floweth abundantly, you are not therfore to giue a sinister interpretation, to those things that are spoken honestly, manfully, and stoutly, by those that are louers of Wisdome. But consider this first of all, that there is a difference betwixt him that is studious of wisdom, and him that is wise & hath gotten wisdome. He that hath

wisdome will say vnto thee, I speake iustly, yet am I entangled with many vices. You are not to require of mee a life that is euery way correspondent to my words, whereas I endeuour as much as I may to make and forme my selfe, and addresse my selfe according to an excellent patterne. If I proceede as well as I haue intended, require this of me, that my deedes may bee answerable to my wordes. But he that hath attained the fulnesse of wisdome, will deale otherwise with thee, and will say. First of all thou art not to permit thy selfe to giue sentence of thy betters; for now already (which is the argument that I am in the right way) I haue gotten thus farre as to displease euill men. But to let thee know, that I enuy no mortall man, heare what I promise thee, and how much I estimate euery thing. I deny that riches are good, for if they were, they should make good men: but now since that which is found amongst euill men, cannot bee called good, I deny them this name, yet confesse I that they are to be had, that they are profitable, and bring great commodities.

CHAP. XXV.

Although a wise man possesseth riches, he accounteth them not for true goods, and why he had rather haue them, then haue them not.

Beare therefore what the cause is, why I number them not amongst goods, and what thing I consider in them, more then you, since it is agreed betweene vs both that they are to be had. Put mee into a rich house; put mee there where I shall be ordinarily serued in siluer and golde; I will not bee proud for all this, which, although I haue by me, yet are they without me. Transferre mee to a woodden bridge, and driue mee amongst the beggers, I will not therefore despise my selfe, because I sit amongst them, who thrust out their hand to haue an almes giuen them; for what is this to the matter, whether a cruft of bread be wanting to him, who wants not the power to die? what then is it? I had rather haue that faire house then a bridge. Lodge me in a rich bed with delicate hangings, and goodly furniture, I will not suppose my selfe more happy, because I haue soft and silken couering vpon me, and because purple carpets are spred for my guests to sit vpon. I shall bee no whit more miserable, if my wearie head rest it selfe vpon a locke of haye, or if I lie vpon a Circensian and broken pad, whence the straw breaketh forth, through the rotten and ragged linnen. What therefore is it? I had rather show what my manner were in cleanly and decent apparrell, then with halfe couered or naked shoulders. Though all the dayes of my life should be pleasant, and that one honour should draw on others that are new, I would not be a whit prouder for all this. Change to the contrary this indulgence of time; let my mind bee wounded euery wayes with losses, sorrowes, and diuers incursions: Let not an hower slip without some complaint, yet will I not say, that I am wretched amongst the wretchedest; I will not therefore curse my day, for I haue already resolued with my selfe, that no day should seeme fatall vnto me. What therefore is it? I had rather temperate my ioyes, then still my sorrowes. This will *Socrates* say vnto thee: Make mee the conquerour of all nations; let that delicate and triumphant Chariot of *Bacchus* carry me as farre as *Thebes* from the sunne-rise; Let the *Persian* Kings require lawes at my hands, then will I thinke my selfe most of all to bee a man when all the world shall salute me for a God. Ioyne to this sodaine greatnesse, a contrary change; Let them cast mee vpon a hurdle, to be led in show in the triumph of some proud and insolent enemy by reason of his victory, I will march

march with such a countenance behind his Chariot, as I did when I was mounted in mine. What therefore is it? I had rather ouercome then be taken. I will despise the whole Kingdome of Fortune, out of that if I may take my choice, I will chuse the best and most pleasing. What so euer befalleth me, I will repute it good, but I desire they should be easie and pleasant, and such as should least trouble me in the handling of them. For, thou must not thinke that there is any vertue without labour, but some vertues neede spurs, other some raines: Euen as the body that ascendeth a hie place ought to be kept backe, and he that ascendeth vpon should beare forward: so some vertues are as it were descending, some that are troublesome to mount. Is it to be doubted, but that patience, valour, and perseuerance, and other vertues opposed to afflictions, and tread fortune vnder foot, are such vertues as mount and aduance themselues with trauell, and ourstrip many difficulties? What therefore? Is it not as apparent, that liberty, temperance and clemency march downewards? In these wee containe our minde, lest it slip. In these wee encourage and incite: So then when there shall bee question of pouerty, wee will arme our selues with the strongest, best disposed, and such as know best how to fight: in the vse of riches, wee will call the other which will march leasurely, and sustaine the weight.

CHAP. XXVI.

What difference there is betwixt a foole and a wise man, When as both would be rich.

This being thus distinguished, I had rather haue the vse of those vertues, the exercise whereof is peaceable, then to assay those other that make a man sweat bloud and water. I therfore saith the Wise-man, liue not otherwise then I speake, but you heare otherwise then you should: onely the sound of words is come to your eares, but what they signifie you enquire not, what difference then is there betwixt mee a foole, and thee a wise man, if both of vs will haue wealth? Great: for riches are to the wise man as his slaues, to the foole as his commanders. The wise man giueth not any authority to riches, but they master you wholly: you, as though some one had promised you an eternall possession of them, accustome your selues to them, and cleaue vnto them. The wise-man doth then most of all meditate vpon pouerty, when as hee is in the midst of his pouerty. Neuer doth an Emperour so trust to peace, that he prepareth not for warre, which hee reputeth to bee already proclaimed, although as yet they are not come to handy strokes. A faire house, as though it could neuer burne nor fall downe, maketh you insolent. Riches doe amaze you, as if they were out of all danger, and were greater then that fortune had power enough to consume them. Idleing you enuy your riches, neither foresee you the danger of them. Wherein you behaue your selues like Barbarians besieged in a place, who set their armes a crosse, beholding those that besiege them trauelling after certaine engines, and know not what they be, neither vnderstand wherto men will make vse of these engines of battery, which are addressed farre off from the Wall. The same befalleth you, you rot in your goods, neither thinke you what casualties hang ouer your heads euery wayes, and that sodainly shall plucke from you the faireſt and the richeſt spoiles. Whosoeuer shall take away a wise mans riches, shal leaue him that which is his, for he liueth being contented with those things that were present, and secure of the future. I haue neuer so much perswaded my selfe saith *Socrates*, or any other that hath the same right and pow-

er

er ouer humane affaires, as to apply my manner of liuing to your opinions. Vse your accustomed habite euery way. I will not thinke them to bee the iniuries of men, but the cries of little children. Thus will hee speake that hath gotten and attained wisdome, whose mind beeing freede from all vice, will loath him to reprehend others, not because hee hateth them, but because hee would amend them. To these will hee adde: Your reputation moueth me, not in mine owne respect, but for your cause: When I see you hate and harrow vertue, it is a forswearing of good hope. You doe me no more injurie, then they do the Gods, who ouerturn their altars; but your euill intent, and euill counsell appeareth euen there where it could not hurt. Thus beare I with your impertinencies euen as almighty *Iupiter* doth the follies of the *Poets*; Wherof one of them giueth him wings, an other hornes, an other brought him forth as an adulterer; an other, as a night-watcher; an other, as cruell towards the Gods; an other, as vniust towards men; an other, as a rauisher, and corrupter of children of free condition and of good parentage; an other, for a parracide, and such a one as hath inuaded other mens dominions, yea, the kingdome of his owne father: all which was to no other end, but to take from men (who believed that the Gods were such) all shame of doing euill. But although these things hurt mee nothing, yet doe I warne you for your owne sakes, and counsell you to embrace vertue. Believe those that hauing long time followed her, cry out that they follow some great thing, and that one day or other, will shew it selfe more excellent, and honour her as the Gods, and reuerence those that serue her, as you would doe the professors and priests of the Gods: and as often as there is any mention made of the sacred letters, keepe your silence: for this word is not deriued from fauour, as diuers men suppose, but silence is commanded, that the sacrifice might be duely performed without any interruption.

Fauctelinguis non à fauore.

CHAP. XXVII.

By reason of silence wherein he entreateth, hee sheweth by an expresse comparison, that there are not any people in the world more carefully to be listned vnto then women, and they that are vertuous, & therewithal hee introduceth Socrates as the most excellent who magnifieth vertue, and sheweth that happy life consisteth in the same.

WHich so much the rather ought to be enioyned you, that as often as any thing is vttered by that Oracle, with an intent and humble voice, you may heare the same. When some Apostatate Priest maketh a man believe, that the sister of *Apollo* hath sounded, when any one wel lerned to carue the flesh frō his muskles, woundeth himselfe both in armes and shoulders with a sparing hand, when some woman creeping vpon her knees along the wayes howleth, and an old man apparrelled in linnen, carrying in his hands a lanterne and a candle at midday, crieth out that some one of the Gods are displeased; you flocke about him, and listen, and entertaining one anothers mutuall amase, you affirme, that he is some Prophet. Behold *Socrates* crieth out from that prison, into which when he entred it, he clensed it, and made it more honest then any Court of plea. What madnesse is this? What nature is this so opposite against Gods and men? to defame vertues, and to violate holy things with malignant speeches? If you can, praise good men, if not passe by them. But if you take pleasure to exercise this vnbridled liberty, assaile one another: for when you are mad against heauen (I say not that you commit sacrilege) but you loose your labours. Sometimes I ministred matter to *Aristophanes* to breake his iests vpon me, and all that band of comicke Poets powred out their inuenomed scoffes against me: my vertue grew more famous by these very meanes, whereby they assayled her; for it behoueth

houeth her to be produced and attempted; neither doe any men more vnderstand what she is, then they, who by prouoking her, haue tired her forces. The hardnesse of the flint stone is knowne to no men more then to those who strike vpon it: I present my selfe vnto you in such sort, as a rocke in midst of a tempestuous sea, the which is on euery side, & incessantly beaten with the waues and yet notwithstanding continues in his place, and neyther by length of time, nor by the assaults of the same, is any wayes consumed. Enforce your selues against me, and leaue me at your pleasure, I will ouercome you with patience, what soeuer he be that attempteth those things that are firme and impregnable, imployeth his forces to the ruine of himselfe. And therefore seeke out some more soft and yeelding matter, wherein you may fixe your weapons. But haue you so much leasure as to examine other mens faults, and to giue your censures of any man: Why this Philosopher hath so faire a house? why the other suppeth more daintily? you obserue pustules and little spots in other men, being your selues besieged with vlcers. It is as much as if you should carpe at some mens freckles and warts which should appeare in their faireſt bodies, and you your selues were ouergrowne with a loathsome scab. Obiect against *Plato*, that he desired money; against *Aristotle*, that he receiued the same; against *Democritus*, that he neglected it; against the Epicure, that he spent it; obiect against me *Alcibiades* and *Phædrus*. O how happy should you be, when you could but counterfeit our vices? but why rather examine you not your owne vices which wound you on euery side; the one assayling you outwardly, the other burning in your bowels. The affaires of the world are not brought to that passe, although you are wholly ignorant of your estates, that you may haue so much leasure as to employ the rest of your time, and your tongues in detraction of good men.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The continuation of a wise mans discourse in the person of Socrates.

THis vnderstand you not, and you carrie an other countenance then becommeth your fortune, euen as many men doe, who sitting in the Circus or Theater, and some one dead in their houses, and are wholly ignorant of that which hath happened. But I beholding from a hie place, see what tempests either hang ouer your heads, that will somewhat later breake from out their cloud, to such as are neere at hand, that shall rauish both you and yours away, as soone as they shall meete you. And why? see you not already likewise, although you haue little sence thereof, a certaine tempest that transporteth your minds, and hurleth you vp, flying and pursuing the same things, and rauisheth you now lifted vp on high, now battereth you against the ground.

The end of the Discourse touching a blessed life.

THE TRANQVILITIE AND PEACE OF THE MINDE.

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA, AND

DEDICATED TO SERENVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

AND this Booke is to bee numbered amongst those that are profitable and worthie both for their matter and handling. It was written in the beginning of his returne from his banishment when he was admitted to the Court and preferred to be NEROES Schoolemaster. This appeareth by these words, in his first Chapter. This dissolution abashed me, and this abundance of delight spreading it selfe, and sounding round about mee, ravished me, comming from a place where I had long time setled my selfe to liue in obscuritie. He toucheth and taxeth the dissolution of the Court, which before times was vnknowne and hatefull vnto him. The order in the handling hereof is confused, yea scarcely is there any, and an ouer sight or defect vnlesse I be deceiued, appeareth in many thinges. But this is the summe hereof. The occasion of his writing, he draweth from his inconstancie and irresolution, his minde being neyther setled or quiet in any sort. This saith hee is their custome who are in the way to wisdome but haue not as yet attained the same, nor tasted the fruit thereof, which is tranquilitie. O great good, and what is it? he describeth the same. How shall I attaine thereunto? by flying inconstancie, what then is shee? her he punctually describeth. Shee is driuen away by diuers remedies first by occupation and that eyther publique, if the times or thy vnderstanding admit it, or priuate to the end, then maiest conuerse amongst the best studies and meditations. Yet must not we suddenly flie from the Common-weale, that there are many parts thereof, and that we haue libertie to embrace any one of them. This vntill the fourth Chapter. Then added he if wee intend businesse, three thinges are to be considered. our selues, the businesse, or men for whose cause, or with whom we act. In our selues our forces are to be examined, what and how farre they may neither let vs attempt further. In our affaires? what are we able to ouercome them, whether likewise there be a chaine of them and whether they lead vs farther that our returnes ought to be always free. In men: whether they be worthie of our labor or expence of time. But they are not vaine, ambitious, neyther occupied in any serious matter. Afterwards in the seuenth Chapter, he addeth but scarce to the purpose. That an

especiall and perfect friend is an entertainment of tranquilitie, and delight, but such a one as is not of an euill disposition, and such as scrupleth all things. Againe, there is no perfect rest, and in the eight Chapter of the meanes of Patrimonie, that is bee not great nor small to nourish Tranquilitie, but meane and apt, and that may bee maintained by parsimonie. But exesse is to be auoyded, yea in the exercise of instruments of life, as in the Libraries or Bookes. After this he entreateth in the tenth Chapter, and proueth that troubles befall in euerie estate of life, but that they are mollified by custome, by beholding another mans Fortune, which of times is ahe worse. Likewise that desires are not to be banished farre from vs, but these to retaine, and cast in bee to hold on. Vnto this instruction he bee a proficient and young Scholler, for we cannot but he moued to fight, for he ouercommeth all Fortune, which he forethinketh he shall ouercome, and by fore-sight thereof mollifieth and breaketh it. This vntill the twelfth Chapter. After that another Tract that we are not to trauell in vnnecessarie matters, neither as much as in vs lieth, in forraine. He vrgeth DEMOCRITVS he quently precepts, That many things are not done, either priuately or publiquely. Presently after in the fourteenth Chapter, he driueth vs from Leuitie and Pertinacie. That is neither busily to change in life, neither if thou hast chosen euill, obstinately to cleaue vnto that, but to beholde all things with an equall and almost a pleasing countenance. For what is life, but a iest? Lastly in the sixteenth Chapter that simulation is to bee fled, and to a carefull composition of a mans selfe. Let simplicitie bee entertained and sometimes mirth, yea and sometimes banquet and freer drinking. This driueth the eares, and steepeth and extolleth the minde. In the end he concludeth, that he hath set downe what they are that may maintaine tranquilitie, and may rest ouer it, by which you may see what the partition was, but truly it is not expliant at this present. Therefore as many thinges of SENECAES are the wordes to bee praysed in part, the order of the whole in defect iue, and that eyther by the iniuries of time or at least wise by the negligence of transcriptors.

CHAP. I.

DEbating with my selfe *Serenus*, and examining my present life, there were some vices of mine that appeared openly, and subiect to euery eye, and such as I might touch with the hand, some more obscure and closely hidden, some other that were not continuall, but such as returned at certaine times and spaces, and those of all the rest were most troublesome, because (if I may so speake it) they resembled such enemies as charge and assault at vnawares, which keepe me either from being alwayes ready, as in time of warre, or to liue in security, as I ought to doe, in time of peace: yet principally obserue I this habitude in my selfe, (for why should I not disclose the truth, since thou art my Physitian) that neither I am truely and intirelie deliuered from these which I feared and hated, neither againe subiect vnto them. I am in your estate, that is not altogether so euill, yet doe I nothing but complaine my selfe, neither finde I any thing that may content me. I am not sicke, and yet I am not well. Thou must not here tell me, that all the beginnings of vertues are feeble, and that in time their continuance and strength is increased. I know well that these things which are of consequence, as honour and reputation, to be eloquent,

Seneca introduceth Serenus or some other in his beginning, to whome he discouereth the infirmitie, of his mind, and demandeth remedy at his hands to settle them.

loquent, and all that whereupon our neighbours ground their iudgement, are fortified by time, and those that require some prouision of true force, and they that are farded to please the eyes, respect some yeeres, vntil such time as by little and little they get some time that may giue them tincture. But I feare lest custome which bringeth constancy to things, fixe this imperfection more deepely in me. A long conuersation either with good or euill men, inureth loue. But I cannot shew thee so well at once, as in part, what this infirmity of the mind is, which is houered now this way, now that way, without staying it selfe resolutely on that which is good, and without declining also vnto the euill. I will tell thee what befalleth mee, giue my infirmity afterwards what name thou pleasest. Great is my loue to parsimony, I confesse it, I like not a bed ambitiously furnished, I like not a garment newly drawne from the coffer, nor brought from the presse where to make it shine; it hath endured a thousand weights and torments; but a homely, raiment, proper for the time, that hath not beene horded vp, nor is to be worne with too much care; that meat pleaseth mee that fewe men may dresse, and lesse pages attend, thats readily prepared, and that passeth through a few mens hands, that is easily gotten, and easily dreſt, that is neither scanty nor deare, that may bee found in all places, that neither spendeth the patrimony, nor hurteth the body, nor is like to bee returned by the way it entred. I like a homelie and a home-bred seruant, olde and rusticke, plaine, such as my father vsed, without these new fashions, and the workmans marke, a table not checkered nor renowmed amongst the people, because that diuers men had beene masters of it, who loued to make good cheere, but fitte for my vse, which for the beautie thereof shall not bewitch the eyes of my guests with pleasure, nor inkindle them with enuy. After I had taken pleasure to see these things aboue said, a great troupe of yong Pages nourished apart, more diligentlie and costlie apparrelled then they should be in a priuate house; and vassels and slaues garnished with golde, and a troupe of seruants that shined (so neatelie they were attired) so dainelie dazeled mine eies. Furthermore, a house wherein nothing was trod vpon but that which was precious, where riches were scattered in euerie corner of the house, where the rooues shined with gold, and where the flattering people haunted which follow and attend those patrimonies that fall to ruine. Why should I reckon vp the waters so cleare that a man might see the bottome, which inceſſantlie runne about those places where the feasts are solemnized? What shall I speake of the banquet, answerable to the rest of the magnificence? the things amazed me, and this delicious abundance comming to spread it selfe, and to sound about me, who came from a place where I haue liued a long time, setled in a solitarie life, rauished me wholly, my sight is dulled somewhat, I more easilie lift vp my mind then mine eies against such pompe, I depart therefore not worse but discontent; neither walke I so ioyfull and merrie amidst my brittle household-stuffe, and a silent disgust and doubt assaileth me, whether that traine were not better then mine, none of these change me, yet euery one of them shake me. Sometimes I am ready to follow that which my Maisters haue commanded me, & to thrust my selfe into the affaires of estate. I am content to accept of honours and maiestracy, not perswaded to vndertake the same, either for purple ornaments or golden roddes, but that being thus aduanced I might be more prepper and better disposed to do pleasures to my friends, my kinsfolke, my Citizens, yea, and all mortall men. I follow *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, *Crysippus*, no one of all which intermedled with the common-weale, though euery one of them counsailed others

others therunto. But when I had induced my mind therevnto, which is not accustomed to such debates. If any vnworthy matter present it selfe (as in all humane life there are too many) or if it go not forward easilie, or that things slight and friuolous require much time to be imployed in them; I returne backe againe to my solitude, and doe as beasts that are tired and wearied, that run more swiftly then they haue done all the day before when they drawe neare vnto their Stable: then is my mind conceited to containe it selfe within mine owne walles. Let no man hence forward take one day from me, which cannot restore me a sufficient recompēce for so great a losse, let my mind cleaue vnto himselfe, let him seeme himselfe: let him not intend no forraine butinesses, nor any thing that is subiect to euery mans censure, let Tranquillitie be loued which is voyde of priuate and publique cares. But when as reading hath rouſed and lifted vp my mind to more confidence, and noble examples haue pricked me forward; I take a pleasure to haunt the iudgment court, to lend one man my voice, another man my labour, which although it profit him not, yet was it aimed for his profit, to restraine another mans pride in the iudgement court, too badly puffed vp by his too great fortunes. In studies me thinkes vndoubtedly that it is better to contemplate the things themselues and to discourse vpon them, and to fit them with conuenient words, so as without search they may bee subiect to the thing that is in question. What needs wee to compose workes that shall continue for many ages. Wilt thou bear thy braine to the end that men may speake of thee when thou art out of the world? Thou art borne to dye; the secret funerall hath the least troubles. If therfore thou wilt wright any thing to passe the time withall, write it in a simple stile for thine owne vse, not to affect praise. They that studie for a day need no great labour. Againe, when my soule is lifted vp with the greatnesse of thoughts, she is ambitious in coying words, and as her conceptions are great, so endeupureth she to be eloquent; and according to the dignitie of the subiect is the carriage of the stile. Then forgetting this lawe, and this restrained iudgement, I am carried aloft, and speake now by another mans mouth. And not to prosecute the rest more at large, in all things this infirmity of a good mind alereth me, and I am afraid least it should escape mee by little and little, or (which is yet more tedious) that I am not alwaies in suspence and doubt as he that feareth to fall, and hath as yet no more euill then I could foresee. For we iudge of our priuate affaires and behold them familiarly, and fauour is alwaies a hinderance vnto iudgement. I thinke that many men might haue attained wisedome except they had thought that they had attained the same; except they had dissembled something in themselues, and ouerpassed some things with open eyes. For thou must not thinke that other mens flattery maketh vs so euill as our owne doth. What man is he that dare speake truth vnto himselfe? Who is hee that being placed amidst the troopes of his commenders and flatterers, that flattereth not himselfe more then all the rest? I pray thee therefore if thou hast any remedy to stay this debate of my soule, that thou wilt honour me with this good, that I may say that thou art hee that hast set me at quiet. I know well that the motions of my soule are not dangerous, prouided that they be not ouer violent. To expresse vnto thee in an apt similitude the matter whereof I complaine, I am not tormented with the storme but I haue a prouocation to vomit. Take from me then this paine whatsoeuer it be, and helpe him that is sicke in the sight of the land.

CHAP. II.

Hee sheweth first of all the difference that is betwixt those that feele troubles of their minds, and others that haue no apprehension thereof, or that take pleasure to be in trouble. Then declareth he how the first should be handled.

TRuely my *Serenus* I haue long ago sought for such a one without speaking a word of it, that had such and the like thought in his mind. There is nothing that admonisheth me more neerely then their example, who being deliuered from a long and grieuous sickneſſe feele as yet by times some shiuering and slight motions, and when as they haue beene freed from the reliques of their infirmitie, yet are they disquieted by some suſpitions of a relaps, and being already whole offer their hand to the Phiſition to feele their pulſe, and suſpect euery heat and motion of their bodies. Such mens bodies *Serenus* are healthfull enough, yet are they not as yet well accuſtomed thereto, but haue a certaine trembling agitation, reſembling that of the calme ſea or some lake when a tempeſt is ceaſed on it. They haue therefore need not of thoſe harder remedies which we likewiſe ouer-paſſe, as in some place to oppoſe thy ſelfe againſt thy paſſions, in some place to be diſpleaſed, in some other place to be more grieuously angry: but we haue moſt need of that which commeth laſt, that thou truſt thy ſelfe, and beleeueſt that thou art in a good way, being no waies diſtracted by the by-walkes of many men wandring here and there, and of ſome that erre about the way. But that which thou deſireſt which is not to bee ſhaken, is a great and perfect thing, and approacheth the felicity of God. This ſtable ſcate of the mind the Grecians call εὐθυμίαν wherof *Democritus* hath written an excellent volume: I call it *Tranquillity*, neither is it neceſſary to imitate or to mould new words according to their forme. It ſufficeth that the thing which is in queſtiõ hath a name which expreſſeth the force of the Greeke word without reprehending the letter. So then we demand how the ſpirit may remaine alwaies like vnto himſelfe, march with an equall traine, be fauourable to himſelfe, and behold his attempts with a good eye, to be joyfull and content, neither raiſing nor depreſſing himſelfe ouer much. This is called Tranquillitie, but let vs enquire in generall how wee may attaine hereunto: thou ſhalt take as much of the publique remedy as is ſtõ wilt; meane while I will diſcouer the whole vice whereby euerie man may know his part, and thou likewiſe mayſt vnderſtand how leſſe trouble thou haſt with the loathing of thy ſelfe, then they who tying themſelues to a faire ſhew, and labouring vnder a great title would willingly diſcouer themſelues, but I know not what ſhame entertaineth them. All are in the ſame cauſe, both they which are vexed with leuity & anxiety, and a cõtinuall change of their purpoſe, who are alwaies better pleaſed with that which they haue left, and thoſe that watch & gape after vaine hopes. Adde vnto thoſe men like wiſe who are not tranſported in their life by the meanes of inconſtancie but thorow their ſloath. They liue not as they would but as they beganne, moreouer there are innumerable other properties, but only one effect of the vice which is to diſpleaſe themſelues. This ſpringeth from the intemperature of the mind & from fearfull and ſcarce proſperous deſires, whereas they dare not as much as they deſire, or attaine not the ſame, and are wholie bent vpon hope alwaies inſtable and mutable, which muſt needes be all thoſe that liue in ſuſpence. Their whole life is in expectation, and they reach and inforce themſelues to diſhoneſt and difficult things, and whereas their labour is in vaine they are vexed with their fruitleſſe diligence: neither are they ſorie becauſe they haue done euill, but that they willed the ſame in vaine. Then repent they themſelues that they had begun and feare to

to beginne it againe, and afterward they are ſurpriſed with a confuſion of the mind which cannot find iſſue, becauſe they neither can commaund nor obay their deſirres, ſo that they lead a life which cannot bee exempt from confuſion, and haue their minds tyed and languiſhing amidſt fruitleſſe vowes and deſires: and all theſe are more grieuous vnto them, when as in deſpight of that misfortune that trauaileth them, they would haue recourſe vnto repoſe, and to ſecret ſtudies which the mind canot endure, that is fixed on the affaires of the world, deſirous to be in action, by nature vnquiet, and hauing little ſolace in himſelfe. And therefore their delights being drawne from them, which their occupations miniſtred vnto them, being buſied in certainty therein, the mind endureth neither houſe nor ſolitude, the walles are diſpleaſant to him, and being thus abandonedby himſelfe, he vnwillingly beholdeth himſelfe. From thence proceedeth this tedioufneſſe, this contempt of himſelfe, this perpetuall agitation of the mind, this ſad and feeble patience in repoſe, eſpecially when hee is aſhamed to confeſſe the cauſe, when ſhame tormenteth him inwardly, when couetous deſires cloſe vp his heart, when none of theſe finding iſſue ſtrangle one another. Thence commeth that ſadneſſe and conſumption, and a thouſand flouds and aſſaults of the vncertaine mind, held in ſuſpence by the enterpriſes he hath begunne, abated by the remembrance of the remedileſſe eſtate of his preſent affaires. Thence groweth that thought which maketh them deteſt the repoſe they enioy, complaine themſelues that they haue nothing to doe, and to beare endleſſe hatred and enuie at other mens proſperitie; For vnhappy idleneſſe is the nurſe of enuie, and all of them deſire to be dead becauſe they could not outſtrippe others. This enuie concieued againſt other mens fortunes, and his own diſgraces cauſeth the mind to fret and murmure againſt fortune, to accuſe the mallice of the time, to retire himſelfe into ſome corner apart, and to ſtoope vnder his torment in fretting and conſuming himſelfe. For mans mind is ſwift and ready to be mooued, and reioyceth very much when any occaſion is offered to exerciſe himſelfe. But aboue all others this pleaſeth thoſe men that are malignant, whoſe minds are ſharpened and ordinarily whetted in mannaging affaires. Euen as there are certaine vlcers that are glad to bee rubbed, and deſire to bee handled, and the itch is not content except a man ſcratch it; So theſe ſpirits which are ſeazed with deſires, as with malignant vlcers, take no pleaſure but in trauaile and affliction; For there are certaine infirmities which delight our bodies with a kind of paine, witneſſe thoſe that turne themſelues on this ſide, now on that, and refreſh themſelues in changing their bed. Such was *Achilles* in *Homer*, ſometimes he lay vpon his belly, then vpon his backe, and could neuer remaine in one eſtate. It is the true act of a ſicke man not to be able to ſuffer any thing long time, but to thinke that his health conſiſteth in his toſſing and turning. Hence are diuers trauels vndertaken, and ſhoares ſought out, and lenitie which is alwaies an enemie to thoſe things which are preſent, now by ſea, and then by land, aduenturetth daily. Let vs goe now into *Campania*, now that delicate ſoyle delighteth vs, let vs viſite the wood countries, let vs viſite the forreſt of *Calabria*, and let vs ſeeke ſome pleaſure amidſt the deſerts, in ſuch ſort as theſe wandring eyes of ours may be relieued in beholding at our pleaſure the ſtrange ſolitude of theſe ſauage places. We muſt go ſee *Tarentum* & that hauen ſo much eſteemed, and the ayre ſo ſweet in Winter, & the ſtately houſes of theſe ancient people. Let vs returne to *Rome* backe again, our eares haue too long time been eſtraged from the applauſe of the Theater & the Circenſian ſports, now would I take pleaſure to ſee mens bloud ſpilt. Behold here how one voyage begetteth

another, and how after we haue seene one thing we long for an other.

After this manner each man flies himselfe.

But what profiteth him to flie if hee cannot escape, hee runneth after himselfe, and hath a very dangerous company that attendeth him. Let vs therefore know that the euill that presseth vs, commeth not from the place but from our selues. There is no affliction how light soeuer it be that is not ouer-waighty for vs, we are neither patient of labour or pleasure, we cannot beare our owne affaires, nor any thing else. Some by reason hereof haue procured their owne deaths, because that oftentimes hauing changed their deliberation, they fell backe againe alwaies into the same, and meete with nothing that is newe, by meanes whereof both their life and this world beganne to displease them, and the words which are the signes of foolish and enraged pleasures come into their heads. *How long shall we alwaies see the same?*

CHAP. III.

For a first remedy he requireth that the mind should be occupied in some exercise which might be profitable to others.

THou askest mee what remedie I thinke necessary against this perplexitie. It shall be good (as *Athenodorus* counsaileth vs) to detaine our selues in affaires of estate, and to serue the commonweale. For as some spend the day in taking the sunne, and in exercises, and care of their bodies, and as it is profitable for wrastlers to employ the most part of their time in exercising their armes and strength whereunto they haue onely dedicated themselues; so is it requisite for vs who prepare our minds to the managing of publique affaires to bee alwaies in action. For hee that hath resolued himselfe to become profitable to his Citizens, yea, vnto all men at one time doth two things, handling (according to that indeauour that is giuen him) both the publique and his particular affaires. But because (saith he) in this so mad ambition of men, where so many detractors wrest all things to the worst; simplicity is scarce secure, and there will bee alwaies more lets then successfull euents, we ought to retire our selues from the managing of publique affaires; considering this that a well seised heart hath the meanes to shew it selfe in his priuate house. It fareth not so with men who for the most part haue their actions secret and hidden, as with Lyons and other bruit beasts, who are locked vp in their grates to restraine their furie; yet in such sort ought a man to seeke out solitude, that whersoeuer hee remaineth in quiet, he may desire that the vigor of his mind, his speech and action may serue euery one in particular and all in generall. For not onely hee alone serueth the Common-weale that produceth the Candidates to sue for offices, that defendeth the accused, who giueth his aduise as touching the affaires of peace and warre, but also that other that instruct youth, that in so great want of good maners informeth mens minds with vertue that layeth hold on, and restraineth those who are addicted to auarice and dissolution, or at least wise that hindereth them from passing further, and who in his priuate house procureth the publique good. Who doth more, either the Iudge in a Cittie that with his assistant pronounceth a briefe sentence in a processe that straungers and Citizens haue before him: or he that teacheth what iustice is, that sheweth what piety, wisedome, pureneſſe, contempt of death are, and how excellent a goad a good conscience is? If then thou employest thy time in studie, thou hast not lost, these honours that are due to the execution of thy charge concerning the publique

lique, neither shalt thou be exempted from the same. Neither is he a souldier that standeth in the front of the battell and defendeth both the right and left wings: but he also that gardeth the gates, and standeth sentinel in a place though not so daungerous, yet necessary, and keepeth his watch that hath the gouernment of the Ammunition house; which charges though they bee not bloudy, yet haue they (that execute them) their pay as well as the rest. If thou shalt retire thy selfe to thy studies, thou shalt auoyd all care that tortureth mans life, thou shalt not be troublesome to thy selfe nor vnprofitable to others; thou shalt get thee many friends, and the better sort of men will accept thee. For vertue, although shee be poore and abiect, yet is shee neuer obscured, but she sheweth the beames of her brightnes a farre off, and whosoeuer is capable will acknowledge, and follow her steps. For if we renounce all conuersation and flie from humane societie, and liue onely to our priuate respect, this solitude depriued of all honest occupation will find nothing at last whereto to addict her selfe; we shall beginne to build some houses, and to ouer-turne others; we shall turne the sea out of his place; we shall cause the riuers to alter their courses, and dispence the time very euilly, which nature gaue vs to bestow well. Sometimes we are too sparing, sometimes ouer-prodigall, some of vs imploy the same in such sort that we can yeeld no account thereof, others haue none left them. And therefore there is nothing more shamefull to see an old man (that to approue that he hath liued long time in this world) can produce no other witnes but the number of his yeares. For mine owne part (my deareſt *Serenus*) mee thinkes that *Athenodorus* submitted himselfe too much to times, and fled from them ouer-hastilie. I confesse well that we ought sometimes to retire our selues but leasurely, and with a secure retreat, our ensignes displaied, and without empeachment of our worldly dignitie. They are more valiant and more assured then their Conquerours that make a faire and honest retreat. So in my opinion ought vertue to behaue her selfe, and if the inconstancy of worldly affaires disturbe all, and taketh away from a vertuous man the meanes to doe good; yet for all this ought he not to turne his back, nor to cast away his weapons to saue himselfe by flight, and to thrust himselfe in a secret place, as if there could bee any corner where fortune could not find him out: but he ought to beleeue busie in affaires, and find out some expedient with iudgement to make himselfe profitable to his Countrie. Is it not lawfull for him to beare armes? let him aspire to some publique charge: must he not liue priuately? let him plead. Is he put to silence? let him helpe his Citizens by his priuate counsell. Is it dangerous for him to enter the iudgement place? let him shew himselfe a faithfull friend, a gracious companion, a temperate gueſt in houses, in Theaters, at feasts. If hee haue lost the office of a Citizen? let him vse that of a man. And therefore with a great mind haue we not shut our selues within the walls of one Citty, but haue thrust our selues into the conuersation of the whole world, and haue professed that the world is our Countrey, that wee might giue vertue a more spacious field to shew her selfe in. Is the *Tribunall* shut against thee, art thou not admitted to plead, or to assist the common Counsels of the Citty? looke backe and see what great Nations and peoples are behind thee, neuer shall so great a part bee kept from thee, that a greater be not left thee. But beware that all this proceed not from thine owne error: for thou wilt not vndertake a publique charge except thou be a *Consull*, a *Pritanes*, an Embassador, a supreame *Dictator*. What if thou wilt not be a Souldier except thou bee a Commander or a Tritane? although that others haue the vaunt-gard, and fortune hath put thee in the rere-ward,

doe thy deuoire in that place, fight with thy voyce, thy exhortation, and thy courage. He also that hath his hands cut off in fight, findeth some meanes to animate his companions, who standeth onely and encourageth them with crying. So must thou doe if fortune hath drawne thee from the first ranke of publique charge, yet stand thou and helpe with thy crying. If thy mouth bee stopped, yet stand; and helpe with thy silence. The industry of a good Citizen is neuer vnprofitable, for by his hearing, by his sight, by his countenance, by his becke, by his obstinate silence, and by his very gate, he may profit. Euen as certaine holesome drugs by their onely smell (without either touch or tast) doe comfort greatly; so vertue, whether it be sowed or locked in it selfe, whether it be by authority, or by accident, whether shee bee constrained to scantle her sailes, or to be idle or mute, confined in a straight; or lodged at large, spreadeth a farre and vnperceiued, performeth some great and profitable good. In briefe, she serueth in what soeuer estate and countenance shee bee considered. What? thinkest thou that the example of a man that liueth retired and to purpose, is of little vse? I say, that it is an act of a singuler vertue to know how to forsake affaires, and to repose himselfe, when as the actiue liue being hindered by diuers accidents, or by the condition of estate cannot effect his deignes. For neuer see we affaires brought to that extreamity but that a vertuous man hath the means to do somewhat that is good. Canst thou find a Citty more wretched then that of the *Athenians* was, at such time as thirty Tyrants rent it in pieces. They had put to death Thirteene hundred of the most nobles and most vertuous in the Cittie, and for all that cruelty ceased not thus but incensed it selfe, and augmented daily. In that Citie which was adorned with the most venerable Counsell of the *Arcopagites*, where there was a Senate and an assembly of people worthy of so worthy an assembly of Senators; there were gathered daily a miserable troope of murtherers, and a wretched court of tyrants, too small to containe them. Could this Citie be in repose wherein there were so many tyrants as there were Souldiers? There was not any hope for these poore Citizens to recouer their libertie, nor any remedie what soeuer against such a multitude of mischiefes. For where is it that this poore Citie might find so many *Harmodians*? Notwithstanding (all these miseries) *Socrates* was in the middest of them, who comforted the mournfull Fathers, and exhorted those that despaired of the Common-weale, and reproued the rich (who feared their goods) for the ouerlate repentance of their dangerous auarice, and to those that would follow him, beare about a worthy example, whilest amongst the thirtie tyrants hee walked confident and free. Yet this man did the *Athenians* murther in prison, and hee that safely insulted ouer the troopes of tyrants, his libertie could not a free City endure and hearken to, to the end thou mayest know, that a wise man hath an occasion to shew himselfe in an afflicted Common-weale; and how in a flourishing and blessed state many enuie, and a thousand other disarmed Citties doe raigne. How soeuer therefore the Common-wealth is disposed, how soeuer fortune permitteth, so either may we enlarge or contract our selues, prouided alwaies that we be stirring, and suffer not our selues being chained with feare to be dulled and astonished. Nay he shalbe truely a man who (when as daungers are eminent euery waies, and when as swords and chaines thunder in his eares) neither breaketh his fortune, nor hideth it. *Curius Dentatus* was woont to say, *That he had rather be dead then liue.* It is the last of all euills to depart from the number of the liuing before thou diest. But thou art to endeauour, that if thou light on such a time wherein thou canst not intermeddle with the Common-weale

weale without danger, to vsurpe more time for thy repose and studie, and no otherwaies then in a dangerous nauigation make saile towards the hauen, neither expect thou, vntill such time as affaires leaue thee, but dis-ioyne thou thy selfe from them.

CHAP. IIII.

The meanes to effectuate this remedy is to flie vaine glorie, foolish bashfulnes, pride, wrath, and follie.

First, therefore we ought to examine our selues; next, what businesses we vndertake; lastly, what they are for whose cause wee vndertake them, or with whome wee deale. Aboue all things a man ought to estimate himselfe, for, for the most part in our owne iudgements, we seeme to be able to do more then we can. There is one that looseth himselfe in ouer-trusting his owne eloquence; another hath spent more then his reuenue mounteth to; another hath oppressed his weake body with laborious offices. There are some that are to ballful to entermeddle with ciuill affaires, which require a confident countenance and resolution: some mens contumacy is vnfit for Court; some there are who haue no gouernment ouer their wrath, and euery slight occasion driueth them to intemperate language; some cannot refraine from iesting, neither can they abstaine from dangerous gybing. To all these, repose is more profitable then businesse: a fierce and impatient man by nature will auoyd the prouocations of harmefull libertie.

CHAP. V.

That wee charge not and occupie not our selues aboue measure.

Next of all these things which we vndertake are to bee estimated, and our forces are to be compared with those things which wee will attempt. For there must alwais be a greater force in him that beareth, then in the burthen. These waights must needs beare him down, that are greater then he is that carrieth them. Besides there are some affaires that are not so great as they are fruitfull, and breed many other businesse, and these are to be auoyded, from whence a new and diuers occasion of trouble ariseth: neither must thou aduenture thither, whence thou canst not freely returne againe. Set thy hand to these things, whose end thou mayest either effect or at least-wise hope. These things are to be left that extend themselues farther then the act, and end not there where thou intendedst they should.

CHAP. VI.

He admitteth not to know the secrets of ingratefull persons, and such as are proud who thinke that all the world is bound vnto them, and feed on nothing but vaine glorie.

Wee must likewise make some choyce of men, and to consider whether they are worthie on whome wee should employ a part of our life, & whether the losse of our time may be redeemed to our profite. There are some that thinke that wee are bound to doe them pleasure before wee bee desired. *Athenodorus* saith, that he would not goe to supper with him who would not thinke it a curtesie in him to accept the same. I believe thou conceiuest, that much lesse would hee be inuited by them, who requite their friends curtesies with feasts, and account their

being laide holde on by the Ephone, withdrew himselfe from publike pleas, supposing himselfe to bee more fitte and profitable to write histories; for inforced wits neuer satisfie expectation, and the labour is in vaine where nature repineth against it.

CHAP. VII.

A remedy against a troubled mind, is to haue a trusty friend.

YEt nothing will so much delight the mind as a faithful and pleasing friendship: how great a good is it when the hearts are prepared, wherein a man may safely burie all his secrets, whose conscience thou feareste lesse then thine owne, whose words may terrifie thy discontents, whose counsels can resolue thy doubts, whose mirth may dissipate thy sorrow, and whose countenance may comfort thee? Such friendes as these let vs make choice of as farre as is possible for vs: for vices creepe into vs, and inuade euery one that is neereste them, and hurt by touching. Therefore as in the plunge wee ought to take heed, lest wee sit by these who are already attainted, and infected with the burning sickneſſe, because thereby wee shall incurre danger, and be poisoned with their very breath; so must wee endeauour in the choice of our friends, that wee admit such as are least polluted. It is a beginning of sickneſſe to accompany those that are infected: neither will I enioyne thee this to follow and contract friendship with none, except hee bee a wise man; for where wilt thou finde out such a one, whom for so many ages wee haue sought after? but wee are to take him for the best who is the least euill. Scarce couldst thou make a happier choice, hadst thou leaue to seeke for good men amongst *Platoes* and *Zenophons*, or amidst the the troupe of *Socrates* Schollers, or if it were granted thee to reuiew the time wherin *Cato* liued, which as well brought forth many that were worthy to bee borne in *Catoes* age, as many worse then euer were, who were the plotters of many hainous crimes. For their vices need of both sorts, to the end that *Cato* might be the better knowne. Of good, by whom hee might approue himselfe, of bad, in whom he might make triall of his forces; yet especially let such bee auoided, who are melancholy and deplore all things, who, vpon euery occasion are ready to complaine, although his faith and beneuolence be vnfained, yet so distempered a companion, that grieueth and grudgeth at all things, is an enemy to tranquility.

Marks to show and know what friends wee ought to choose.

Who they are that are not to be entertained into friendship.

CHAP. VIII.

The third remedy is now to feare

LEt vs passe ouer to riches which are the causes of all mens miseries: for, if you compare all things whereat we are agrieued, as deaths,

leſſe troublesome for thoſe that are balde, to haue their haires pulled of, then to thoſe that haue but hie lockes. Know thou this both in rich and poore, that they haue equall torments; for both of them tolde their money, neither without griefe and ſence thereof could they endure to loſe it. But as I ſaid, it is more tollerable & eaſie not to get riches, then to loſe them, and therfore ſhall you ſee them more merry, whom fortune neuer lookt vpon, then thoſe whom ſhe hath forſaken. *Diogenes* ſaw this, who was a man of a great mind, and endeauoured himſelf that nothing might be taken from him. Call thou this pouerty neceſſity, or want, and impoſe whatſoeuer ignominious name thou liſt vpon ſecurity, I will not thinke this man happy if thou finde me out an other that can loſe nothing. But I am deceiued, if it be not a Kingdome among the couetous, the deceiuers, the thiefe, and lewde perſons, that there is one that may not be hurt. If any man doubt of *Diogenes* felicity, hee may likewiſe doubt of the eſtate of the immortall gods, whether they liue bleſſedly enough, becauſe they haue no fieldes, nor gardens, nor lands for a husbandman to plow vp, nor a great banke of money in the market place. Art thou not aſhamed whoſoeuer thou art that admireſt riches? Behold I pray thee the heauens throne, ſhalt thou ſee the gods naked, giuing all things, hauing nothing. Thinkeſt thou him poore, or like vnto the immortall gods, that hath diſpoiled himſelfe of all tranſitory things. Calleſt thou *Demetrius* more happie who was *Pompies* Libertine, becauſe hee was not aſhamed to bee more richer then his Maſter? Euery day was the number of his ſeruants brought vnto him, as the maſter of an Army to a Generall, who for all his riches ſhould haue long ſince contented himſelfe with two ſeruants, and a leſſer ſeller. But *Diogenes* onely ſeruant ranne away from him, neither thought he him ſo much worthy as to recall him when hee was ſhewed vnto him. *It were a ſhame* (ſaith he) *that Manes could liue without Diogenes, and Diogenes could not liue without Manes.* Mee thinke hee ſaid, meddle with thine owne buſineſſe Fortune, thou haſt no more power *Diogenes*. Is my ſeruant run away? no, hee is departed free. A family requireth maintenance, men muſt take charge of the feeding of ſo many greedy beaſts, rayment muſt be bought, thiefes hand-ſell preuented, and ſuch as weepe and deteſt, muſt be admitted to ſeruice. Hence, far more happy is hee that oweth nothing but to himſelfe, whom he may eaſily deny: but becauſe wee haue not ſo much ſtrength, our patrimonies be to be husbanded that wee may be leſſe expoſed to the iniuries of fortune, The bodies of meaneſt proportion, and who may locke themſelues in their armes, are more addreſſed then thoſe great and vnweeldy bodies, which by reaſon of their length and thickneſſe are expoſed to ſtrokes. The beſt meaſure in riches is that which neither falleth into pouerty, neither is farre eſtranged from pouerty.

A continent ſpeech of Diogenes.

An excellent example to ſhew the aduantages of the poore.

CHAP. IX.

The fourth remedy is to keepe a measure in desire, gathering, possessing & vsing worldly goods.

AND this measure will bee well pleasing vnto vs, if first of all parcimony content vs, without which neither any riches will suffice vs, neither any proue great enough, especially whereas the remedy is at hand, and pouerty it selfe by the assistance of frugality may conuert it selfe into riches. Let vs accustome our selues to remoue pompe from vs, and to measure the ornaments of our honour by the necessary vse of things. Let our meat appease famine, or drinke thirst; let our desires be appeased by things that are necessary. Let vs learne to walke vpon our owne feete, not to cloath and feed our selues according to euery new fashion, but as the custome of our Ancestors perswadeth vs vnto. Let vs learne to encrease continency, to decrease lasciuiousnes, to temper our excesse, to pacifie our wrath, to behold pouerty with equall eyes, to respect frugality, although wee will bee ashamed to yeeld such remedies to our naturall desires as cost very little, to haue vnbridled hopes, and our mind that dependeth on future things, kept as it were vnder bonds, to behaue our selues so that we require not our riches at fortunes hand, but rather from our selues. So great varietie and iniquitie of casualties cannot (I say) be so repulsed, that many stormes presse not vpon those that rigge forth much Shipping. Our affaires must be drawne into a straight, to the end that aduersities may attempt vs in vaine. And therefore banishments and calamities haue sometimes become remedies, and those incommodities that are most grieuous haue beene healed by lighter, where the mind is disobedient to precepts, and will not be cured by gentle means. But why may not this be profitable? If both pouerty and ignominy, and the ouerthrow of a mans fortunes accompany these: one euill is opposed against another. Let vs therefore accustome our selues to be able to sup without any guests, to be serued with lesse attendants, to be apparelled according to our necessities, and to dwell more retiredly. It is not only in the course of the Circean sports; but also in the Caries of this life that we ought to retire and contract our selues. And in studies likewise (wherein the charge is most commended) so long will I haue a reason as I haue a measure. To what end serue so many infinite Bookes and Libraries when as their Maister in all his life time can scarcely ouer-read their Tables? A multitude of bookes burtheneth and instructeth him not that learneth, and it is better for thee to addict thy selfe to few Authers, then to wander amongst many. Forty Thousand bookes were burned at *Alexandria*, a worthy monument of kingly riches. Some men may praise this as *Titus Liuius* did, who sayth, *That it was a worke that shewed the magnificēce and wondrous care of Kings.* But this was not magnificēce or any other laudable act, but a studious excesse. Nay more, it was not studious, because they had gathered them, not to profit studies, but to shew their pompe, as it falleth out with diuers ignorants, who scarce knowing the letters wherin their slaues are exercised, heap vp books not as instruments of study, but ornaments of their suppers. Let vs therefore gather so many books as may suffice, and collect nothing for ostentation sake. It shall be more honest (sayest thou) to employ my mony herein, then in vessels of Corinth and painted Tables. That is euery wayes vicious where there is ouermuch. Why wouldest thou lesse pardon him that would get reputation by meanes of his Marble and Iuoric, then another that searcheth thorough all Countries to buye vnknowne Authors, and happily such as are reproued and censured, and doth nought else but

but breath vpon his bookes, and takes no pleasure but in their couers, or in their titles? Thou shalt ordinarily see amongst the most idle, whatsoeuer Orators or Historiographers are, and their studies filled vp from the top to the bottome: And at this day amongst the bathes and stoues are Libraries builded, as if they were a necessary ornament in the house. But all these works of learned men excellently written, bound vp, and inriched with their pictures, are bought to no other end but for show and beautifying of walls.

If a great company of bookes be not accompanied with a serious study, and well ouerseene, that is but a mockerie.

CHAP. X.

The first remedie is to endure quietly the difficulties of a mans vocation, and to accustome himselfe because he seeth that pleasures are interlaced with perplexities.

BVt it may be thou art falne into some troublesome and difficult course of life, and ere thou knewst it; some fortune, either publique or priuate hath entangled thee, in such sort, as thou neither canst loose or break the bonds. Think with thy selfe, that such as are fettered at the first can hardly beare their shackles or the irons on their legs, but afterwards being better resolued doe suffer the same, and conclude to endure them patiently, necessity teacheth them to sustaine them constantly, and custome easily. Thou shalt find in what societie kind of life so delights, remissions, and pleasures, except thou hadst rather thinke it to be euill, then make it hatefull. The greatest good that we haue receiued by nature is, that she foreseeing how many troubles we were to endure in this world, hath found out a remedie to lenifie the same, which is custome, which in time maketh the greatest euils familiar and supportable; no man is so well endued in the continuance and sence of aduersitie, were it bitter, as it is at the first, for we are all of vs coupled by fortune, some of vs haue a gyues and chaine, some a more base and sordide instrument. But what skilleth it, whether art all of vs are enuironed with the same guard, and they that enchaine others, enchained themselues. It may be thou thinkest that the Chaine which is tyed to the left arme waieth not as much as that on the right. Some are inabled by their honours, others some by their base estate. These are vnder subiection of others emperie, others are vassals to themselues; there are some that are confined in one place, others that are releeued by those charges that are committed vnto them. All our whole life is a seruitude, we ought therefore to accommodate our selues to our condition, and no waies to complaine of the same, and to apprehend all those commodities which are abiuers. There is nothing to dilate full wherein an equall mind cannot find solace. *Ephimerus* in giuing him a man may write infinite things in the middle of a table, and he may know to how much readily, maketh the straightest abodes habitable, that a man may find. Adde reason to thy difficulties, for the best things may be mollified, the straightest layd open, and those things that are most grieuous presse them least, that discreetly can endure them. Besides, desires are not to be set so far off from vs, but let vs suffer them to bound neare about vs, because they are the lesse to be restrained whole. Leaning those things which otherwise cannot be long, for hardly can be atchieued; let vs follow those things that are neare vs, and are answerable to our hopes. Yet let vs know, that all that which carries any hatred appearances is equally light, and inuidiously valued. Neither let vs enuie those that are more highly preferred, those things that stand most highest are in most danger. They likewise whom aduersity holdeth in suspence shall be more assured by withdrawing pride from those things which of themselues are proud,

proud, and reducing their fortune (as much as in them lyeth) to an humble place and out of danger. There are many that are inforced to remaine in their high degree, from whence they cannot descend but by falling, but yet it behoo-ueth them to beare witnes, that the greatest waight they beare vpon their backs is to know, that they are constrained to bee grieuous and troublesome vnto o-thers. That they are not relieued but tyed vnto their charge, and that by iu-stice, clemency, and humane laws, and by a gratious manner of demeanour they prepare themselues diuers succours and defences against the assaults of fortune that may happen, by the hope whereof they may bee more assured in their se-uers. There is nothing that can so much exempt these men from these agitati-ons of the minds, then alwayes to prefixe a certaine limit to their encrease, and not to attend till fortune retire them from the same, but to take counsell of themselues, not to attend the extremities. So some desires, but they finite, shall acuate their minds, and shall not be infinite nor vncertain.

CHAP. XI.

He maintaineth alwayes the doctrine of the Stoickes, and distinguisheth the fruitions from the wise, whom he raiseth aboue all humane fortunes, and describeth him here with his contentments.

THis Discourse of mine appertaineth to ignorant persons, and such as haue little knowledge, and are of depraued iudgement, not vn-to a wise man. For hee must not walke fearefully or slowly. For so great a confidence hath he in himselfe, that hee doubteth not to encounter Fortune, neither will he euer giue place vnto her; neither hath he cause at any time to feare her, because not onely he numbreth his starres, his possessions, and dignities, but his owne body likewise, his eyes & hands, and what soeuer it be that maketh his life deare vnto him, yea, himselfe, as things that are hired, and liueth as though hee were but lent vnto himselfe, ready to restore the whole willingly to those that redemand the same; neither therefore misprayseth hee himselfe, because hee knoweth that hee is not his owne, but so diligently and circumspectly shall he doe all things, as a religious and holy man is wont to doe with those things that are committed to his trust. And whensoeuer hee shall bee commanded to make restitution, hee will not question with fortune, but will say, I giue thanks for that I haue possessed, and had: It hath cost mee much to entertaine those things which, thou hast giuen mee, but because thou commandest me, I gratefully and willingly restore them againe; and if thou wilt haue ought continue in my hands, euen now will I keep it, if thou bee otherwayes minded, I restore vnto thee, and redeliuer into thy hands, my money and plate, my house and family what soeuer. If nature sum-mon vs which first gaue vs credit, to her will wee answere, Receiue a minde better then thou gauest me, I neither delay nor hide my selfe, I willingly and readily deliuer thee it which thou gauest me when I knew it not. Take it to thee; what euill is it to returne to that place from whence thou camest? He that liue badly that knoweth not how to die well. Wee must therefore aboue all things set light by this life, and account our soules amongst the number of those things that are not ours: We hate (saith *Cicero*) those skirmishers, if in any sort they desire to beg their liues, wee fauour them if they pretend to contemne the same: Know that the like befalleth vs; for oftimes the cause of dying, is to die fearefully: that fortune that maketh sport for her selfe, wherto saith shee shall I reserue thee wretched and fearefull Creature as thou art? thou shalt receiue more wounds and skarres, because thou knowest not how to yeeld thy throat: but

The seuenth remedy is not to prise this life, nor that which wee possesse more then we needs, but to dispose our selues courageously vnto death, and to whatsoeuer casually.

but thou shalt both liue longer, and die sooner, that manfully entertainest thy death, not in plucking backe thy necke, or opposing thy hands. Hee that shall feare death, will neuer doe any thing worthy a liuing man: but he that know-eth that this ordinance of life and death was decreed and presently ordered in him, at such time as hee was conceiued, he will liue according to the rule and ordinance was prefixed him, and this likewise with no lesse constancy of mind will hee performe, that none of those things that befall him, may seem sodain to him: for to foresee that which is to come, as though it were already past, is the meane to repulse the assaults of all necessities, which shake not these who attend them constantly, and know that there is nothing new in them: but they oppresse those men that make themselues beleeue that no misfortune shall e-uer surprise them, and who thinke on nothing but pleasure and content; for there is no sodainenesse eyther in sicknesse, or in captiuity, or in ruine or in fire: For I know well into what tumultuous retreat of dangers nature had lock-ed me: so oftimes haue men cried fire and water amongst my neighbours, so oftimes haue the torches and tapers which were carried before the dead bo-dies of this or that mans children past by my dores? Oft haue I heard the noice of high buildings that sodenly fell downe to the ground. one night hath carri-ed away diuers friends that I had made in the Pallace, in the market place, in company, and hath as it were cut off the hands of those which had promised and sworne fidelity vnto me. Shall I wonder then that those dangers that haue houered so long about me, are finally falne vpon me? The most part of those that are ready to set sayle, thinke not vpon a storme; for mine owne part in doing well I will neuer bee ashamed of the danger that may befall mee. *Publius* that had a more vehement spirit then either the Tragicke or Comicke Poets had, as often as he had giuen ouer his Mimicke foperies, and such as ordi-narily hee vsed to delight the common people: amongst many other wordes, not onely beseeming the Comicke but the Tragicke Theame, he vseth these:

That which hapned to one man may chance to euery man.

Whosoeuer beareth these words in his hart, & considereth how many miseries his neighbour suffereth from day to day, and thinketh that they are intended a-gainst him, will arme himselfe long time before hee bee assailed. Too late is the minde instructed to endure danger when their assault is giuen: I would not haue thought, that this should haue been I would not haue beleeued that this should come to passe. And why not? what riches are there that are not readily atten-ded at their heeles with misery, famine and beggery? what dignity is there, what scarlet robe, what Augures purple garment, what noble mans slipper? that is not accompanied with disgrace, banishment, dishonour, imputation, and extreame contempt? what Kingdome is there, for which ruine, desolation, ty-ranny and tormenters are not prepared: neither as these diuided by great spa-ces of time, but there is but a moment of an howre betwixt royalty and capti-uity. Know thou therefore that euery condition is subiect to alteration, and whatsoeuer assaulteth one man, may assaile thee in like sort. Art thou rich? what richer than *Pompey*? who after that *Caius* his ancient cosen and new guest had opened *Cæsars* house to locke vp his owne dores, wanted both bread and water, in such sort, that hee who possessed so many riuers, that had their courses and fals within the precinct of his lands, begde for drops of water, and died for hunger and thirst in his kinsmans Pallace, whilest his heire prepared a

The eighth remedy is to remember that all euils that befall vs, and all other men cannot happen, and consequently to detaine our selues in good time.

publike funerall for the ſtarueling. Haſt thou had great honours? what ſo great or ſo vnexpected, or ſo generall as *Seianus*? that very day wherein the Senate conducted him with honour, the people tare him in peeces with fury, and he whom Gods and men had loaden with ſo many honors as could be heaped vpon him, had not a mam mocke left of him for the hangman to faſten his hooke in. Art thou a King? I will not ſend thee to *Craſus*, who was commanded to mount the pile where hee ſhould bee burned, and whence hee deſcended, hauing recouered both his life and kingdom; neither will I ſend thee to *Iugurth*, whom the Romane people ſaw led in triumph that very yeere wherein he was ſo much feared. We haue ſeene *Ptolomy* King of *Africa*, and *Mithridates* King of *Armenia*, amongſt the number of thoſe Souldiers that were of the Emperor *Caligulaes* guard; the one of theſe was ſent into baniſhment, the other wiſhed for it but vnder more faithfull conditions. In ſo great incertainety and mutability of affaires, thou reputeſt not that already done which may bee done; thou giueſt aduerſity power ouer thy ſelfe which hee hath broken whoſoeuer eſpied them firſt. The next after theſe is, that wee labour not in ſuperfluous and vnneceſſary things, that is, that wee neither deſire thoſe things which we cannot attaine, or that hauing attained the ſame, wee feele not ouerlate, and to our great ſhame the vanity of our couetouſneſſe, in fine that our trauell bee not vnprofitable & of no effect, or the effect vnworthy our trauell: for for the moſt part ſorrow and ſadnes ſucceedeth by theſe, if eyther that we expected faile vs, or wee be aſhamed of the ſucceſſe.

For hee was ſlain by the way.

The ninth remedy is to flie vnneceſſary occupations.

CHAP. XII.

The tenth, to flie vaine curioſity.

WE muſt cut off theſe encounters practiſed by the moſt part of men, who doe nought elſe but runne from houſe to houſe from the market place to the Theatre. They entangle themſelues with other mens affaires, reſembling thoſe who ſeeme to bee alwayes buſie about ſomwhat. If thou aske any of theſe that goeth out of his dores: *Whether goeſt thou? what thinkeſt thou?* Hee will anſwere, verily I know not, but I will viſite ſome friend, I will doe ſomewhat. They loyter about to no purpoſe, ſeeking out buſineſſe, neyther finiſh they thoſe that they intended, but thoſe they meet by chance. Inconſiderate and vaine is their courſe, reſembling that of the Antes, which creepe along the ſhrubbes, & now get vp to the toppe, and ſtraight runne downe to the bottome, without ought elſe doing but running. Such a life doe many men lead, and a man may well ſay that they are idle without repoſe. Thou wilt haue compaſſion of ſome of thoſe who runne as it were to a fire, and who ouerturne all thoſe that they meet with, and fall vpon them, for they runne to ſalute ſome man that will ſcarce looke vpon them, or goe to attend ſome ſtranger to his funerall, or to accompany ſome Lawyer: or to honour a Bridall, or to follow ſome Litter, or ſometimes to beare it themſelues: then returning home very weary and toiled into their houſes, thou ſhalt heare them ſweare, that they knew not why they went out, neither why they left the houſe, and notwithſtanding the next day they will idle it after the ſame manner. Let therefore all our labour tend to ſome end, and haue ſome ſcope. It is not induſtry but the falſe apparance of thinges that tormenteth, and diſquiet madde men: for they buſie themſelues not without ſome hope, the exterior beauty of this or that inflameth

meth them in ſteade of taxing their vanity, by reaſon that the ſence is occupied. In like caſe are all they, who goe already to the entent to multiply the number of the people that walke about the ſtreetes, are carried away by vaine and light occaſions; and he that hath nothing to employ himſelfe in, gets him out of dores vpon the day-ſpring, & after he hath knockt at diuers mens dores, whence he hath beene honeſtly diſmiſſed by the Porter, and by others, who haue hindered him from entrance; there is no man with whom hee acquainteth himſelfe more vnwillingly then with himſelfe. On this euill there dependeth a moſt pernicious vice, which is curioſity; ſearch into affaires and ſecrete knowledge of many things that are dangerous, both to bee ſpoken and heard. *Democritus* hauing had proofe hereof, ſaid; *That he that will liue peaceably, ought not to intermeddle with many affaires, either priuate or publike.* Hauing a reference to thoſe things that are vnneceſſary: for if they are neceſſary, there are not many but innumerable things to bee done, both priuate and publike: but wheras no ſolemne office inuiteth vs, our actions are to be reſtrained.

CHAP. XIII.

To what danger they that are curious oppoſe themſelues, and why the wiſeman is exempt from theſe dangers.

FOr he that doth many things yeeldeth himſelf ſubiect to fortunes power, but the ſureſt way is to make triall of her very little, but to thinke alwayes of her, and neuer to put confidence in her. I will ſayle except ſomewhat hinder me; I will be Pretor except ſome one let me, and my buſineſſe ſhall come well to paſſe except ſome accident croſſe it. This is the cauſe why wee ſay, that nothing befalleth a wiſe man contrary to his opinion; wee ſay not that hee is exempt from the chances of this life, but from the errors; neyther doe all things fall out vnto him as hee wiſheth, but as he thought: and firſt of all he thought that ſomwhat might reſiſt his purpoſes. The ſorrow a man conceiueth, for that hee could not attaine to that which hee pretended, is light, and ſcarſly toucheth the heart when hee promiſeth himſelfe not that things ſhall ſucceed as hee deſired.

CHAP. XIIII.

WE ought likewiſe to accõmodate our ſelues to affaires, without preſuming ouer much of our conceptions. Let vs diſpoſe our ſelues thether whether Fortune leadeth vs, neither let vs feare the charges of our counſels or condition, prouided that leuity tranſporteth vs not, which is a mortall enemy to tranquility: for it muſt needes bee, that obſtinacy is both doubtfull and miſerable from which fortune alwayes extorteth ſomewhat, and leuity much more grieuous, that no waies containeth it ſelfe: both of theſe are enemies to tranquility, both too vnable to change any thing, and vnapt to ſuffer any thing. In all caſualties a man ought to retaine his mind farre from all externall things, and to reflect vpon himſelfe, to prorure that hee truſt in himſelfe, to reioyce in himſelfe, to content himſelfe with his thoughts, to eſtrange himſelfe, as much as he may, from other mens affaires, to apply himſelfe to himſelfe, not to haue any ſence of his loſſes, and take in good part his aduerſities. When *Zeno* the Stoicke vnderſtood that

his ſhip was caſt away, and all his goods drowned, *Fortune* (ſaith he) *willeth me to follow the ſtudie of wiſedome more freely.* A tyrant threatned the Philoſopher *Theodorus* with death, and that his bodie ſhould not be buried. *Thou haſt* (ſaith he) *an occaſion wherein to delight thy ſelfe; thou haſt a pinte of bloud in thy power: For as touching my buriall thou ſhouldeſt be a great foole, if thou thinkeſt that I care whether I rotte abaue or vnder-ground. Cannius Iulius* an excellent man, whoſe glorie is no waies diminiſhed, although he was borne in our age, conteſted long time with the Emperour *Caius*; who as *Caius* was departing from him ſaid vnto him, *Leaſt happily thou flatter thy ſelfe with fooliſh hope, I haue commanded thee to be put to death. I thanke thee (ſaid he) worthy Prince.* I know not well what he meant or thought by theſe words, for diuers conſiderations preſent themſelues vnto me. Thought he beſt to vpbrayd him, and to ſhew how great his cruelty was, wherein death was a benefite? Or did he reproach him for his ordinary fury? for they gaue him thankes likewiſe whoſe children were ſlaine, and whoſe goods were taken from them. Or did he willingly entertaine his death as a libertie? whatſoeuer he thought he anſwered worthily. But ſome man may ſay that *Caius* after this might haue granted him life. *Cannius* was not affraid of this: *Caius* faith was too well knowne in ſuch like commands. Thinkeſt thou that hee paſſed thoſe ten dayes without feare, betwixt the day of his ſentence and that of his execution? It is vncredible to be ſpoken what words he ſpake, what he did, and how peaceably he liued during this delay. Hee was playing at Cheſſe at ſuch time as the Centurion who ledde a troope of condemned men to death commanded him likewiſe to be cited. Hauing ſcarce finiſhed his game he counted his men, and ſaid to him with-whom he played, *Beware* (ſaith he) *when I am dead that thou beleeueſt me not, and ſayeſt thou haſt wonne the game.* Then nodding his head to the Centurion he added, *Beare me witneſſe* (ſaith hee) *that I haue the vantage of one.* Thinkeſt thou that *Cannius* cared for the man? no he mocked. His friends were diſmaid becauſe they were to looſe ſuch a man. *Why* (ſaith he) *are you ſad? enquire you whether ſoules be immortall? I ſhall know it preſently.* Neither ceaſed he to ſearch out the truth euen vntill his latter breath, and according to his cuſtome to propoſe alwaies ſome queſtion. There followed him a Philoſopher of his own traine, and when he approched neere the place where the toombe ſtood whervpō daily ſacrifice was made to *Diuus Cæſar*. *Cannius* (quoth he) what thinkeſt thou now, and whereon fixeſt thou thy mind? *I am reſolued* (ſaid *Cannius*) *to marke in this moſt ſwift moment of time, if the ſoule ſhall feele that ſhe is paſſing forth.* And he promiſed that if he found out any thing, he would returne to euery one of his friends, and tell them what the eſtate of ſoules were. Behold Tranquillity in the middeſt of a tempeſt; behold a mind worthy of eternitie, which ſummoneth his deſtinie for an argument of the truth, who ſeeing himſelfe readie to deliuer his laſt breath, queſtioned with his departing ſoule, and that will not onelie learne vntill death, but learneth ſomething likewiſe out of death it ſelfe. No man philoſophied longer: But this ſo great a man ſhall not bee obſcured ſo ſlightly, his praiſe ſhall bee carefully eternized, wee will commend thee to euerlaſting memorie. O worthy *Cannius*, the greater part of *Cains* cruell murthers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The twelfth remedy is that we ought to deſpiſe all humane things, beare this contentedly that are impoſed on vs, & laugh with Democritus.

A comparison betwixt Democritus & Heraclitus.

The thirteenth remedy is to thinke, that good men are neither miſerable in their life nor in their death, and that for the ſame cauſe we ought to reſemble them.

BVt it profiteth nothing to haue caſt away the cauſe of priuate ſadneſſe. For ſometimes the hatred of mankind poſſeſſeth thee, and a troope of ſo many fearfull ſinnes preſent themſelues, when thou bethinkeſt thy ſelfe how rare ſimplicity is, how vnknowne innocency, how ſeldome faith, except when it miniſtreth profite, how the diſaduantages of diſſolution are as hatefull as the aduantages, and ambition is ſo exceſſiue and proud, that ſhe cannot containe her ſelfe within her limits, and boaſteth not but in her villanies. The mind is blinded and obſcured, and as if all vertues were ouer-turned, which neither we may hope for, neither is it profitable for vs to haue, darkneſſe ouer-cloudeth all things; we muſt therfore diſpoſe our ſelues, that the vices of the common ſort be not diſpleaſing vnto vs, but rather may ſeeme ridiculous, and rather let vs imitate *Democritus* then *Heraclitus*. For this man as often as he went abroad wept, and the other laught. To this man, all thoſe things which we doe ſeemed miſeries; to that man, follies: All things therefore are to be ſet light by, and to be endured with a patient mind; for it is more fitting to laugh at life, then to bewaile it. Adde hereunto alſo, that he deſerueth better of mankind who laugheth thereat, then he that bewaileth it: for he leaueth ſome good hope, the other ſo fooliſhly bewaileth it, that he diſpaireth of the recouery therof, and he that cannot abſtaine from laughter, in beholding all that which the world doth, is of a greater mind then the other that ſpendeth himſelfe in teares, when as he meaneth the lighteſt paſſion of the mind, & thinketh that there is nothing great, nothing ſeuere, nor any thing ſerious in this ſo great preparation and ſhow of men. Let euerie one preſent vnto himſelfe the occaſions which may either diſmay or reioyce vs, and he ſhall know that that which *Bion* ſaid is true, *That all the affaires of men are anſwerable to their beginnings, & that their life is neither more holie nor more ſeuere then their deſignes, conceiued onely in their ſoules*: But is better peaceably to behold mens publique manners and imperfection, then torment himſelfe thus for other mens afflictions, and inhumane is that pleaſure that delighteth in other mens euills; euen as it is an vnprofitable humanity to weepe and counterfeit ſadneſſe, becauſe ſome man carrieth forth his child to be buried. In thine own misfortunes likewiſe it behoooueth thee to carry thy ſelfe ſo that thou yeeld ſo much vnto thy ſorrow as it requireth, not as cuſtome demandeth. For many men powre forth teares for a ſhew, and ſo often haue they their eyes dry as they want witneſſes of their ſorrow, iudging it an abſurd thing not to weepe when all men are diſcomforted. So deepe an impreſſion hath this euil fixed in our minds, to depend on other mens opinions, that ſorrow (which of it ſelfe is the ſimpleſt thing) is conuerted into diſſimulation. There followeth another point which is accuſtomed to diſmay and make men penſiue, and not without cauſe, that is, becauſe good men die miſerably. As *Socrates* is compelled to dye in priſon, *Rutilius* to liue in exile, *Pompey* and *Cicero* to yeeld their necks to be ſtrucken off by thoſe whome formerly they had defended, and that *Cato* (the liuing image of vertues) leaning on his ſword ſhould at once looſe his life and his Countries libertie. It muſt needs torment vs to ſee fortune recompence good deſerts ſo vniuſtly, and what now may any man hope for himſelfe, when as he ſeeth the beſt men ſuffer the worſt afflictions? What ſhall be done hereupon? Conſider how euery one of them behaued himſelfe conſtantly, and if they were valiant deſire

their minds, if they perished effeminately and basely, there is nothing lost. Either they are worthy that their vertue should please thee, or vnworthy that a man should bewaile their cowardise. For what is more hatefull then to see great men dying valiantly, to cause other men to be catifes and cowards? Let vs praise him that was so often worthy to be praised, and say; *The more constant, the more happy art thou:* thou hast fled humane casualties, hatred & sickenesse, thou hast left thy prison, thou wert not worthy in thy Gods opinion of an euil fortune, but vnworthy against whom fortune might now do any thing: but those that would retire themselues, and in the instant of death looke backe vnto life, must haue hands laid on them. I will neither weepe for any one that laugheth, or any one that weepeth. The one hath himselfe wiped away my teares; the other hath by his teares effected this, that hee is vnworthy of any teares. Shall I weepe for *Hercules* because hee was burned aliue, or *Regulus*, because his flesh was pierced with so many nailes, or *Cato*, because he couragiously endured the woundes he gaue himselfe. All these men by a light expence of time found out the meanes to make themselues eterned, and by dying attained to immortality. There is yet another great subiect of carefull thoughts that thou disguise and counterfeit cunningly, neither euer shew thy selfe to bee such outwardly, as thou art inwardly, resembling the liues of many, which are fained and fashioned onely for ostentation: for it is a death to stand thus alwaies on our guard, and to feare to be surprised in an other estate then wee are accustomed. Wee are neuer voide of care, as long as this opinion gouerneth vs, & that men estimate our persons as oftentimes as they see vs: for many things fall out which discouer vs in spight of our hearts, and although so retired an obseruation of a mans selfe succeedeth well, yet so it is, that to liue alwaies, thus disguised, doth but afflict and affright the life which would enioy a thousand pleasures if thee were beautified with an open and simple manner of action, and set not a vaile before her manners. True it is that this life is an hazard of contempt, if all things were discouered vnto all men; for some there are that disdaine all that which they approch somewhat neare vnto, and obserue, and better were it to bee contemned by reason of simplicity, then to bee tormented with a perpetuall dissimulation. Yet oughtest thou to keepe a measure, and it importeth thee as very much to be aduised, whether thou liuest simply or negligently; wee ought to retire our selues very inwardly within our selues, for the conuersation of those men that are of different humor from vs, disturbeth those things that are well composed, and renueth affections, and exulcereteth what soeuer is either weake or vncured in the mind, yet notwithstanding it is needfull to intermixe solitude and freedome together, in such sort as the one may bee practised neere vnto the other. Conuersation will make vs loue our selues, solitude inciteth vs to goe and find out others, the one will comfort the other, solitude will heale the discontent we haue conceiued against the presse of so many people that we haue met withall, & to frequent with diuers men remedieth that discontent which solitude breedeth. Neither is the mind to be entertained equally in the same intention, but to be reuoked vnto some pastimes. *Socrates* was not ashamed to play with children, and *Cato* made him merry with wine when publique affaires had tyred him, and *Scipio* exercised his warlike and triumphant body in dauncing (not foolishly as men are woont to do at this day with resluences and trickes that are more then effeminate) but as the ancients were woont to dance in their sports and festiuall dayes, with a decent and comely behauiour, whilest no dishonour or reproch might ensue, though he had been

The fourteenth remedy is to flie hypocrisie.

The fifteenth, to keepe a measure in solitude and conuersation.

The sixteenth to giue some repose vnto the mind, according to Socrates, Cato, & Scipiones examples.

beene obserued by his verie enemies. There must some remission bee giuen to our minds; for after a little repose they will become more better and actiue in all things. Euen as wee ought not to ouerlay our fruitfull lands, lest by continuall fecundity their heart and forces be spent and consumed; so continuall labour ruinateth mens minds, if you suffer them to expatiate and delight themselues a while, they will recouer new forces. Continuall trauell dulleth and blunteth the edge of vnderstanding; neither to this vicissitude would the desire of man bend so much, except that sport and pastime had some pleasure and naturall content, the frequent vse whereof taketh away all that which presseth and afflicteth our spirits. For sleepe is necessary for disgestion, and if a man continue the same both day and night, it will be death. There is a great difference betwixt giuing some liberty to a thing, and leauing it wholly at random. The Law-makers haue ordained festiuall dayes, to the end that men should assemble together to entertaine publike sport, enterposing the same as a necessary temperament and refreshing of trauelles. And as I haue saide, great personages allowed themselues certaine play-dayes in euery moneth, and some other neuer passed day which was not as it were diuided betwixt trauell and repose, such (except I forget my selfe) was that great Orator *Asinius Pollio*, who gaue ouer all occupations after ten of the clocke; nay more, he would not read ordinarie letters, for feare lest some new affaire might fall out, but hee inclosed all the trauel of the day time, from the morning vntil that howre. Some tooke their pleasure about twelue of the clocke, and referred ouer those affaires that were of smallest importance till after dinner time. Our Ancestors haue forbidden to make any new report vnto the Senate after ten of the Clocke. The Souldier disposeth his Sentinels by howres, and they that returne from some voyage of warre, are exempted from night-watch. It is a necessary thing to giue liberty to the mind, & to grant him intermission, which may serue to nourish, and reinforce the same; Furthermore, to walke here and there amidst the fields, to the end that hauing free and open aire, hee may bee the more comforted and lightned. Sometimes to goe in Coach, to trauell and change Countries, augmenteth the forces, likewise to make good cheare, and to drinke somewhat freely more then custome, and so farre as wee drowne not our selues in wine, but to drowne our cares in it: for wine driueth away cares, searcheth the secrets of the mind, driueth away all sicknesse, and is the remedy of sadnes; and therefore *Bacchus* the inuentor of wine was not therefore called *Liber*, because of the liberty of his tongue: but because he deliuereth mens minds from the seruitude of cares, and maketh them more disposed and forward to attempt any thing. But as a moderation in vsing liberty, so a temperance in wine is commendable and wholesome. It is supposed that *Solon* and *Arcesilaus* were good drinkers: and *Cato* was taxed for drunkennes: but whosoeuer reproacheth him in this sort, shall rather proue that this crime of drunkennesse is an honest thing, then that *Cato* behaued himselfe dishonestlie. But neither is it to bee done often, lest the mind should contract some euell custome, although at sometimes a man ought to giue him liberty, and present some meanes of delight, and lay aside for a while the ouer seuere and sober maner of life. For if we giue credite to the Greeke Poet.

Its sometimes pleasure to be mad and foolish.

Or *Plato*, He that is in his right wits, looseth his labour to goe and knocke at the

The order of the ancient Romans in the manner of their liues.

Of the liberty which is sometimes allowed good minds.

the gate of the Muſes, or *Ariſtotle*. There was neuer any great wit that had not ſome ſpice of folly; if the minde bee not ſtirred, and as it were mounted aboue it ſelfe, hee can ſpeake nothing highly, nor aboue others. After hee hath contemned vulgar and ordinary things, and that a holy heate hath raiſed him aboue ordinary, then beginneth he to ſing with a mortall mouth, I know not what that is more then humane. As long as hee is in himſelfe, hee can attaine to nothing that is hie and difficult. Hee muſt deſiſt from his vſuall cuſtome, and rowſe himſelfe, and bite the bridle betwixt his teeth, and beare away him that gouerneth him, and carrie him thither whether of himſelfe hee was affraide to aſcend. Thou haſt my *Serenus* theſe inſtructions that may conſerue and reſtore the tranquility of the mind, and make head againſt thoſe vices that dayly ſteale vpon vs, yet know thou that none of theſe are forcible enough for thoſe that ſlight them ouer, but it behoueth the mind which is inclined to fall and erre, to be retained by an intentiue and continuall care.

The meanes how to make all theſe remedies effectuall.

The End of the Booke of Tranquility and repoſe of the Mind.

THE

OF THE CONSTANCY OF A WISE MAN:

OR,

THAT A WISE MAN CANNOT FEELE ANY INIVRIE.

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of Ivstvs Lipsivs.

THis Booke betokeneth a great mind, as great a wit, and much eloquence: in one word it is one of his beſt. It was publiſhed (as I ſuppoſe) about the time of the former Booke which he wrote of Tranquillitie, *whereunto they annex this, but vnproperly. The Argument is different, and thus handled. He beginneth with the praiſe of the Stoickes, whoſe Paradox he debateth vpon, That a wiſe man is not affected with iniurie. What then? (ſaid* Serenus) *Was not* Cato *touched with contumelious ſtrokes and ſpittings vpon him? From this obiection he entreth into the matter, and yet (ſaith he) he was not affected with iniuries. For he was a wiſe man, and iniurie hath no power ouer a wiſe man: which notwithſtanding (ſaith he) is ſpoken in that ſence, not that iniuries are not offered him, but that he admitteth them not. This worthily handleth he vntill the fourth Chapter. Then diuideth he that wherupon he is to debate into two parts, by ſetting downe the difference betwixt Iniurie and Contumelie. Touching the former, he denieth that it is incident to a wiſe man; and as for the laſt he admitteth it not. Of Iniurie theſe are his arguments. A wiſe man ſuffereth no euill, but iniurie is an euill thing: Secondly, Iniurie detracteth and diminiſheth: but nothing is taken from a wiſe man, for he hath all things repoſed in himſelfe and that ſtrongly, as* Stilpo. *The third. The ſtronger is not harmed by the weaker: and therefore not vertue by malice. Heare it is obiected. But was not* Socrates *vniuſtly condemned? He was ſo, but without his iniuries. They profered it him, hee reiected them by wiſedome. As for example, thou giueſt me venome, and I repreſſe the force thereof by an Antidote: Thou committeſt the crime, and I ſuffer. The fourth argument. Iniury is mixed with iniuſtice, but this befalleth not a wiſe man; Ergo, not the other. The fift argument. No man profiteth a wiſe man; Erge, no man hurteth him. The ſixt. Iniury is either through hope or feare: but a wiſe man is touched with neither of them. The ſeauenth and laſt. No man receaueth iniury that is not moued: A wiſe man is not mooued. And in this place is the concluſion of the firſt part, and an exhortation to imprint this leſſon in our minds. The other was of* Contumelie, *which he explicateth in the tenth Chapter what properly it is, and then driueth he it from a wiſe man.*

Firſt,

First, because a wise man knoweth his owne greatnes, and therefoe Contumely appertaineth not vnto him, which hath both her name and being from Contempt. Secondly, Proud and insolent men inferre Contumely; The wise man contemneth such men, and therefore this vice is condemned by them. Thirdly, No man contemneth his superiour or his better: but such is the wise man. Therfore smileth he at those things that are spoken against him as in banquets at childrens toyes. But what? doth a wise man endure all these things? doth he not correct and moderate them? yes he doth it sometimes, as men are woont to checke their children, not because he hath receaued any iniury, but because they haue done it. And hitherto vntill the 14. Chapter he argueth against Contumely or iniury onely, now refuteth he them both together. By this argument Security is proper to a wise man. It is not if either he entertaine or can admit any of them. The like the Epicures maintain, though not so confidently. In conclusion, he aduiseth vs to reiect diuers slight and friuolous things, whereat the common sort are offended, and to laugh at them least we be derided. His conclusion is how iniuries are to be borne either by him that seeketh after wisedome, or him that hath attained the same. The one suffereth it with some touch of mind, and with some resist also. The other with both, and like a conquerour chaseth them before him, and triumpheth ouer them. I repeate it againe; This Booke was written by a man of great mind, let vs confirme our selues thereby in this so great malice both of times and men.

CHAP. I.

He instifieth the doctrine of the Stoickes, and discouereth their weightinesse in animating men to vertue.

IMay well say (my *Serenus*) there is as much difference betwixt the *Stoickes* and other Philosophers, as betweene Females and Males, whereas both the one and the other are equally assistant to the good of humane society; but the sects of the Stoicks is borne to command, and the other are made to obay. For other Philosophers handle mens infirmities tenderly and flatteringly, as for the most part domesticall and familiar Phisitions are woont to doe their sicke patients, not healing them by the best and speediest meanes, but by feeding their humors. The Stoickes entertaining a more constant course, they care not whether their followers find the way pleasant or no, but labour to pull vs presently out of danger, and to conduct vs to so high a place, which is so farre raised aboue any humane miserie, that it ouer-looketh fortune. But the waies whereunto we are called are high and rugged, for who ascendeth to an high place that keepeth the plaine? yet is not the way so difficult as some men suppose. True it is, the first entry ouer is stony, steepy, and seemeth vnaccessible, as they that behold from a farre suppose, that the Countrey through which they trauell, is wholy of one leuell, and hath neither path nor way, which proceedeth from the great distance that deceaueth their sight, but in drawing neerer and neerer, these diuers waies which the error of our eye had confounded, seeme by little and little to be distinct, and that which happened a farre off to be a steepe, prooued afterwards an ordinary path easie end to bee mounted. *The occasion of the question.* When as of late we happened to discourse of *Cato* thou wast mighrily displeased (as thou art alwaies impatient of iniquitie) because so great a person as hee was was not so well knowen in his time, because (although he were farre more worthy

thy then either *Pompeys* or *Cesars*) they rancked him lower then the Vatinians, and it seemed an vnworthy matter in thy iudgement, because that dissuading the law they tooke from him his gowne in the Market place, and drew him from the place where the lawes were published, as farre as the Arke of *Fabius*, by the hands of the seditious faction, and for that he endured the cruell reproaches, shamefull spittings, and other contumelies of the vnbridled multitude. To this I answere thee at that time, that thou haddest more occasion to be mooued in the behalfe of the Common-weale, which *Clodius* on one side, and *Vatinius*, and other wicked men on the other side set to sale, and being blinded with couetousnesse sawe not, that in selling their Countrey they likewise sold themselues.

CHAP. II.

The resolution of the same in a word, the subiect whereof which is Cato is compared with Vlisses, and Hercules, whereat we are not to marueil, because the Stoickes haue taken Cato as the exemplary image of a wise man.

AS touching *Cato* I besought thee not to trouble thy selfe about him, for I told thee that a wise man could neither bee iniured by words or deeds: but that the immortall Gods had giuen vs in *Cato* a more liuing example of a wise man, then either *Vlisses* or *Hercules* in former ages. For these haue our Stoickes pronounced to be wise men inuincible in labours, contemners of pleasure, and conquerours in all Countries. *Cato* contended not with sauage beasts, which Huntsmen and Pesants are to prosecute and hunt; neither by fire and sword subdued hee monsters; neither liued hee in those times wherein it was thought that one man could carry the whole heauen on his shoulders, for these old fables are out of credite, and men in these daies are better aduised. But he waging warre against ambition, a monster of diuers formes, and with the immesurable desire of rule (which the whole world being diuided into three parts could not satisfie) against the vices of a degenerate City, that suncke vnder the waight of her owne burthen, stood alone and vpheld the decaying Common-weale, as much as one hand could then sustaine, vntill such time as being either rauished or torne from his Country, he accompained long time the ruine that he had sustained, vntill such time that such things (which without haynous crimes could not be separated) were extinguished together; For neither did *Cato* liue after liberty was lost, neither liberty after *Catoes* death. Thinkest thou the people could in any sort iniury this man, because they either tooke from him the Prætorshippe or his Gowne, or soyled his most sacred head with the excrements of their mouths. A wise man is secure, neither can hee bee touched with any iniurie or contumelie.

CHAP. III.

A reply to this resolutiō, grounded on the Paradox of the Stoickes.

ME thinks I see thy mind incensed, and boiling with anger, and thou art addressed to crie out; These are they that lessen the authority of your precepts: you promise great things, and such as neither may bee wished, nor can bee beleeued. Afterwards, after so many great words, and when you haue denied that a Wise-man is poore, you confesse that oftentimes he hath want of a seruant, of cloathing, of a house, and of meat. Hauing denied that a Wiseman is a foole, you auow that hee

hee is sometimes transported, and that hee speaketh some things vnproperly; in briefe, that hee suffereth himselfe to bee distracted thether, whether the violence of his passion carrieth him. You deny that a Wiseman is a slaue, and yet confesse that hee may be sould, that hee will doe that which is commanded him, and will subiect himselfe as a slaue to all that seruice which his Master shall require at his hands. Thus after you haue braued a long time, you fall into the condition of other men; and there is no difference betweene you but in change of names. I suspect that there is I know not what like in that which you propose, that a wise-man cannot bee outraged eyther in deed or word. But if these be different things; that is, if you say, that a Wiseman cannot be angrie, or cannot be iniuried. For if you say that hee endureth the iniurie patiently, hee hath no priuiledge. He pertaketh onely a common good, that is to say, patience, which is learned by a custome of hearing, and bearing iniuries. If thou saiest that hee cannot bee outraged, that is to say, that no man will attempt to doe him iniurie: *An answere to this reply.* I will giue ouer all other affaires, and become a Stoicke. But my intent is not to dignifie a Wise wan with an imaginary honour of wordes, but to lodge him in such a place where no iniury may attaine vnto him. What then? shall there bee no man that will attempt or prouoke him? There is nothing so sacred in this world, that meeteth not with some sacriledge. But the gods cease not to be raised aloft, although there bee some so wicked men that will assaile a greatnesse and maiesty, so high placed that they cannot hurt or attaine vnto. That thing is exempt from harme, not because it is not stroken, but because it is not interessed. By this marke I will make thee know a Wise man. Doubtest thou that an inuincible force, although it be assailed, is no more assured, then that force which is not prouoked, considering that there is not any force in those forces that are vnapproued, and that contrariwise the constancy which despiseth all assaults, is iustly helde for the most certaine? So know thou that a Wiseman is more to bee esteemed, because no iniurie can do him harme, then if no man prouoked him any wayes. I will call him a valiant man that is inuincible in warre, that is not astonished vpon the enemies charge; who taketh no pleasure in fatting idlenesse, nor in the conuersation of such as doe nothing. I say then that a Wiseman is not subiect or exposed to any iniury whatsoeuer, neither careth he how many darts are shot against him, since hee knoweth that hee cannot bee pierced. Euen as there are certain hard stones which Iron cannot enter, and the Adamant will neither be cut, filed or bet to powder, but abateth the edge of these tooles that are applied vnto it: as there are certaine things which cannot bee consumed by fire, but continue their hardnesse and habitude amidst the flames; and euen as the rockes that are fixed in the heart of the sea breake the waues, and although they haue beene assaulted, and bet vpon many infinite times, retaine no impression of the stormes that haue assailed them. euen so the heart of a Wiseman is solid, and hath gathered such force that hee is as secure from iniury, as those I made mention of.

Diuers comparisons to fortifie his answere.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

WHat then is there no man that will attempt to doe iniury to a Wise man? yes, hee will attempt, but he shall not attaine vnto him; for hee is so highly raised aboue all the attaints of worldly things, that there is no violence what soeuer, that can aime his attempts so hie, be it your Princes and Monarkes, who haue so many engines and seruants at their command, should enforce themselues to hurt him. All their endeauours shall bee frustrate before a Wise man, be offended, euen as Arrowes and Bullets that are shot into the ayre, mount more hie then our sight, but they fall backe againe without touching heauen: what doest thou thinke that that foolish King when hee had darkened the day with the multitude of his arrowes, could hit the sunne with any one of them? that casting his chaines into the bottome of the sea, hee could haue touched or enthralled *Neptune*. Euen as celestiall things are not subiect to humane hands, & they that ouerturne temples, and melt downe Images, doe no wayes hurt the Deitie: so what soeuer is attempted eyther crabbedly, immodestly, or proudly against a Wiseman, is done in vaine. But it were the better if there were no man that would attempt the same. Thou wishest the world a thing hard to come by, that is to say, innocencie. As touching those, that doe the euill, it were better for them that they did it not, but in regarde of him that endureth the same; it is no euill for him. I will say further, that I thinke that wisdome discouereth the forces of his content, more where hee is barked at and assailed, as security is in an enemies Country, a great argument, of a worthy Generall, and exercised Captaine. But if thou pleasest my *System*, let vs diuide iniurie from contumelie. The former of these by nature is more tedious, the other more light and distastfull, onely to those that are delicate, whereby they are not hurt but offended. Yet so great is the dissolution and vanity of mens minds, that some men thinke there is nothing more displeasing and tart. So shall you finde a seruant that had rather bee scourged with whippes, then buffeted with strokes, and that supposeth that death and stripes are more tollerable then contumelious words. The world is grown to that folly, that we are not onely vexed with sorrow, but with the opinion of sorrow also, as children are wont to doe who are affrighted with their shadowes, with deformitie of men, counterfeit faces, and are prouoked to teares, when they heare some name that they like not, & start at the motion of our fingers and other things, which the weaknesse of their iudgement makes them redily condemne.

Hee particularly describeth the priuiledges of a Wiseman, & first that the outrages that are done vnto him, touch him not.

The second, that although he is touched, yet endureth he the euill.

CHAP. V.

INiurie hath this intent to harme some man. But wisdome leaueth no place for euill: for there is no euill for her but vice which cannot enter, there where vertue and honesty dwell; and therfore iniury doth not affect a Wiseman: for if iniurie be the sufferance of some euill; and a Wiseman cannot suffer euill; there is no euill that appertaineth to a Wiseman. Euery iniurie is a diminution of him to whom it is offered, & no man may receiue any iniury without some detriment eyther in honour, body or in goods, but a wise man can loose nothing: hee hath

The third, he can neither suffer detriment in body or mind, or goods, and therefore that he can no wayes bee iniured.

hath all his good incloſed in himſelfe; hee no wayes putteth confidence in fortune; hee entirely poſſeſſeth his riches, contenting himſelfe with vertue, which hath no neede of accidentall things, and therefore may neither increaſe nor decreaſe: for hauing attained to the height, there is no place for increaſe. Fortune taketh away nothing but that which ſhee hath giuen; ſhee giueth not vertue, and therefore cannot take it away; vertue is free inuiolable, immutable, aſſured, and ſo hardned againſt caſualties, that ſhee neyther may bee ſhaken or ouercome. Shee holdeth her eyes fixed againſt the moſt dreadfull obiects in this world, ſhee neuer changeth her countenance, whether they preſent her with proſperities, or tempt her with aduerſities. So then a Wiſeman looſeth nothing of that which hee perceiueth is ſubiect to looſe; for hee is in poſſeſſion of vertue onely, from whence hee may neuer bee driuen, and vſeth other goods as things that are borrowed. But what man is hee that is moued at the looſe of that which is not his? but if iniurie can attempt nothing which is proper to a Wiſe man, becauſe they are conſerued by his vertue, therfore iniurie cannot bee done vnto a Wiſeman. *Demetrius* named *Poliorcetes*, that is a taker of Cities, hauing brought in ſubiection the City of *Megara*, asked *Stilpon* the Philoſopher if hee had loſt any thing? No (ſaith he) for I carry all my goods with me, and yet his houſe had been ranſackt, his daughters rauiſhed, and his Country ruined. But *Stilpo* got the victory ouer *Demetrius*, and although his Citty were taken, hee ſhewed himſelfe inuincible, yea exempt from all damage, for hee kept with him the true goods which may well bee laid holde on. But as touching thoſe goods that were pillage and taken from him, hee iudged them not his, but reputed them to be caſuall, and ſuch as followed the becke of fortune, and therefore ſetled hee not his heart vpon them, as if they had been his owne. For the poſſeſſion of all thoſe things that abound externally, is ſlippery and vnaſſured. Bethinke thy ſelfe now, whether either a thiefe, a backbitet, a dangerous neighbour, and enuious rich man, or ſome King broken with olde age could doe him iniurie, from whom warre, and that enemy, who profeſſed a goodly Art, to ſubuert and ſhake Cities, could take away nothing. Amidſt ſo many naked weapons, amidſt the tumult of ſo many outraging ſouldiers; betwixt fire & bloud, and the ſacke of a City, ſurpriſed by aſſault, amidſt the ruine of Temples falling vpon the Gods; one onely man remained quiet and conſtant. Thou art not therefore to thinke that I promiſed thee more then I can performe, for if thou wilt not credite me, I will giue thee ſureties, for thou ſcarcely beleeueſt that there is ſo much conſtancy in a man, or that his minde may be ſo great, except he preſſe forth and tell thee,

The image of vertue confirmed by a ſucceeding and notable example.

CHAP. VI.

What profite wee may reape by Stilpons conſtancy & examſple. The deſcription of a vertuous man.

TO the end thou may eſt know (ſaith hee) that a mortall man may rayſe himſelfe aboue all the accidents of this life, may regard with an aſſured eye the paines, loſſes, wounds and ſtroakes, and the hurliburly of infinite calamities that environ him, that hee may endure aduerſity, content himſelfe moderately in proſperity, without relying on this, or grudging himſelfe on that, but remayning alwayes like himſelfe in good and euill fortune, not to eſteeme any thing his except it bee himſelf, or in regard of that part of himſelfe which maketh him vertuous: I am ready to proue this vnto thee, and to ſhow thee that vnder this ouerturner of ſo

ſo many Cities, the walles are beaten downe by the violence of his Rammes, the high Towers fall to the ground by the meanes of his Mines, and if hee rayſeth his platformes as high as the talleſt towers, yet notwithſtanding he cannot finde out any engines that may ſhake a heart that is well aſſured. I haue crept out from vnder the ruines of mine owne houſe, I haue paſt thorow fire, flame and ſword, wherewith I was enuironed on euery ſide, I know not whether my daughters are more courteouſly vſed then the reſt of the City. I am old, and alone, ſeeing nothing but acts of hoſtility, on what ſide ſo euer I turne my ſelfe, yet I maintaine that all my goods remaine in ſecurity, I auerre, that I haue all that whatſoeuer was mine before. Thou muſt not thinke *Demetrius*, that I am ouercome, or thou art victorious. Thy fortune hath ouercome mine: I know not what is become of theſe my goods which are ſubiect to looſe, and change their maſter. As touching my true goods, they are and ſhall be mine, and with me. The rich haue loſt their riches, the voluptuous their liues and minions which they had entertained with the hazard of their honour, the ambitious neither haunt the pallace nor the market-place as before, nor thoſe retreats wherein they made ſhew of their vanities, the vſurers haue loſt their bonds and bookes of account, wherein auarice made drunke with the loue of her ſelfe, imagineth commodities of all ſorts. For mine own part I haue all my goods in ſuch ſort, as no man hath either touched or ſpoyled them in any ſort: Speake vnto thoſe that weepe, that lament, who to ſaue their money, preſent their diſarmed boſomes to naked weapons, that flie with a heauy burthen vpon their backes before the enemy. Reſolue thy ſelfe therefore *Serenus*, that this perfect man, full of vertues both diuine and humane, looſeth nothing: his goods are enuironed with ſolide and impregnable ramparts, whereunto thou wouldeſt in ſome ſort compare the walles of *Babylon*, vpon which *Alexander* mounted, nor the fortreſſes of *Carthage* or *Numantium*, enforced by one onely hand, nor the Capitoll or any place whatſoeuer, how ſtrong and defenced ſo euer it may be. The enemies either haue or might ſet foot therein: but the fortreſſes that defence the Wiſe man, cannot be ſurpriſed, neither feare they fire, they cannot be entred or ſcaled, or vndermiued, they are impregnable like the nature of the gods.

The miſery of thoſe that ſeeke content in corruptible thinges.

CHAP. VII.

An excuſe of that which he hath propoſed of a wiſe mans vertue.

NAy not therefore as thou art accuſtomed to doe, that this our Wiſeman is found in no place, we paint not vaine glory in a mans vnderſtanding, neither conceiue wee a *Coloſſus* of counterfeit vertue, but ſuch as wee haue confirmed and approued: wee both haue and will preſent thee: happily ſuch a one is rarely found, no not in many ages, for theſe things that are great and exceede cuſtome and vulgar meaſure, are ſeldome engendred and brought to effect, but I believe that *Cato*, for whoſe cauſe wee entred into this diſpute, exceedeth by farre the Wiſeman which is now in queſtion. To returne to my purpoſe, that which offendeth ought to haue more force then that which is offended. But wickedneſſe hath not more force then vertue, whereupon it followeth that a Wiſeman cannot be offended, good men cannot be iniured but by euill men, peace and friendſhip is entertained by good men. Wicked men hurt vertuous men as much as they doe one another, if no man can bee harmed, except hee bee more weake

The fourth priviledge, the vertuous cannot be iniured by the vicious, but vertue is more powerfull then vice, and eaſily ſubdueth the ſame.

then hee that harmeth him, and the euill men bee more weake then the good, and the good cannot bee offended, but by those that resemble them not, the wise man cannot be offended. For I am not now to remember, these, that no man is good but a wiseman. But (saist thou) *Socrates* was condemned vniustly, & receiued iniurie. In this place wee ought to obserue, that it may so fall out, that some man may outrage mee, and yet I shall not be injured; as if a theefe had stolne something out of my grange in the Country, and locked it vp in my house: he hath robbed mee, but I haue lost nothing. A man may bee guilty although he hath committed no offence; if he liue with his owne wife, imagining that hee lay with an other mans, hee shall bee an adulterer, although his wife shall not bee an adulteresse. Some one hath giuen me poyson, but hauing intermixed it with my meate, it lost his force; in giuing me this hee is guilty, although no euill ensue thereupon. He ceaseth not to bee a murtherer, who hath thrust his sword at me, although I haue put by the blow by the benefite of my cloake. All wickednesses are accomplished in regard of the offence before the mischiefe bee acted. There are certaine things of that condition, and so vnited, that the one cannot be without the other: that which I say. I will endeauour to lay open; I can moue my feet, and yet runne not, I cannot runne except I moue my feet: although I am in the water, I can chose whether I will swimme, and if I swim I cannot chuse but bee in the water: so is it in this case that is in question, if I haue been iniured, it must needs bee that the iniury hath beene done: but although the iniury hath beene done, it followeth not consequently that I haue receiued it: for many things may fall out that may preuent the iniury, euen as the hand that is lifted vp to strike, may bee preuented by some accidents: and arrowes that are shot, may bee auoided in some sort, so may some things repulse and stay all iniuries whatsoeuer, in such sort as they shall neither be done nor receiued.

CHAP. VIII.

The fifth, since a wise man weeteth nothing, hee can receiue no iniury, for his felicity is compleate, a mere Stoicall Paradoxe; the Christian expelled a greater compliment.

FVrthermore, Iustice cannot endure any iniustice, for contrary things cannot bee vnited together: but an iniury cannot be done but vniustly. It followeth therefore, that a man cannot doe iniury to a wise man; neither ought est thou to wonder that no man can doe him iniury, since there is not any man that can bring him any profite: for a wise man wanteth nothing which he can receiue in way of gift, and an euill man can bestow nothing on a wise man: for hee must haue it before he giue it; but hee hath nothing which a wiseman would bee glad hee should bestow vpon him. Therefore no man can either hurt or profite a wise man. As the immortall gods neither desire to bee aided, neither can be hurt; no more also can a wise man, who is neighbor to the Gods, and like vnto God, except in this that hee is subiect to death. Tending and walking towards those things that are high, gouerned, assured, permanent, peaceable, impregnable, gracious, and created for the good of all men, assisting himselfe and others, heo will couet no base thing, he bewaileth nothing because that in all accidents hee dependeth on reason, and marcheth with a diuine thought. Hee cannot receiue iniury by any meanes I say, not onely in that respect, that hee is a man no not from fortune her selfe, which as often as shee encountreth with vertue, neuer retireth but to her disaduantage; if wee entertaine that great euill with a willing and constant heart, in respect whereof the most rigorous laws of the world can doe nothing, and the most cruell tyrants can doe nothing, wherein fortune seeth all her Empiry consumed. In briefe, if wee know that death is not an euill thing, lesse cruell shall wee deeme an iniurie to bee, more couragiously shall we endure all other euils, such as are lesse displeasures, ignominies, banishments, the death of our parents and quarrels; for although all these incommodities inuiron a wise man, yet stifle they him not, nay more, hee grieueth not at any of their assaults. And if hee patiently endure the iniuries of Fortune, how farre more easily suffereth hee these of the rich and mighty sort, who are but the instruments of fortune.

CHAP. IX.

All iniuries to a wise man are but as colde and heate, raine and sickenesse.

HE therefore endureth all these misfortunes as hee would abide the rigor of the winter, raines, heates, and other accidents, neither iudgeth hee of any man so well, that hee imagineth that he did any thing by counsell which is only incident to a wise man. The rest doe nothing with prudence. All their actions consist in fraudes, ambushes, and disordered motions, which the Wiseman ranketh amongst casuall things. But all that which is casuall assaileth and enuironeth vs externally. Remember thy selfe likewise, that these things, by means whereof men endeuour to hurt vs, produce many occasions of offences. As if a man should wrongfully accuse vs, or suborne some witnesse against vs, or if they should disgrace vs in the presence of great men, or attempt such other accustomed practises amongst men that haue either leasure or credite. It is likewise an other ordinary iniury, if a man take that profit which an other man thought to make, out of his hands, or a reward long deserued, or an inheritance recouered with much trauell, or the credite of a house wherein hee had done faithfull offices. The wiseman neither liueth in hope nor in feare, but disburtheneth himselfe of these difficulties. Furthermore, no man is iniured except he be moued, and hee is moued and troubled, as soone as he is touched: but an vpright man is neuer vexed, hee brideleth in his extrauagant discourses, he enioyeth a deepe and peaceable repose, and although an iniury touch him, and moue, and hinder him, yet is hee not attainted with choller, which groweth from a pretended iniury, and the reason why hee is not displeased, is, because hee knoweth that a man cannot wrong him. Thence proceedeth it, that hee walketh alwayes with an vpright countenance, a merry cheare, possessed with a continuall ioy, which in such sort strengthneth it selfe, that in stead of being abashed at those iniuries which men may offer him, and for those disasters that may happen in life, hee maketh vse of these difficulties, as meanes to know & make proofe of his vertue. Let vs make profite I beseech you of this discourse, and let vs listen attentiuely both with heart and eare, how a Wise man behaueth himselfe when he is outraged, although that for all this wee are not so well aduised, as to cut off any thing of our wantonnesse, of our violent couetousnesse, nor of our pride and arrogancy. The Wiseman seeketh this liberty without medling with your vices, neither is it a question here, whether it bee lawfull for you or no to doe iniury; but how a Wiseman beareth all iniury, and continueth firme, patient, and confident in courage. In this sort haue diuers borne away the palme in combates and exercises, when by their inuincible patience

The seuenth, his brideling in his passions, iudgeth of euill otherwaies then passionate men doe; and conuerteth all to good.

they had wearied the hands of thoſe that ſtroake at them. Suppoſe our Wiſeman to be one of thoſe men, who by long and conſtant exerciſe haue recouered the force to endure and weary the force and aſſaults of their enemies.

CHAP. X.

The eighth, that all complaints of thoſe that ſuppoſe themſelues iniured, are ſo vild and vnworthy, that it were a diſgrace for a Wiſeman to thinke that he ſhou'd be moued at ſuch things.

SInce we haue diſcourſed vpon the firſt part, now let vs deſcend vnto the ſecond; in which, by ſome perticular reaſons, and by diuers common, wee will confute that opinion men haue of contempt and contumely. Contumelie is an iniury ſo ſmall, as no man either complaineth or reuengeth himſelfe, therfore neither do the lawes themſelues prefixe any penalty thereunto. This paſſion is mooued by a certaine baſenes of the hart that is diſpleaſed, for ſome either diſhonorable deed or word. As for example. This Lord hath not giuē me audience to day, yet hath admitted an other. He hath careleſly turned his head aſide when I ſpake vnto him, or hath mocked me before all men: In ſtead of placing me at the vpper end of the table, he hath ſet me below. What ſhall I call theſe complaints (or ſuch like) but vomitings of a ſicke ſoule whereunto they are ſubiect, who are ouer delicate, and ſuch as liue too much at their eaſe; for I haue no leiſure to note theſe in particulars, when as worſe doe follow. Our minds weakned and made effeminate by too much repoſe, and become inſolent for want of knowing what true iniurie is, are mooued at ſuch things which (for the moſt part) proceede from this, becauſe hee that either ſayth or doth them vnderſtandeth not himſelfe. By meanes whereof, the other that is mooued and paſſionate, pretending to bee iniured, ſheweth himſelfe to be a man both heartleſſe and witleſſe. For vndoubtedly hee ſuppoſeth himſelfe to bee contemned, and this miſpriſion of his proceedeth from nought elſe but his baſe, vilde, and abiect courage. But a wiſe man is contemned by no man, he knoweth his owne greatneſſe, hee is reſolued that no man (except himſelfe) can attempt any thing to his aduantage or diſaduantage. And as touching all theſe miſeries (or rather diſtractions of the mind) ſo farre is hee from not ouercomming them, that he feeleth them not. There are other croſſes likewiſe, although they ouerthrow him not, as paines and weakneſſe of body, loſſe of friends, and children, ruine of Countries afflicted by warre. I deny not but a wiſe man hath ſome ſence of theſe euils, for wee ſay not that he is hard and ſtupide, like a flint or as a barre of Iron. There is no vertue that hath not a ſence of that which ſhe ſuffereth.

The ninth. Although he feele the ſtroakes he hath a remedy at hand, whence followeth his cure which deſerueth not this name; conſidering that the hurt is rather an imagination then any other thing, if we conſider thoſe who pretend to doe thee wrong.

CHAP. XI.

WHat is it then? I confeſſe that a wiſeman receiueth ſome ſtroks, but he rebateth them, he healeth them, and maketh them without effect: as for theſe that are leſſe hee feeleth them not, neither vſeth he his accuſtomed vertue, conſtancy & patience, in reſpect of theſe, but either he marketh them not, or thinketh them worthy of deriſion. Beſides, whereas the greater part of contumelies are offered by proud and inſolent men, and ſuch as know not how to carry their good fortune: the wiſe man hath a meanes to deſpiſe that ſwolne affection, which is the conſtancy and greatnes of his mind, which is the greateſt of all vertues, the which paſſeth ſwiftly

ſwiftly aboue all theſe vanities, as vaine appearances of dreames and nightly viſions, which haue nothing ſolide or true in them. He thinketh likewiſe that all other men are ſo baſe, that they haue not ſufficient courage to contemne that which is ſo highly raiſed aboue them. Contumely is ſo called of contempt, becauſe he that outrageth another doth it but in contempt. But no man contemneth his better or him that is more excellent then himſelfe, although hee ſay, or doe ſome thing which contemners are accuſtomed to do. For young children, ſtrike their parents on the face, and an infant hath towſed and torne his mothers lockes, and ſpit vpon her, and diſcouered ſuch things in the ſight of the ſeruants which ſhould haue been hidden, and hath not abſtained from diſhoneſt and diſorderly ſpeeches, and yet none of theſe doe wee call contumelies. And why? becauſe they doe it not in contempt. The ſame is the cauſe why wee beare with the vrbanity of our ſlaues, and take delight to heare them ieſt at their maſters, and after they haue gibed at them firſt, they haue liberty to taunt others that are at the table, the more contemptible and ridiculous a man is, the more liberty hath hee of his tongne. There are ſome men that buy wanton children, and animate them in impudency, and giue them maſters to teach them to ſcoffe and bite at euery man, as if they had but recorded their leſſon, neither call wee theſe contumelies but merry ieſts.

CHAP. XII.

The tenth, He eſteemeth the iniuries that are offered to him by the vicious as flightly as he would the words of children, which know not what they ſay. A compariſon betwixt yong & olde fooles of the world.

BVt what folly is it now to bee delighted, and ſtraight again offended with the ſame things? and to call that a reproch which is ſpoken by a friend; and a better ieſt that is vttered by a ſeruant? The ſame mind that wee haue towards children, the ſame hath a wiſeman towards all men, who after their youth are become childiſhly old. Can a man terme thoſe old men otherwayes then infants, whoſe minds are depraued, and errors encreaſed, and who differ in nothing from children, but in the bulke of their bodies, and outward formes, but are no leſſe inconſtant and vncertaine, and deſirous of pleaſure, without choice, fearful and quiet, not in mind, but for feare? neither therefore will any man ſay, that there is a diffetence betwixt them and children, becauſe the one is couetous of checkeſtones, nuts and ſmall money, the other, of gold, ſiluer and Cities. Children make Princes and Iudges, amongſt themſelues, counterfeit Senators, and with ſtaues and peeces of wood repreſent ridiculouſly the enſignes and markes of iuſtice. Theſe play the like ſports in good earneſt in the field of *Mars* in the Market place, and in the Senate. Children ſitting by the riuers ſide, make them houſes of ſand. Theſe as if buſied about ſom great mater, are occupied in ſtones, in walles, and building houſes, and haue made thoſe things dangerous which were inuented for the conſeruation of our bodies. So then both the young and olde are infants, but the one are more aduanced in beaſtlineſſe, and more fooles then the other. And therefore vpon good ground the wiſe man taketh pleaſure and paſtime in the outrages of theſe great infants, and ſometimes he chaſticeth them as children, not becauſe he hath received iniury, but becauſe they haue done it, and to the end they ſhould doe it no more; for ſo are wild beaſtes tamed by ſtrokes, neither are wee angrie with them, becauſe they caſt their rider, but we ſtroke them and cheeke them with the bit, to the end that by manaing them wee may make them tame. Know therefore that this is anſwered which

Why a wiſe man ſometimes chaſticeth thoſe that offend in deedes or wordes.

which was opposed against vs, why a Wise man if hee hath neither receiued iniury or contumelie punisheth those that did the same: for he reuengeth not himselfe, but punisheth them.

CHAP. XIII.

In this place hee answereth some question, and the first is why the Wiseman suffereth the insolency both of young and old.

But why is it that thou thinkest not that the same infirmity of mind attendeth a Wiseman, when thou mayest obserue the same in others, though not vpon the same causes for what physition is angry with a lunatike person, who will interprete a sick mans reproches to the worst, that is vexed with a feuer, and is forbidden to drinke colde water? The same affection hath a Wiseman towards all men, as the Physition hath towards his sicke Patients, who disdaineth not to handle their priuities, if they haue neede of remedy, nor to see their vrines and excrements, nor to heare the outrages which feare maketh them to vtter. The wise man knoweth that all these which iet in their gownes, or are apparelled in purple, who, although they are well coloured and faire, are sicke and diseased: whom in no other sort hee looketh vpon but as intemperate sicke men. Therefore is hee not angry with them, if during their sickenesse they haue beene so bold as to speake iniuriously against him who would heale them; and as hee setteth light by all their honours, so tormenteth he himselfe as little with their despight and insolencies. Euen as he taketh little pleasure, if a begger do him honour, no more will hee iudge it a contumelie, if the basest companion returne him not the like when hee hath saluted him; so will hee neither waxe prouder, if many rich men doe him honour; for hee knoweth that they differ nothing from beggers, nay that they are more wretched then the other, for the one neede little, the other much. And againe, the wiseman will not bee moued, if saluting the King of *Medes*, or *Attalus* of *Asia*, hee passe by him without speaking, and with a disdainefull countenance, for hee knoweth well that hee hath as little cause to enuy such a Princes state, as the condition of him that in a great famine, hath the charge to keepe and ouersee the sicke and mad men. Shall I bee angry if one of those who negociate in the market place neere to the Temple of *Castor*, or that make it their traffique to buy slaues, and who haue their shoppes filled with a troupe of base slaues, saluteth mee not by my name, not as I thinke, for what goodnesse is there in him, vnder whom there are none but euill men. Therefore as he will neglect this mans humanity, or inhumanity; so will hee doe a Kings. Thou hast vnder thy gouernements, both *Parthians*, *Medes* and *Bactrians*, but such as thou containest by feare; neither darest thou lay by thy bowe, by reason of them who do nothing in regarde of thee, whom thou must handle as slaues, but such as desire likewise to bee rid of thee, and seeke for a new Lord. So then a wise man is not offended at any mans iniurie, and although that one is not of the same reckoning as others, yet hee esteemeth them alike, because they are no lesse fooles the one as the other: now if but once hee embase himselfe, so farre as either hee bee moued with iniury or contumely, hee can neuer be secure, but security is the proper good of a wise man; neither will hee endure that by reuenging the contumelie that is offered him, he honour him that did the same: for it must needes be, that hee whosoeuer is displeased for an iniurie that is done him, will likewise be glad to be honoured at his hands.

CHAP. XIIII.

The second, whence it commeth that hee confesseth readily the faults both of the one and the other.

There are some men that are possessed with so great madnesse, that they thinke that a woman can offer them outrage, what matters it how rich shee be, how many vassals shee haue to carry her letters; what though her eares are laden with pendants, and her chaines be large and spacious; yet all of them alike are impudent creatures, and except shee bee endowed with much science and learning, shee will bee cruell and incontinent in her desires. There are some are much vexed, because they haue beene repressed by some Ladies Groome, that helpes to make her ready, and call it contumely, if a Porter be ouer curtish, at the pride of the Clerke of Checke, and the loftinesse of a groome of the Chamber. O how much are wee to laugh at these toyes? with how great pleasure is the mind to bee filled, when a man beholdeth his owne quiet amidst the tumult of other mens errors? what therfore? shall not a wise man be bold to approch the gate where there is a crabbed & froward Porter? if any affaires of importance shall command him, he shall attempt and appease the Porter what soeuer hee bee, in giuing him som present, as we are wont to giue bread or meat to a dog that barketh; in briefe, hee will not disdaine to disburse some thing to enter, remembring himselfe that there are certaine bridges which a man cannot passe ouer without paying towle; and therefore hee giueth some money to this Towle-man or that Porter, for hee knoweth how to buy that which is to sell, contrariwise that man hath a base mind that boasteth that hee hath spoken freely to a Groome of the Chamber, that hee hath broken his staffe, that hee hath gotten accesse to his Master, and caused the Varlet to bee beaten. He that contendeth maketh himselfe an aduerse party, and vaunting that hee hath ouercome, maketh himselfe equall: but what shall a wise man do if hee bee buffeted? that which *Cato* did at such time as an enemy of his gaue him aboxe on the eare, he entred not into choller, neyther reuenged he that insolencie. True it is that hee pardoned not the iniury, but hee denied that hee had receiued it: hee shewed himselfe more couragious in protesting that hee was not moued, then if he had pardoned him that strucke him. Wee will stay no longer on this point: for who knoweth not that in matter of these thinges which a man supposeth either good or euill, a Wise mans opinion is different from all other men, hee respecteth not what they repute cyther villanous or miserable, he followeth not the common tract, but as the starres are retrograde in their courses, so carries hee himselfe in a fashion which is contrary to all others.

CHAP. XV.

The fourth, what is the reason why a wise man is so patient,

Cease therefore to demand whether a wise man shall, bee outraged, if hee be strucken, if his eye be pulled out, if base fellowes exclaime against him in the open street, if at a Princes banquet he be placed at the lower end, and set to eate amongst the grooms, if hee be constrained to endure all the indignities and despightes that may be done to a man of honour. These insolencies cyther great or little, shall appeare vnto him of one nature: if the smaller touch him not, no more shall

shall the greater, if a little moue him not, a great deale shall not stirre him. But you measure a great mind according to the extent of your owne weakenesse, and considering onely how farre your patience doth extend; you thinke you doe very much, if you allow a wiseman some further terme and limit of patience then you allow your owne. But his wisdome hath placed him in other confines of the world, that haue nothing common with you. Therefore if crosses, incommodities, and aduersities, which both the eye and eare abhorre, present themselues on euery side, and in great number: he shall not be dismaied therat, and as he crosseth euery one of them, so shall he make head against all together: hee deceiueth himselfe, that a Wise man may support one thing and not another, & who will cloase his magnanimity in certaine bounds, except we manacle and tie fortunes feet and hands, shee will treade vs vnder foote; neyther thinke thou that this is onely a Stoicall austeritie; for the Epicure whom you haue made choise of for a patterne of your idlenesse, and whom you suppose to be the Master of delights, idlenesse, and meere pastime, saith that fortune seldom times visiteth a Wise man. How neerly vttered he a manly speech; Wilt thou speake more brauely, and wholly driue away fortune? Consider that a Wisemans house is narrow, without pompe, without noice, without decking without Porters who giue or refuse entry to goers out or in; but although the gate bee not kept by any man, yet fortune setteth no foot therein; knowing well that shee shall not be entertained there where shee hath no credit at all, but if the Epicure himselfe who hath giuen his body all the pleasures that he can imagine, disgesteth iniuries: is there any occasion to thinke it incredible, extraordinary, and aboue nature, which the Stoickes pretend. The Epicure saith, that a Wise man ought to endure iniuries, but we say that a Wise man cannot be iniured.

CHAP. XVI.

To manifest that which is past, shee sheweth what he intendeth by the word iniury.

NEither hast thou cause to conclude that this repugneth against Nature. We doe not deny but that it is an incommodious thing to be beaten, to bee enforced and to be maimed in some member; but we deny that these are iniuries. We take not from them the sense of paine, but the name of iniury which cannot be admitted without empeachment of vertues reputation. Let vs consider which of these two opinions are to be admitted. Both of them concent in the contempt of iniurie. Aske thou me wherein they differ? Such there is as between two stout sword players whereof the one dissembleth his wound and standeth on his guard; the other, looking backe at the people that cry out maketh shewe that it is nothing, and will not endure to haue them parted. You must not therfore thinke that the difference is ouer great. But there is an other point that properly concerneth vs. These two examples teach vs to contemne iniuries & outrages, the which I cal shadows & suspitions of iniurie to contemn which we ought not, to seeke out a wise man, we need but a wel aduised man that may speake thus vnto himselfe, whether doe these thinges befall mee deseruedly or vndeseruedly; if deseruedly, it is no contumely, it is but a correction; if vndeseruedly, let him bee ashamed, that deales vniustly; and what is that which is called contumelie? Hee iesteth at me, because I shake my head, because I haue weake eyes, because I haue little legges, and am of a low stature. Is this an outrage, if a man tell me that which euery man seeth? wee laugh at any thing that is spoken in the presence of one; wee are angry, if it bee before many; and wee leaue not then men liberty to speake that which we our selues will say our selues: wee are delighted with temporate iests, and are displeased at those that are immodorate.

How a man ought to interprete those things that are spoken by an other.

CHAP. XVII.

How vainely we flie from the precepts of the wise, and are bestraed on trifles, and faine iniuries in our owne imagination.

Hrysippus saith, that a certaine man was much displeased because an other man called him sheepes-head. Wee saw *Fidus Cornelius Nasoes* sonne in law stand weeping in the Senate house, because *Corbulo* had called him pilde Ostrich. Against other reproches wounding both his manners and life, he carried alwayes a setled countenance; but vpon this so impertinent a iest, hee could not abstain from teares; so great is the infirmity of our minds when reason is absent: for example, we are offended, if any man counterfeit our speech, our gate, or any imperfection either in our body, or in our tongue: as if they should waxe more notorious by an other mans imitation, then our owne action. There are some that cannot endure to bee called olde, gray head, or other such names, whereunto many are desirous to attaine. Other some haue beene displeased, if they haue beene called poore; but hee truely calleth himselfe poore that concealeth his pouerty. The true meanes to cut off all those scoffers and iesters is, if thou thy selfe preuent them, and obiect against thy selfe, all that which they coulde speake against thee. Whosoeuer laugheth at himselfe, first cutteth off other mens ocations to laugh at him. It is said that *Vatinius* who was a man borne to be laughed at, and hated was of himselfe a pleasant, and talkatiue Companion. This man iested much at his owne gouty feet, and his swolne chaps; so escaped he the derision of his enemies, and especially the bitter iests of *Cicero*, who were in number farre more then the sicknesses that had seized him: if *Vatinius* a shameleese fellow could doe this, by meanes of his bitter speeches, who had learned impudence by his continuall iesting, why cannot he doe it, who by honest occupations of the mind, and exercises of wisdome, hath attained to vertue? Adde hereunto, that it is a kinde of pleasure to pull from an outragious man the pleasures which hee taketh in speaking or doing ieuill. These men are accustomed to say: *Wreth that I am, I thinke hee vnderstood not*? so is the fruite of contumelie in the sence and indignation of him that suffereth. Moreouer, he will one day bee met withall, and some one will light vpon him that shal reuenge thine iniury.

CHAP. XVIII.

The end of inconsiderate mockers, they see a mote in their neighbours eye, but will not see a beame in their owne.

AMongst all other vices, wherewith *Caius Caligula* was repleniished, it is reported of him that he was a great mocker, who dayly had a fling at other mens faults, where himselfe was a bountifull subiect of laughter: For his countenance was pale and deformed, betokening his melancholy fury, his eyes sunke and buried vnder his old and beetle browes, his head bare in diuers places, a tuft of curlde and thicke haire about his necke, his legges small, his feet plat and vnmeasurably

rably broad: but I ſhould neuer make an end, if I ſhould ſpecifie euery particular, wherein he reproached his fathers and grandfathers, and in generall all ſorts of men. I will onely relate thoſe which were the cauſe of his deſtruction. Amongſt his eſpeciall friends, was *Valerius Aſiaticus*, a man of a fierce mind, who could ſcarſly diſgeſt thoſe contumelies that were offered to a ſtranger. To this man did hee obiect at a banquet, and afterwards with a loude voyce in an open aſſembly, the motions and faſhions of his wife, at ſuch time as he accompanied and lay with her. Good gods that the husband ſhould heare this, and the Prince ſhould know it, and that liberty of ſpeech was ſo vnbrideled, that he ſhould diſcouer, (I ſay not to one that had been Conſull, I ſay not to his friend, but) to her own husband the adulteries of his wife, and how his luſts were ſatisfied. *Chæreas* the Tribune of his Souldiers had no ready ſpeech, and hadſt thou not knowne him by his deedes, thou wouldſt haue ſuſpected him to bee an effeminate fellow. To this man when he came to fetch the watch word at *Caius* hands, he ſometimes gaue him the name of *Venus*, ſometimes of *Priapus*, reproaching in one or other ſort this warlike man, who made profeſſion of armes, that hee was effeminate, and that it was he to whom the name appertained to be painted, ſocked and decked with bracelets: he therefore enforced him to vſe his weapon, leſt he ſhould bee often enforced to fetch his Watch-word from him: hee was the firſt amongſt the conſpirators that lifted vp his hand; hee it was that cut his necke halfe off at one ſtroke; and afterwardes hee receiued diuers other ſtabs and ſtroakes at their hands, who reuenged their publike or priuate iniuries: but he whom *Caligula* leaſt ſuſpected, was the firſt that ſhewed himſelfe a man, and yet the ſame *Caius* who tooke all thinges for iniuries and outrages, could himſelfe endure nothing, though here moſt deſirous to offer all: he was angrie with *Herennius Macro*, becauſe hee had ſaluted him by the name of *Caius*; and hee cauſed a Centurion of the firſt Legion to be ſeuerely puniſhed, becauſe hee named him *Caligula*; yet was hee vſually ſo called, becauſe hee was borne in the Campe, and was wont to bee called the infant of the Legions: in briefe, the Souldiers knew him not by any name ſo well, as by that: notwithſtanding in the end hee tooke this word for a reproch and outrage: let this therfore be for our comfort, that although our frailety omitteth reuenge, yet will there bee ſome one who will reuenge vs on an audacious, proud and iniurious enemy; which vices are neuer conſumated in one man, or in one contumelie: Let vs conſider their examples, whoſe patience we prayſe, as that of *Socrates*, who tooke in good part the taunts and reproofes which the Poets and Players publiſhed againſt him, and laught no leſſe then when his wife *Zantippe* powred foule water on his head: but *Iphicrates* being reproued becauſe his mother was a Barbarian, and a Thracian, anſwered, that the mother of the gods was borne on the mount of *Ida*.

See Suetonius and Liuie in the life of Caligula.

Imply that the true reuenge belongeth to God, and patience by his example to a wiſe man.

CHAP. XIX.

To auoide ſtriſe, is a remedy againſt trouble, and there is no better wiſdome then to bee prepared and conſtant againſt all incumbrances.

WEe are not to fall to brawles or debates hereupon, let vs returne our ſelues farre from theſe, and neglect thoſe errors which the imprudenter ſort commit: for none but imprudent men will commit the ſame: both honours and publike iniuries are to be eſteemed alike, neither let vs grieue at the one, or reioyce at the other: otherwiſe wee ſhall omit many neceſſary things through the apprehenſion or diſtaſt of contumelies; neither ſhall wee execute eyther publike or priuate offices, no not theſe that are moſt neceſſary, whileſt effeminate care troubleth vs, for feare wee ſhould heare ſomething againſt our minds, and ſometimes being diſpleaſed with mighty men by our intemperate liberty, we ſhould diſcouer this affection: but it is no liberty to ſuffer nothings wee are deceiued: this is liberty, when we oppoſe a reſolute mind againſt iniuries; when a man getteth a habitude that breadeth all pleaſure, eſtranging from himſelfe thoſe things which are without vs, for feare, leſt being afraid of the laughters and diſgraces of the world, we drowne not our life in a continuall diſquiet: for what man is he that cannot iniurie an other, if euery man may: but a Wiſeman & he that is a follower of wiſdome will vſe an other remedy: for to thoſe that are imperfect, and who as yet conforme themſelues to the iudgement of the people, wee ought to propoſe that they are to liue amongſt iniuries and outrages: All things are light vnto thoſe that exſpect them: the more greater a man is, the more generous, renowned and rich, the more ought he to ſhew himſelfe confident and couragious, not forgetting this, that the braueſt Souldiers are ſet in the formoſt rankes; let him endure opprobrious words, ignominies and other diſgraces as the cries of his enemies, as arrowes ſhot from a farre, and ſtones that rattle about the Helmet, without wounding; and let him ſuſtaine iniuries, neither dejected nor moued from his place, as ſtrokes inflicted on his armor, or infixed in his breaſt: although thou be oppreſſed, and the enemy preſſe thee neerely. It is a baſe thing to giue place, maintaine that place which nature hath aſſigned thee: Askeſt thou me what this place is? that of a mans. The Wiſeman hath an expedient contrary thereunto: for you are in the conflict, he hath gotten the victory: reſiſt not your owne good, and till ſuch time as you haue attained the truth, nouriſh this hope in your hearts; aſſure your ſelues boldly of ſome better thing, preſſe forward to attaine it with hope and honeſt deſire; it is for the profite and aduantage of the whole world, that there is ſome one inuincible, that there is ſome one, ouer whom fortune hath no power.

The End of the Booke of the Conſtancy of a wiſe man.

OF THE SHORTNES OF LIFE,

WRITTEN

BY

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO

PAVLINVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THe time wherein this Booke was written is vncertaine (except it were after CAIVS *gouernment;) but for the goodnesse thereof it is not to bee doubted. O subiect of an excellent and profitable Argument. The Argument is, that our Life is not short, but that wee make it short, eyther by not vsing it, or by abusing it, or vainely vsing it: this deduceth hee thus: First, wee are bonâ slaues to vices, wherein wee consume and loose our yeares: Secondly, wee are vnprofitably busied in triuiall matters, and such as wee call offices: Thirdly, wee sinne eyther in opinion or presumption, and this maketh that life short which wee thinke to bee long; we despise things present, we dispose the future, as though wee had them in great and assured abundance: and for the most part wee are intangled with vaine or forraine pleasures, and loose our liues as it were in sport: such as this vntill the tenth Chapter; thence diuideth he time into three parts, into that which is past, into the present, and into the future, and teacheth vs how euilly and foolishly wee behaue our selues in euery one of them: hee inueigheth against fruitlesse occupations, against delights, against excesse, against idle retirements, and superfluous study of knowledge. Hence he discourseth pertinently; and would to God hee might eyther allure or change the learning louers of this time. That onely that time is well spent, which is imployed in the study of wisdome, whereby our life is truely lengthned: the common sort thinke otherwayes, for they estimate the same by fortune, and according to her smiles, so thinke they that our life is shortned or lengthned: In prosperity they wish for death, in aduersity they feare it. In the end he exhorteth* PAVLINVS, *and what he saith to him, let*

let euery man apply to himselfe, and grow maturely wise, and retire himselfe into the hauen of life, which is an honest repose. This vow I, thus will I endeuour.

CHAP. I.

THe greater part of men (good friend *Paulinus*) complaineth of the hard dealing of nature with vs, who hath brought vs forth to liue so short a while, and yet of the time allotted vs, that the moments should so sodainly and swiftly runne away, as wee see they doe: insomuch as besides some few amongst vs, the rest are then most commonly bereft of life, when indeed they beginne but newly euen then to liue, nor doth the populous or foolish people onely lament this euill (so generall as it is counted) but euen many famous men haue likewise thought and lamented in like manner this our misfortune; whence springeth that especiall complaint of the greatest amongst Physitians, that our life is short, and their art very long: where hence also *Aristotle* takes occasion to quarrell; (although it scarce beseeme so wise a man as hee so to doe) with dame Nature, who (saith he) hath allotted some beasts, some fiue, some ten hundred yeeres, and man who is created to so many weighty purposes, hath a terme of life prefixed him so much shorter as wee see; whereas indeed we haue no scantnesse or scarsity of life, but wee rather loose much of our life; for long enough and large enough is life allowed vs, were it spent in greatest matters, or were it all spent in good matters; but when wee haue by riot and negligence once lost it, when it is once spent and gone, and we cannot shew any good wee spent it in, at length need driuing vs to make an end thereof, wee see that now it is spent, which wee did not feele to spend, before in deed it was very well nigh wholy spent: so that wee had not giuen vs so short a life, as wee will make it, but such we made it as it is, nor had we giuen vs so little life, but so prodigall and lauish wee are. Euen as a Princes ample Patrimony, if it come in Hucksters hands, goeth away in a moment, which if it were the hundreth parte thereof, and were well husbanded, would yet by good vsage, encrease rather then proue but scarce, euen so our age if it bee well employed, will proue very faire and long enough.

CHAP. II.

WHy then complaine wee of nature, shee hath dealt well with vs, and thy life, if thou know how in good things well to vse, shall appeare long enough. One is wholly possessed with vnreasonable auarice, another is as busie as: Bee it by labours, another by vnprofitable and superfluous: a third drinkes out his dayes, a fourth is idle, a fifth liues gaping after preferments, which yet rise in the will of another to bestow: a sixth, is led with no other care about the world, by a desire to spy and still wish hope to gaine: and some there are that continually haue their minds on warre or farre, neuer minding either the perils of other men, or regarding

ding their owne, as some there are also that wilfully enthrall themselues to such Potentates, as scarsly euer giue them any thanks for so doing, but delight yet in their folly; many likewise spend their dayes in affecting others fortune, & detesting of their owne; and diuers men doe nothing but delight themselues with changeable, vnconstant, neuer pleasing fantasies, still attempting new deuices, as also some like nothing, wherein to spend their time, but consuming in their idlenesse, doe nothing but still accuse their fate and fortune: so that true I find the best saying which the Poet euer writ by him as an Oracle: *A little part of our life it is we liue*; for indeed the whole course of mans age, is not life but time rather, in which almost howerly new vices so assaile vs, as wee neither can recouer our selues, nor so much as lift our eyes to see what is decent and truth in things wee thinke of, but if once wee beginne to take footing, new desires anew assaile vs, and keepe vs downe: no, they cannot so much as recall themselues to mind, but if happily they bee quiet, yet as in the sea after a storm is fully passed, yet remaineth there a wallowing, and continuall rowling, so beate they still vp and downe, nor haue they perfect rest from their desires. And here perhaps yee thinke I speake of such men onely, whose fancies all men gaze at, and talke of too, but looke on them, whose felicity all men most maruell at, and you shall see, that euen these men are cloyed with their good fortune: of which sort many account wealth a burthen, many hauing also a goodly gift of eloquence and vtterance, spend themselues in delight to heare themselues speake: and many weare away, euen surfetting with selfe pleasing delights and pleasures. and how many I pray you know you that haue scarce any time almost to breath for continuall sutors to them? goe but ouer them all from the lowest to the highest, hee sues, hee helpes, hee is in danger, he defendeth him, and another iudgeth him; euery one, to bee short, spendes himselfe vpon others: and enquire of these mens liuing, whose names and persons all the world talkes of and knowes, and you shall see them distinguished by these particulars: hee is wholly at the deuotion of such a one, another altogether depends of him: and none of them all is his owne man, or intends his owne businesse. And here I finde a fond complaint made by some men, they mislike for sooth the coines of their superiours, who are not oft at leysure, when they would sue or doe their duties to them; and dareth any man complaine of the pride of another, who himselfe is neuer at leasure to bee sued of himselfe? The great man be he neuer so proud, yet sometimes at the length he giues the accesse; hee giues the audience at some time, he cals thee at last, and thou canst vouchsafe to looke into, nor giue hearing to thy selfe.

CHAP. III.

NOr thinke thou any man any whit beholding to thee for these thy curtesies, for in doing them thou didst not meane so much to saue another, as thou wast not willing, or at leasure rather to saue thy selfe: and if all the wits that euer were renowned for any thing would intend this one point; yet can they not all of them sufficiently wonder at the blindnes of mans mind in this one false ioy folly: Wee suffer not our lands to be vsurped of another, and bee the controuersie about neuer so little a quantity, or circumstance of our possessions, we take vp stones, and betake vs straightwayes to armour, and yet wee suffer other

ther to vsurpe of our life, yea wee put such in possession, as are like to be Lords and Rulers of it: ye see no man willing to part with his money, but with good conditions to another; and yet with how many I pray you doe wee all parte stakes, and make diuidents of our life, euen many times for nothing? euery one is a niggard to part with his Patrimony, and yet most lauish bee wee when we come to losse of time, wherein onely a may honestly shew himselfe a nipcrust. And therefore let vs here a while talke with any one of all these Elders: we see you are as olde, as a man almost may bee, you are onwards on a hundred yeers, or rather more then so, doe but call your yeeres to a reckoning, and say in sadnesse, how much time your creditors, your shee friends, the City matters and other suitors to you haue spent thereof? your suites about wiuing, breaking your head to frame your seruant; your desire to pleasure friends in euery corner of the towne: how much paine haue these things put you to? then adde what sickenesse your selfe haue beene procurer of, as also what time hasty and vnaduised anger hath possest you, euen in things friuolous; yea what time hath past you to no fruit nor purpose, and you shall see you haue not liued so many yeeres as you make reckoning of: call to mind when you were resolute what to doe in any thing, and how many dayes you euer passed as you determined, then what fruit you reaped of dayes so spent? what haue you now to shew as the fruit thereof? nay, how many haue stolne peeces of your life, whilst your selfe did not consider or perceiue the want thereof, how much of it haue false ioyes, needlesse griefes, greedy, couetous, pleasant company mispent I pray you? and then count how little of your owne life is left to your selfe, and you shall finde you die before you are ready to depart the world.

CHAP. IIII.

WHat is then the reason forsooth you liue, as if you had a warrant to liue for euer? you recke not how little time you liue to your selfe? you count not how much time you spend, while you spend as it were of a full and ouer running reckoning; when as happily that same day spent in another mans pleasure, or to his vse, may chance be to your last; you feare all things as men mortall, yet you long for all things as immortall. You shall heare some men say, were I fifty, I would betake mee to my beades, were I threescore, I would meddle no more with worldly matters? yet they haue at all no warrant of longer life then the present moment: for who can giue the assurance that thou shalt do, euē iust as thou determinest? shamest thou not to make reckoning how to lead thy life to come, & to point such time for amendment, which almost can serue for nothing? how late is it to beginne to liue then when thou must leaue to liue? or how fond forgetfulnesse of mortality is it to delay amendment to thy fiftieth yeere of age, & to make account that then thou wilt beginne to liue, when few men vse to aspire to such an age. Yee shall often heare great mighty men giue out speeches in praise of rest, of leasure, and quietnesse, they wish it, they preferre it before all their wealth; yea they wish they might with safety come downe from that high tipe of their authority, and intend the same; for bee all things neuer in such quiet from abroad, yet fortune falleth euen in it selfe, and deceayeth as all other things in this mortality.

CHAP. V.

GReat *Augustus* whome the Gods did more for then euer else for any man, ceased not to pray for rest and exemption out of common causes; all his speech still came to this end, if he once might come to quietnesse, yea all his labours hee did sawce with this false but pleasant comfort, hee would one day surely liue to himselfe, and in one Epistle which hee wrote vnto the Senate, (wherein hee protested that his rest and quiet priuate life should doe him more good and credite also, then his life already led in renowne and glory) I finde these words inserted. *But I know it were more credit for mee so to do, then to say so; howbeit such desire I haue thereto, as because I cannot in deede performe it, some pleasure yet I thought to reape, by talking onely of so pleasant a matter.* So great a thing was rest in his conceit, as the same because hee could not indeed attaine vnto; yet in worde hee thought to ioy in it, and he that saw euen all things depend of him, being able indeed to make happy or infortunate whomsoeuer, or whensoeuer he pleased, tooke great pleasure to remember the day and time, when hee should doe of his owne greatnesse, and become his owne man: hee had tried what sweate and swincke his estate (which all men deemed to be so good and glittering, did cost him to maintaine it: and how much priuy hartburning, and heart aking toit, dayly harboured, being forced to make warre first with the Citizens of *Rome*, then with his fellow officers, lastly with his kindred, shedding bloud by sea and land in *Macedonia*, *Sicilia*, *Ægypt*, *Syria* and *Asia*, coursed almost throughout all Countries, yea and when hee had thus glutted himselfe in a manner with Romane slaughter, hee was forced to turne himselfe against forraine nations: And being likely to quiet some troubles in the Alpes, hauing vanquished other enemies that disturbed this his peaceable and setled Empire, while hee set forward to enlarge the same beyond *Rhenus*, *Euphrates* and *Danubius*, at home euen in the City, *Murena*, *Cepio*, *Lepidus*, and the *Egnatij* prepared armes against him: yea, and hauing scarsly fully escaped these their attempts, his daughter *Iulia*, and many noble young gentlemen (knit in league by reason of their too much familiarity with that loose lewd Lady) beganne to bee terrible vnto the Father, who in their opinion liued somewhat too long: after whom also *Fuluia* caused her husband *Anthonie* to take weapon against him, no history sheweth why. All which sores when hee had cut away, with the parties also in which they were, yet still there rose new, not vnlike a body too full of humours, whereof alwayes some one part or other breaketh out continually into a sicknesse: wherefore hee wished to liue in rest, the onely hope and thought whereof, was the onely ease of all his labours, and this one thing was the dayly prayer and desire of him, who was able otherwise to make euery man master of his desires beside himselfe. *Marcus Cicero* long time tossed vppe and downe betweene *Catiline* and *Clodius*, betwixt *Pompey* and *Crassus*, who were his open enemies, the rest his doubtfull and vncertaine friends, whileſt hee wrestled with the common wealth, and laboured to hold it vp, that now was running more and more to ruine, was at length ouerborne and forced to yeeld to the burthen of it, being neither quiet in prosperity, nor patient in the contrary: this *M. Cicero*, how often not without cause also doth hee detest that his office borne as *Consul*, which till then at first, hee neuer ceased to commend without end, which in truth hee did not without cause extoll

toll, when he spake most of it. What dolefull speeches filles hee into in one Epistle to *Atticus*, vpon the newes that *Pompey* the father was vanquished, when his sonne the younger *Pompey* renued his fathers quailed quarrell in the parts of *Spaine*? *Aske you*, quoth he, *what I make here, I keepe my selfe to my Tusculane, now at length half become mine owne man*: adding also other things in the foresaid letter, wherein both hee bewaileth his time forespent, he complaineth of the present, and despaireth of any good in the time to come: hee calleth himselfe now halfe his owne, where in truth no Wise man euer could vse so base and slauish a terme, who will neuer bee so little as halfe his owne, but alwayes will be whole his owne, his owne entire, free from others becke and boorde, his owne to vse with little reckoning, what others account therof; for what needeth he regard what others say, who treadeth fortune vnder foot, as euery wise man eyther doth or should do.

CHAP. VI.

LIuius Drusus, one of the ancestors of *Liuia*, *Augustus* his Empresse, a hote spirited, and a very vehement fiery humord man, hauing put new common wealthes in the peoples head, and stirde a new the old tumults of the two brethren, the *Gracchi* being manned almost with all the power that *Italie* could make, hauing not yet well weighed the end of things, which now hee could not accomplish to his desire; nor had he yet the liberty to leaue in the middest, hee fell in detestation of his owne vnquiet state from the day of his birth till then, and is saide to haue vttered these very words: *I am only he I think that neuer yet had leaue to play, no not when I was a boy:* for indeed being vnder age, and commiug but as children did into the Senate with his father, he presumed to speake to iudge in the behalfe of diuers men, and laide his credite on the matter in so vehement a sort, that it was saide, many iudgements were giuen wholly as it pleased him. Whether would not so young an aspiring humor, if it had continued, for well a man may coniecture, so soone ripe a stirring head must needes grow in time to the great hurt, publike or priuate, some where or other, and therefore too too late hee made complaint, he had neuer yet leaue to play, who was of a child so troublous, and importunate to the State where hee liued, as hee was. Some make question if he did not kill himselfe or no: for a wound hee had in his groine, which was his death: what time though some men doubted, whether he had slaine himselfe or no, yet all men thought it high time for him so to bee dispatched. It were needelesse here to reckon more of this same humor, who being in the eye of other men most fortunate and happy, notwithstanding gaue true testimony against themselues, in great hatred and mislike of all that euer they had done; but with these complaints of theirs, they did neythet alter others, nor amend themselues: for the words sometime brake from them, to the sense I haue said: yet their desires kept on the old vnconstant course, and were no changelings, which sort of life assuredly might it possibly continue a thousand yeere or more, yet will it seeme in the end to haue beene but very small, and of no continuance, and all these seuerall conceits, what age or great account of time will they not consume? Surely these few yeeres allotted vs, albeit nature thinke them long, & reason amplifie the course of them, yet must it needs seeme quickly gone, for wee take no holde of them, wee stay them not, nor lay

no

we hands on them, being things more quicke in riddance then any thing elſe in all the world: yea, we ſuffer them to paſſe, as if they were ſcarce worth the looking after, or elſe were eaſie to be recouered; ſo that in concluſion, all men doe confeſſe, the buſied man can neuer doe any thing well: he cannot learne to liue to himſelfe, nor to be freed from the vnprofitable cares of this world; for his minde being in a manner, as we ſee it is, poſſeſt with ſuch vnprofitable labours, it is not apt for any good thing, but deſpiſeth it, as the ſtomacke doth miſlike with meate that is alreadie ouerladen. And yet better can he learne any other thing almoſt in all the world, then intend to learne to liue; which is almoſt the hardeſt knowledge that you can deuiſe.

CHAP. VII.

OTher Artes haue their profeſſors enough in euery corner; which arts ſome boyes haue learned ſo perfectly and well, as they could teach them for a need. To liue a man muſt learne euen all his life long: & that which happily you wil rather wonder at, all our life we may learn in the end how to die. And of ſo many great men as deſpiſed all lets & ſtops, deſpiſing riches, Offices and all voluptuouſnes, doing nothing all their life long, but learning ſtil to liue; yet diuers were there amongſt them, that departed this mortalitie, confeſſing they had not then as yet come to the knowledge: ſo farre off are theſe our buſie brains from attayning therunto. So that truſt me, very wiſe is he, and a man aboue the common caſe and capacitie of men he muſt needs be aſſuredly, that ſpends amiſſe no iot of all his daies; and therefore longeſt is his life, who ſpends all his life, be it much or be it litle, in his owne affaires, and hath neyther miſ-ſpent with folly, nor loſt by idleneſſe any houre thereof, and much leſſe hath intended any other men or matters, then himſelfe and his, deeming nothing in this world worth exchanging of his leiſure for it; which his leiſure he did ſpare as a thing moſt precious. And to this man I ſay his life was long enough, whereas on the contrary part, thoſe men may well complaine of ſcarcitie, who ſpend much time in matters popular, to their fruit none at all, or very litle, and yet they vnderſtand not their own loſſe. Oftentimes you ſhall heare great men (whom good fortune is a burden to) miſcert their route of ſuiters, cauſes, actions and other miſeries (which great port makes notwithſtanding to ſeeme felicities) cry out, *I cannot be ſuffered to liue to my ſelfe?* All theſe men that ſeeke thy helpe to doe them pleaſure, draw thee from thy ſelfe. That defendant, how many daies did he bereaue thee off? and how many daies that other ſtanding to be Conſul; as alſo that olde Gentlewoman, who hath troubled thee with the prooving ſo many of her husbands Wills? As alſo that olde Gentleman, whom thou viſiteſt in his ſickneſſe, which he doth yet but counterfeit, to ſet greedy mindes on edge, to long for that hee leaueth: and that great friends of thine, who yet reckes not otherwiſe of ſuch friends as thou art, then onely to be credited by thy courting and attending him. And hauing caſt thy dayes in this manner of account, ſee how few dayes and how fooliſh a remainder of them comes to thy ſhare. He that now hath got the Office he was long a ſuiter for, is by and by contented to be rid of it, and ſaith, *Oh when will this geere come to an end?* Another ſues to the Senate, that hee may be at coſt to prouide Playes for the people, and was wondrous ioyfull then when leaue was giuen him, then ſo to ſpend his money; and yet ſhortly after he cryeth

cryeth, *Oh when ſhall I be rid of them?* A third, whom euery Clyent ſeekes to retaine in counſell, who fils the barre when he commeth, and leaues euery Court empty at his returne, ſaith, *Oh when will this tearme be at an end?* Thus euery man ſets life at naught, whiles he deſireth things future, and is glutted with the preſent; but he that turneth euery moment to ſome good purpoſe, that diſpoſeth of euery day, as he would of all his life, this man doth neyther feare nor wiſh for to morrow: for what is there wherein any houre can breed him new delight? He knowes that all is vanitie: he hath had his wiſhes his bellie full; for the reſt let fortune doe as her ſelfe ſhall pleaſe; his reſt, his ſtocke is ſafe. This man may haue his daies inlarged I confeſſe, but leſſe they ſhall not be, nor indeed inlarged otherwiſe, then more meat may be ſet before him who is now already filled and can eate no more.

CHAP. VIII.

AND therefore neuer ſay, This man hath liued long: his white head, his wrinckled face imports the ſame; for whether he liued long or no, thou knoweſt not: but long indeed I confeſſe, thou ſeeſt that he hath beene. For how canſt thou ſay that he hath ſailed much, whom a cruell tempeſt takes immediately, as ſoone as he is out of the hauens mouth, & after much hurly-burly, much trauerſing his way, and beating vp and downe, it brings him euen the ſelfe-ſame way backe to the hauen that euen now he went out of? This man hath not much ſailed, but much hath he beene beaten. And here I often maruell much, when I ſee ſome men ſo earneſtly deſire reſt and reſpite, the men that they deſire it of being both ſo eaſie to be intreated, and ſo viable to hinder it or keepe them from it: the thing in whoſe reſpect they wiſh for reſt and leiſure ſo greatly as they doe, doth much concerne them, I meane both the requeſter and the granter: the thing it ſelfe is *Time*, and yet they wiſh for it ſo coldly, or rather ſo indifferently, as if it were a thing of no value at all; ſo little doe they weigh the thing which yet indeede is moſt precious. And indeed this one thing greatly deceiueth them, becauſe time is not ſubiect to their ſenſes, nor is it eaſie by eye to iudge thereof; and therefore no man accounts more of it then of a very baſe matter, or rather a thing worthy no mans money. Euery new-yeares tide our Romanes vſe to receiue gifts and preſents of mightie men, in reſpect whereof they binde themſelues to dance attendance on the giuers, to beſtow their labour, their paine and diligence at anothers deuotion all the yeare after; no man valuing the time hee muſt beſtow: for the ſame they vſe and abuſe many times ſo lauiſhly, as if indeed it coſt them nothing. But if the meaneſt man amongſt them ſhould chance to be ſicke, if death come neerer then they were aware of, ſee what ſuit ſtraight they make to the Phyſitian: or if they feare the puniſhment of death by law, ſee if they doe not offer gladly all the wealth they are worth, to redeeme their life, ſo diuers and ſo different be their deſires! And if it were as eaſie to ſay what yeares each man hath in future time to liue, as it is eaſie to tell you how many he hath liued already: how would ſome men tremble that ſhould ſee ſo few yeares remaining; and how chary would they be in beſtowing them? And yet notwithſtanding contrariwiſe, it is an eaſie matter to order that we ſee is certaine: and more cauſe haue we to be chary of that, which we know not how ſoone it will be plenty. Nor are wee yet to thinke they know not what a jewell

this

this time is which we speake of: for their common words of courteſie to their beſt friends, are theſe; I would goe, I would ride, I would ſpend a moneth to pleaſure thee: & indeed ſo they do for other men, though they perceiue it not, or rather they looſe ſo much of their owne, without eyther turning it to their friends behoofe, or perceiuing the loſſe thereof in themſelues; which makes them take the loſſe in better part, becauſe they do not feele it. Howbeit no man will reſtore thee thy time againe. Thy dayes ſhall ſtill go on as they haue done hitherto, nor canſt thou euer either recall time ſpent, or cauſe it for time preſent to ceaſe to ſpend: no, thy dayes ſhall make no more noyſe then yet they haue done; nor ſhall they giue more warning of their ſwiftnes now then euer. Time ſhall ſlide and ſtill ſay nothing as it hath done alwayes. It is not like the proro. gation of our dayes, and of an Office, neyther Prince nor people can giue it thee the ſecond time, but euen as it begun from the firſt moment, ſo ſhall it ſtill continue. Ye ſhall take vp Inne at no place, how then? forſooth thou art occupied and thy life haſts away, and death ſhal come euen then when thou leaſt dreameſt of it; and wilt thou, or haue thou no will to it, thou muſt yet needes intend it.

CHAP. IX.

AN any mortall man, be he neuer ſo wiſe and politicke, tell vs how we may more throughly intend our ſelues then yet we doe? or preſcribe vs how to liue hereafter more our owne then yet wee are? Nay, themſelues with loſſe of life are long occupied in telling how themſelues will liue, and (God wot) long they be about their owne conceits; and indeede the greateſt loſſe of our life is delay, which weares away the firſt day, bereauing vs of preſent time whilſt it promiſeth vs things future. Nor is there any greater impediment why wee liue not out of hand then expectation, which hangeth alwayes on to morrow: ſo thou looſeſt this day and determineſt what ſhall become of that which fortune is wholly Ladie of, while it paſſeth and ſlippeth from thee that thou art. Lord of. What hopeſt thou, what gapeſt thou for? All that is to come is vncertaine, and therefore liue out of hand: for the greateſt Poet that euer was, as it were by inſpiration, giues thee wholſome councell,

Our happieſt dayes doe paſſe from vs poore mortall men
Firſt, and before the reſt.

And therefore why delayeſt thou? Why ſtayeſt thou? Life flieth if thou lay not handes vpon it; and if thou doe lay handes vpon it, yet neuertheleſſe it flyeth; and therefore ſtriue thou alwayes with the ſwiftneſſe of time, and be as ſwift in vſage and turning it to profite, as thou wouldeſt be quicke to draw water out of a Riuer that thou kneweſt would not continue in his running. And in this, well ſaith the Poet, he calleth them not happy yeares, but happy daies, thereby hitting vs in the teeth with our infinite conceit of time to come. Why doeſt thou in ſecurity and in ſuch diſpatch of time ſo leiſurely dreame of moneths and yeares, yea, and draw thy yeares alſo (to pleaſe thy fancie withall) ſo long in ſuch a number? He talketh with thee of dayes, and of dayes alſo now fleeting. Nor is it doubt, but as he ſaith, each moſt happie day leaues vs firſt mortall

mortall men, who are dayly more and more buſied each day then other, whom age breakes in vpon, not hauing yet put off our childiſh affections, to the which wee come vnready and vnarmed for it, for we haue nought ready for it, but it lights vpon vs vnawares, before wee dreamt of it, nor did we feele it comming day by day as wee ſhould, but it fares with vs like thoſe men whome a tale or ſome pleaſant matter read, or other meditation deceiueth in their iourney, ſo that they know & ſee they are come to their iorneyes end, before they thought that halfe their way was ſpent thitherward, euen ſo this daily quicke race of our life, which as well wee paſſe on ſleepe, as we doe awake, it ſhewes not it ſelfe to vs, whiles wee bee occupied, but in the end when it is gone.

CHAP. X.

AND that I ſaide, if I would follow by peecemeale as I might, I could finde great reaſon why to proue the buſied mans life ſhorteſt as I ſaie. *Fabianus* was wont to ſay (who was none of theſe great formall talkatiue Philoſophers, but one of thoſe formed former aged, true and plaine Philoſophers) *We ſhould fight againſt affections, not by ſlight but by might, not by eaſie & gentle venues, but with all the force we can make. We ſhould ſtriue to beat downe their ſenſeles Army, for touching would not helpe the matter, they muſt bee ſtrongly ſet on:* yet to ſhew theſe men their error, I will not onely inueigh at them in bitter manner, but I will ſtriue plainely and ſenſiblie to teach them this their folly. All our life is diuided into three parts, that is, that was, and that is to come, that wee doe God knowes is ſhort, that we ſhall doe is doubtfull, that wee haue done is out of doubt: for in this laſt indeed, dame fortune hath loſt her force, nor cā it now be put in the power of any thing to make vndone; & yet this time the buſied man hath wholy loſt; for he hath no leaue to look back, or if once he haue leaſure, yet ſmall pleaſure takes he to record a thing paſt, which he hath ſuch reaſon to repent him of: for little luſt he needs muſt haue to cal to mind time miſpēt, which he dares not now vnfold again, for feare the faults, which at the time vnder colour of delight hee was content to commit, by new handling become more manifeſt, & ſhew themſelues in their kind; and indeed no man doth willingly ſtraine himſelfe to looke backeward but ſuch an one as doth all thinges vnder guard, and in awe of his owne conſcience, which is neuer deceiued. Hee that hath in many things deſired with ambition, deſpiſed with diſdaine, conquered with inſolency, couſined with ſubtelty, ſcraped to him with couetouſneſſe, miſpent by prodigality, this man muſt needs bee much afraid to recall himſelfe to memory. And yet this recapitulation of time paſt and ſpent, is the time already ſhriued, already paſt all chance, and feare of change, free from fortunes counterbuffes, out of danger eyther of penury, of feare or ſickneſſe; this cannot bee diſtempered, nor taken from vs, but remaineth our perpetuall and impregnable poſſeſſion: dayes are preſent neuer more then one and one, and they by moments alſo: but of time paſt many monethes, many yeeres at your commandement, are ready preſt at a becke; they are content you looke on them, you handle them, and hold them, which the buſied man is neuer well at leaſure to performe: none but the quiet careleſſe man can fetch a vagary leaſurely throughout all parts of his life; the buſied mind is (in a manner) ringde and yokte for rowting; he cannot bow nor bend, nor intend to looke backe, and ſuch mens liues ſinke into a bottomleſſe

pit

pit or gulfe: but euen as it doth not profite thee to haue powred to thy behoofe neuer ſo much in quantity of any thing whatſoeuer, neuer ſo good in quality, if thou haue not wherein to holde it and preſerue it: ſo little booteth it thee, how long time thou haſt to liue, if thou haſt not wherein to holde it, or beſtow it; but letteſt time flit away through thy fancy ſhaken, chinked and tottered deſires. Now the preſent time is ſhort, and ſo ſhort, that ſome men thinke it in a manner nothing, for it is euer flitting: it runneth, it huddles forward, and it ceaſeth (in a manner) before it come, nor doth it otherwiſe make ſtay, then the world or the ſtarres, whoſe neuer reſting rowling, neuer ſtands in one place long: and yet this onely preſent time belongs to the buſied man, which it ſelfe is yet ſo ſhort as it cannot haue hands laid on it, & yet it amongſt ſo many matters ſlippes away ere we are aware of it.

CHAP. XI.

AT a word, wilt thou ſee how little while they liue: no more but ſee how deſirous they bee ſtill to liue yet longer? olde layed vp, aged Syers, yet ceaſe not ſtill to begge one yeere, yet more and more: yea their conceit ſtill runneth, they are yonger then they ſeeme for; they feed themſelues with leaſing, and ſuch a pleaſure they take to belie their age, as if their deſtiny and death would come ſo much the later for their falſe belying it; and let any weakeneſſe giue them but neuer ſo little a warning of their mortalities; how fearefully they die, not as if they did depart, but as if will they, nill they, they were pulled out by the eares, then they cric; what fooles were wee that tooke no pleaſure in life, then they vow, they will liue at hearts eaſe, then they ſee how in vaine they ſought for that they could not enioy: then they acknowledge all their labour was to ſmall effect: but they that liue to themſelues in ſeuerall, tending to no mans buſineſſe beſides, what lets vs to account their liues large enough? none of it is loſt or miſſpent, here and there in other matters: none of it is hazarded at fortunes command: nought is loſt by negligence, nought is giuen away by largeſſe to other mens vſes, nought is loſt as ſuperfluous, but euery iot or moment of it is counted good reuenue: and therefore life thus ſpent, bee it neuer ſo little, is enough, nor will a wiſe man feare at any time without feare to die. But here you aske mee whom I call the buſied man? thinke not I meane onely ſuch as eyther are attended on by great troupes of ſuitors, with great pompe and countenance, or with ſome ſhew of baſe and ſeruile nature, waite all day vpon others, who for duties ſake are called abroad to attend at others dores, or ſuch as doe waite all the weeke long vpon the owtred, to gaine a penny at that vnſeemely ſale. No, ſome mens beſt leaſure euen at home in their gardens of ſport and pleaſure, euen a bed, or where elſe a man may be ſaid to bee at reſt and leaſure; yet is it all conſumed (as I ſaid) with buſineſſe, yea themſelues are a trouble vnto themſelues, whoſe life I call not leaſureable, or full of leaſure, but an idle kinde of buſines rather.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

CAlleſt thou him at quiet, who with great care ſeekes in all corners for the mettall that was made at the burning of *Corinth*? and ſpends the more part of his time in ſearching out amongſt ruſtie copper, to ſee if he can light on any of it? or annoints his ſeruants whom hee keeps to get prizes at wraſtling? or is ſuruaying eyther his ſheepe or his land, or other reuenues? or ſayeſt thou, he is at leaſure, that euery day ſpends an howre or two in the Barbers ſhop, cutting euery day down again that grew the night before? deuiſing vpon euery haire he hath, whether it be better to cut it, or let it grow? chaſing like a yong Emperour, if the Barber were but neuer ſo little negligent, or leſſe curious, becauſe he thoght he had a man of diſcretiō in hand to cut, who are ſtraight wayes in great rage, if neuer ſo little of their loue-locks be nipped away? or if euery knot therof fall not round in a ring? of which ſort of curious fools, ſome had rather ſee diſorder in the common wealth they liue in, then in their haire? & had rather ſee their locks kept faire, then regard their own health? and care more to be accounted a neat nice fellow, then to haue the voyce for honeſty? doeſt thou ſay that this man is at reſt and leaſure? ſo wholy buſied and occupied betweene the combe & the glaſſe? or that he is ſo, that ſpends his time in making, hearing, & learning ſonges, forcing his voyce, (which of nature is beſt and eaſieſt ſo to be kept when it is full and plaine) into a kinde of warbling or reliſhing againſt nature? whoſe fingers are euer going, as if they ſtil were tinning, or ſtriking time in a ſong: who bee they vſed in a matter of neuer ſo great importance, yea, ſometimes ſad and ſorrowfull, yet are euer and anon reſounding ſome peece of a ſong or other? theſe men (ſay I) haue not leaſure, but are buſied with a needles & thriftles labour, whoſe time of feaſting, I count not time of pleaſure or vacation; I ſee them ſtill ſo carefull how their Plate and their ſeruices, and their ſeruants may in decent manner become the feaſt, where hence they ſeeke the name of fine neat fellows, & ſo curiouſly they regard this fond humor of their own, as they neyther eate nor drinke in quiet for it. Nor account I them their owne men, who all day long iog vp and down from this friend to that in their coaches and wagons, and will not miſſe an howre of their dayly gaddings in them, but haue their ſeruants to aduertiſe them, it is now time to bath, to ſwim, to ſup; yea ſo much they giue themſelues ouer vnto this idle vaine, that of themſelues they know not, or will ſeeme to be ignorant when themſelues are an hungred?

CHAP. XIII.

IT were long to run ouer theſe fellows one by one, whoſe liues haue bin ſpent either at Tables, or at Ball, or in baſting themſelues againſt the ſunne; I cannot call them leaſurable, whoſe pleaſures put them to ſuch pain and buſineſſe. As for them that ſpend their dayes in vnprofitable ſtudies, no man doubts, but that with much a doe, they doe nothing, of which ſort there are many now amongſt vs Romanes. It was the Grecians old diſeaſe to beat their brains in finding out how many Rowers *Vlyſſes* ſhip had? whether *Ilias* or *Odyſſea* were formoſt written? or whether one man writ them both? and many ſuch like queſtions, which whether you keepe the knowledge of thē to your ſelfe or no, they neither greatly benefit your conſcience to keepe them, nor ſeem you better ſcholler to know them, but rather ſomewhat buſier or more curious then others. And euen this vain deſire to learne things needles poſſeſſeth now the Romanes alſo. When I was laſt in *Rome*, I heard a learned man reckon vp, what things each Roman Captain had firſt been author of; *Duilius* firſt did winne in fight by ſea: *Curius Dentatus* firſt did lead Elephants in triumph; and theſe things though they tend not to true glory in deed, yet they belong in ſome ſort to matters politike. Such knowledge will not profit much; yet doth it leade vs forward in a ſort with a

petty pleasant discoursing vanity. Grant we also them leaue to search what man first perswaded the Romans to go to sea. One *Claudius* forsooth it was, whom they therfore called *Caudex*, because any building much of boords, was then called in Latine *Caudex*, and bookes of Record, are also at this day called *Codices*, and boates or crayers that carry any thing vp and down the *Tiber*, are and haue been euer since named *Caudicariæ*. Be it also not amisse to know, that *Valerius Corunus* was the first that wan *Messana*, and therupon had the name of *Messana*, added in reward of his prowesse, which by little alteration of a letter or two is now called *Messala*; the originall wherof euery man is not acquainted with. Beare we also with him, that searcheth how *L. Sulla* first let Lions loose to fight in our Romane *Circus* or Patrish Garden, what time K. *Bocchus* sent him dart-flingers to kill them loose, or as our Forresters now speake to hunt them of force, where before time they were alwayes presented tyed. Let vs not likewise enquire, if it were to the purpose, that *Pompey* caused those (who were condemned) to fight in the same Parke with eighteen Elephants. This principall person in *Rome* (who amongst the ancient Chiefetaines of warre is renowned by reason of his bounty, and singular mildnesse in manners) hath supposed it would be a memorable spectacle to cause mee to die after some new fashion. It is a little matter to make them fight, and to be wounded in diuers places, he must haue them crushed vnder the insupportable weight of these great and huge creatures: it had beene better to haue buried such a history, for feare left afterward some other great Lord hearing the recitall thereof, should conceiue a liking to practise the like inhumane and barbarous action. O how much doth great prosperity ouerspread our vnderstanding with darknes! *Pompey* reputed himselfe equall with the gods, at such time as he exposed so many troups of poor men to sauage beasts, that were brought from forrain countries, & when he caused a mortall fight to be performed between creatures so different, shedding much bloud in the presence of the Romanpeople; whē as he himselfe an on after was to be reduced to that necessity to shed others: but hee himself also (deceiued by the disloialty of the councel of *Aegypt*) was stabbed by one that had serued vnder him & then vnderstood that at last how vaine that surname of Great was, which was attributed vnto him by others.

CHAP. XIIII.

BVt to return vnto my purpose, & to shew in other recitals the superfluous diligence of others, the same discourse aboue mentioned, reporteth that *Metellus* hauing conquered the Carthaginians in their quarrels for *Sicilia*, was the only man that euer led 120. Elephants captiues before his chariot: he told also, how *Sylla* was the last Romane that enlarged the common or void ground without the wals of *Rome* (which was not suffered to be done amongst our ancestors for any conquest or land gotten in any Country, but only in *Italy*, though *Syllas* conquests, were all of them out of *Italy* we know, which point was yet more worth the knowledge, then how the hill *Auentinus* was without the compasse of this ground, I speake of without the wals; for one of these two reasons, eyther for that the people seuered themselues from the Senate into this hill, when the Senators would haue made a law, that no Patritius or Senators child shold marrie with him or her that was not so, or for that the vultures, (whose flight *Romulus* obserued, when he built this City) did not compas in this hill with the other six. Many more curious points did this man declare, which if hee did not inuent, yet did he little better; for grant all these nice points to be written in good sooth, yet I pray you what amisses doe any of them mend? whose desires doe they minish? or who by them is made eyther more couragious, or iuster, or more liberall? mine old friend *Fabianus* was wont to doubt, whether it were better bee ignorant, or to know such vanities. But I take them to bee leasurable, that study diuine wisedome

dome, which no time present can consume, nor no time to come diminish, and wholly exercise themselues in celestiall contemplation; for such men do not onely vse their owne time well, but they also adde thereto the ages spent before they were borne, and enioy them also as their owne, yea all the famous Recorders of most sacred opinions, were after a sort, as it seemeth euen borne for them, and in a manner prepared the way for them how to liue the better. Which worthy writers bring vs with much ease and little labour to most worthy matters brought by them out of darkenesse into light, yea they keepe vs not from things done or said in any age ere wee were borne, they admit vs vnto all things, yea if wee lust by the greatnesse of an heroicall minde to passe the narrow bounds of mans weake reach, wee haue time inough to doe so if wee list our selues. Why then leaue we not this brittle transitory time of life, and why betake wee vs not wholly (at least in minde and cogitation to these infinite and euerlasting matters, which we haue in common with better natures. These men that run continually courting and waiting alwayes vpon great men, troubling others & themselues in their so doing, when they haue gone a madding, and danced attendance at al mens dores, not leauing any great man vnwaited on, when they haue done their dayes labour in saluting them, how many I pray you can they haue visited of so infinit & busie a number of great men in *Rome*? Among which great mighty ones, how many are there, whom for because, that either they were a sleepe, or otherwise occupied, or not at leasure to intend them, they could not therefore be admitted to speake with all? how many are there, who after that they haue long been waited for, come out, and sodainly looke vpon them, and are gone againe? nay; how many are there that shunne to take their way through such troupes, as come to waite vpon them to the hall or Senate? and rather take some backe-wayes through some secret by-corner, and leaue them all, as if it were not much more vnseemely, and worse manners of the twaine in this sort, rather to cosen them by auoiding them when they were once admitted; then absolutely to keepe them out before they ca me; and yet how many are there that hauing scarsly slept out their yesterdayes surfet; yet breake their sleepe poore soules themselues to waite till it please another to rise, like forsooth for their paines to bee saluted in some rechlesse or proud sort, by their names of the great men, as if hee hath had the same a thousand times put into his head by some prompter or other: but indeede if wee will needes dance attendance with fruit, I tell you they waite wisely that dayly court *Zeno*, *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, and the rest the pillars of good learning; that endeauor to make *Aristotle*, and *Theophrastus* well known vnto them. None of these but will be alwayes at leasure to intend thee: none but will dismisse thee a man happier for thy selfe, and more in loue with him for his company, then thou wast at thy first comming. They will not let thee goe empty, whensoeuer thou wilt goe, come at midnight or at midday, any man may speake with them. None of these will force thee to die before thy time, as great Princes doe of their most faithfull seruants, but euery one will instruct thee how to die; none of these will spend or take away any iot of thy dayes, but are all rather ready to bestow their time on thee; thou needest not feare what thou saiest in their company; yea no enemy of thine can suspect thee for being often with them.

CHAP. XV.

OF theſe thou mayeſt obtaine whatſoeuer thou wilt; nor will they be in the fault if thou take not of them as much as thou art able: Oh how happy is that olde man that hath ſpent all his dayes in the ſeruice of them! hee is ſure of ſecret friends with whom he may conſult in great things or ſmall, whoſe counſaile he may aske euery houre at his pleaſure, from whom truth he ſhall heare without vpbrayding, praiſe without flatterie, and whom well he may imitate without note of apiſhneſſe. We ſay commonly we could not chuſe of whom wee would be borne; but of ſuch we came as our fortune was we ſhould come: but in this caſe yet we may chuſe of whom we will be borne. Theſe worthy wits and writers haue their ſtocke and families; chuſe of which thou wilt be, and thou ſhalt be not onely of his name, but his ſucceſſor alſo for his wealth and liuelyhood, which is alſo commonly the more ample, among the more it is diuided: theſe will leade thee to eternity, and will lift thee vp ſo high, as whence no man liuing ſhall bee able to remoue thee. And this is onely the way to ſtretch out thy mortalitie, yea, to change it into immortalitie if any there be. Honours and other monuments, what euer either ambition hath by Law eſtabliſhed, or coſt hath built, do quickly periſh. Time weares out all things, yea, and ſooneſt weareth thoſe things which it hath made hallowed; only wiſdom cannot be hurt nor impaired any way. No time preſent can conſume it, nor time to come diminiſh it, the longer it laſteth the more it is ſtill regarded; for enuy toucheth onely things neere in memory, and more abſolutely do we reuerence things farther off. And ſo we ſee the wiſe-mans life is large enough, he is not incloſed as others are, but is onely freed from the lawes, that otherwiſe mankinde is ſtreightned withal: yea, all time doth yeeld vnto him, as it yeeldeth we confeſſe to the gods themſelues. Time is paſt: this conſideration doth him good. Time is come: this he vſeth. Time will come: he preuenteth it; and thus comparing time with time, makes his life very long, wheras their life is very ſhort, who forget the time paſt, neglect that is preſent, and feare the time to come: which when it once is come, too late poore ſoules they finde, they were all very buſie in doing nothing.

CHAP. XVI.

NEyther art thou to thinke that by this argument it is approued that they leade a long life, becauſe ſometimes they call vpon death. Imprudencie vexeth them with vncertain affections, and ſuch as aſſault and encounter thoſe which they feare: they therfore oftentimes wiſh for death, becauſe they feare it; neither is that an argument likewiſe whereby thou ſhouldeſt be perſwaded that they ſhould liue long, becauſe the day ſeemeth oftentimes long vnto them, becauſe whilſt the appointed houre of ſupper time commeth they complaine that the houres ſteale on ſlowly. For if at any time occupations faile them, they ſtorme becauſe they are left without buſineſſe and idle: neither know they how they may diſpoſe or inlarge the ſame. They therefore intend ſome occupation, and all the time that is betweene, is grieuous vnto them, in ſuch ſort vndoubtedly

as when a day is proclaimed wherin the ſword-players are to skirmiſh, or when as any appointed time of any other, eyther ſpectacle or pleaſure is expected, they long and labour to outſtrip the houres. The delay of all that which they hope for is long vnto them. But that time which they loue is ſhort and headlong, and becommeth likewiſe more ſhort by their fault, for they flie from one delight to another, and cannot ſettle themſelues vpon one ſort of pleaſure. The dayes are not long vnto them, but diſpleaſant and tedious. Contrariwiſe, how ſhort thinke they the nights to be, which they loſe in embracing their harlots and drunkenneſſe? From thence grew the furie of thoſe Poets, who fed and flattered mens errors with fables, who fained that *Iupiter* being bewitched with the pleaſure of his adulterous embraces, redoubled the night: What other thing is it then to animate wickednes to make the gods the authors of them, and to giue an excuſable licenſe to an infirmitie by the example of diuinitie? But can theſe men finde the nights other then very ſhort, that they buy at ſo high a price? They loſe the day in expectation of the night, and the night through the feare of the day. Their pleaſures are accompanied with feares, burried with diuers diſquiet perturbations; their greateſt ioy is drowned in carefull thought. How long ſhall this continue? Becauſe of this paſſion Kings haue bewailed their power; neither did the greatneſſe of their fortune delight them, but the end that was to enſue terrified them. When that moſt inſolent Perſian King ſpread his army along the fields, whoſe number he could not tell, and ſcarcely could he tell what quantitie of ground would well containe it; it is ſaid he wept, conſidering that within one hundred yeares there ſhould not one of all that number be left aliue: but he himſelfe that wept was euen the man that haſtened all their deaths, as indeed afterwards proued, when as what by Land, what by Sea, what in fight, and what in flight, euery mothers ſonne almoſt, very ſhortly after miſcarried, whom hee feared ſhould not liue an hundred yeares.

CHAP. XVII.

MOreouer, their ioyes are full of feares, they build them not on ſure ground, but by the ſame vanitie they riſe, by the ſame they fall. And what will you thinke of thoſe their times, which in their own confeſſion are vnhappie, if theſe whereof they vaunt themſelues, and in which they take themſelues to be more then men, be ſcarcely perfect? Euery higheſt tipe of happineſſe is full of feare; nor may we well in truth leſſe build on any fortune then that which is happieſt. One free Citie needeth another to maintaine it, and hauing once that we deſired, we are forced ſtraight wayes to deſire anew, to haue wherewith to maintaine the former ſtate: for euery thing that fortune giueth is vncertaine; and the higher alwaies that felicitie is, the neerer euer is it to a downfall and ruine. And no man can take pleaſure in the ſtate he knoweth aſſuredly ſhall ſhortly fall; and therfore moſt vnhappy, not onely ſhort is their life who with much adoe procure that which with much more labour they muſt poſſeſſe, with much trouble compaſſing the thing they deſire, but with much more care continuing the thing once gotten; all which while no care is had of time, of precious time, that neyther ſhall nor can be recouered againe. Olde buſineſſe breeds new buſines, one hope bringeth forth another, this high deſire makes way for an higher then

it to follow it, and ſo no end is ſought of the miſeries we are in, though euerie day we change the matter which procureth miſeries. Our owne preferments proue euen burdens to vs; others honours haue coſt vs time to procure them for them: nor haue we ſo ſoone left to ſue for our ſelues, but immediately we are ſuters in the ſame caſe for others. We will pleade no more as Counſellors as it were to day; to morrow we are admitted to the Bench as Iudges; the third day happily called to the Councel-table. *Marius* is no ſooner diſmiſſed out of warre, but at home he is in ſuite for the Conſulſhip. *Quintius* is diſmiſſed of his Dictatorſhip to day, not long after he is called from the Ploughes thereto againe. Yong *Scipio* ſcarce fit for ſuch a charge, is ſent againſt the Carthaginians as it were to day; he conquereth *Hanniball* and *Antiochus*, is made Conſull and getteth his brother to be made next after him, and ſo from dignitie to dignitie: and if himſelfe be not the hinderance, in time he ſhall be dignified no leſſe then *Iupiter*, yea, and after that by his induſtry Rome was deliuered from the feare of *Haniball*, and he returned home to his wife and children, he was ſtraight-wayes occupied in ciuill factions and ſuits for offices: and rather then he would ſatisfie himſelfe with ordinary preferments, he choſe wilfully to goe into exile and was proude thereof; as if forſooth when happy and fortunate buſineſſe began to faile him, he would rather buſie himſelfe in vnfortunate proceedings then it ſhould be ſaid he wanted buſines; ſo farre we are from enioying the leiſure and pleaſure which yet we euery day deſire and wiſh for.

CHAP. XVIII.

VVHy then, good friend *Paulinus*, exempt thy ſelfe from this common errour that poſſeſſeth the world; and now thou haſt beene buſied more then any of thine equals in age or honour, betake thy ſelfe at length into a hauen of quiet, call to mind what ſtorms thou haſt endured, what tempeſts, partly for priuate matters, and oftentimes for publique affaires thou haſt entangled thy ſelfe withall: thy vertue hath beene tried ſufficiently in troubleſome vnquiet matters: trie what it can doe in peace, at home in quiet. Thou haſt ſpent the greater, or at leaſt the better of thine age in publique buſineſſe, in cauſes common to thy wife and children, turne ſome part thereof to thine owne vſe, to thine owne behooſe. I wiſh thee not to betake thee to an idle, or vnlearned, or vnprofitable a vacation, nor would I haue thee to ſpend the reſidue of thy worthy nature, in ſleepe or other vnſeemely common peoples paſtime, this I count not reſt or quietneſſe. Thou ſhalt finde many greater matters then thoſe that yet thou haſt beene conuerſant in, to beſtow thy repoſe and leiſure in. Thou haſt kept the accounts of the Roman Store-houſes, which is as much almoſt as the accounts in a manner of all the world; the ſame I ſay thou haſt kept with ſuch abſtinence as if they had not belonged to thee, with ſuch diligence as if they had beene thine owne reuenues, and yet with ſuch integritie as if thou kneweſt well it were the wealth of the Citie and State of Rome, and thou to anſwer for euerie halfe-peny: and in this thine office thou haſt won the loue of all men, wherin other men could hardly auoide much hatred; and yet truſt me, it is a wiſer part to be able to giue a good account of thine owne life and liuing, then of all the corne in the countrey. Recall therefore this worthy minde of thine, fit I know for greateſt matters; recall it yet from this honourable, yet ſcarce a happy ſeruice

ſeruice to ſhew thy ſelfe at home a while, & remember this was the finall and moſt principall end of thy creation and firſt being, that in the end thou ſhouldeſt be Surueyor of the Cities corne, thou muſt propoſe a more priuate, but yet a higher and better calling: nor will there want any frugall and painefull men to ſupply thine office; ſo farre fitter are ſlow and vnwildie jades, or young and vntamed Colts to beare great burdens, then the trampling and ſtirring Steede, whoſe life and actiuitie no man durſt euer charge with a lumpiſh burden. Beſides this, bethink thy ſelfe how much care attendeth thee whilſt thou vndergoeſt ſo great a charge. Thou haſt to deale with the bellies of men. A people that endureth hunger is not ſubiect vnto reaſon, neither is mitigated by equity, nor pacified by any praiers. It is not long time ſince that vnder the Emperor *Caligula*, although now diſpleaſed (if dead men haue any ſenſe) to be dead in a few dayes, and to haue left the Roman people aliue; that there was not found ſufficient victuals in the Citie for ſeuen or eight dayes: and whilſt this Prince made bridges of boats, and ſported himſelfe with the meanes and forces of the Empire, the moſt dreadfull of all other euils, that is to ſay, famine beſieged Rome. His imitation of a furious and forrain King, and vnhappily puffed vp with pride well may coſt the ouerthrow and famine of his countrey, and that which followeth famine the ruine of all things. What minde then had they and care, who had the charge to prouide corne for the common ſtore. They prepared themſelues to receiue the ſtroakes of ſwords, to be ſtoned, burned, and to meete with *Caligula*; yet diſſembled they very carefully the cure of this euill, that was hidden in the intrailes of the Citie; for there are ſome infirmities whereunto we ought to applie remedies, without diſcouerie of the ſickeneſſe, as contrariwiſe diuers men are dead, becauſe they knew they were ſicke.

CHAP. XIX.

REtire thy ſelfe into theſe hauens more calme, more aſſured, and more great: thinkeſt thou that to giue order, that the corne bee more cloſed vp in the ſtorehouſes good and cleane without being ſpoyled by the malice and negligence of the Porters, in ſuch ſort that wet neither ſeaze or ouerheat it, and conſequently, that it returne to his meaſure and weight, is a thing of as great importance, as when thou approacheſt the celeſtiall miſteries, and when thou commeſt to enquire what the nature of the Gods is, there will their condition, their forme, the eſtate of thy ſoule, and the places where nature ſhall lodge vs after our deceaſe, what it is that ſuſtaineth the moſt weightieſt of all the workes of nature in the centre of the world, and ſuſpendeth the lighter things aboue, and carrieth fire vp on high, and exciteth the ſtarres in their courſes? In briefe, all the reſt full of great miracles: will thou forſaking the earth, rowſe thy mind and conſideration to theſe things, now, and ſo long as thy bloud is warme, and vigor ſtrong? thou muſt aſpire to that which is the beſt. An ardent loue of prayſe-worthy ſciences, the practiſe of vertue, the forgetfulneſſe of paſſions, the ſcience to liue and die well, a deepe repaſt diſcharged from all worldly affaires, attend thee in ſuch a manner of life. True it is, that the condition of all thoſe that are entangled with worldly affaires is miſerable: but yet more miſerable is the eſtate of thoſe men who are not buſied in their affaires, but ſleepe, walke and eate according to other mens appetites, and are conſtrained to loue and hate thoſe things

things that are moſt free of all others: if ſuch men would know how ſhort theſe mens liues are, let them conſider how much they rebate of their owne: you enuy not thoſe whom you ſee attaine vnto charges, and grow in reputation amongſt the people. Such aduancements are got with the expence of life, and to obtaine the credite that a man may count the yeare of his name, they vſe all the yeares of their life. Some other there are that being deſirous to attaine the higheſt degree of honour, after they haue trauelled long therein, are dead in the middeſt of their way: and others, which hauing attained the ſame by infinite and cuill practiſes, haue beene ſeaſed with this diſtaſtfull apprehenſion, that they haue trauelled much to build them a tombe, and make themſelues ſpoken of after their death: ſome alſo conceiuing new hopes in their old yeers, as if they had beene in their prime, haue loſt their hearts, and periſhed in the midſt of their vnquiet and vniuſt attemps and endeauours.

CHAP. XX.

DAſe is the man, who being already olde, hath ſought to grow in credite amongſt the fooliſh common people, & is dead in ſpending himſelfe to pleade for meere ſtrangers that would ſet him on worke: as abiect is he, that being rather weary of life, then of trauell, is falne amidſt the affaires which he hath embraced, and becauſe hee that hauing death at his dore, toſſeth his papers and affaires to the great contentment of his heire, who long time expected for ſuch a prey, I cannot bury in ſilence one example that commeth to my memory: *Turanius* was an olde man of exact diligence, who after the ninetieth yeere of his age, being diſcharged of his office of commiſſary of victuals by the Emperour *Claudius*, got him into his bed, commanded all his ſeruants to muſter about him, and to bewaile him as if hee were dead: the familie lamented the repoſe of their old maſter, and continued this ſorrow vntill ſuch time as he was reſtored to his office. Is there ſo great a pleaſure then to die bnſied? there are many that reſemble this *Turanius*, they deſire to trauell euen at that time when they can no more, they combat againſt the feebleneſſe of their bodies, and thinke not their age troubleſome, except it be becauſe it commandeth them to liue in repoſe. When a Souldier is fifty yeeres old, the law conſtraineth him not any more to beare Armes: a Senator hauing attained to threeſcore yeeres, is no more bound to attend the Senate; and more hardly obtaine leaue to repoſe themſelues at their owne hands then from the Law. In the meane while whileſt they aſſaile others, and are aſſailed themſelues, whileſt one breaketh an others reſt, whileſt euery one tormenteth himſelfe, life ſlippeth away without profite, without pleaſure, or any content of the mind, there is no man that repreſenteth death vnto himſelfe, there is no man that extendeth not his hopes farre off. Some likewiſe there are that diſpoſe of theſe things which are after life, as of their proud Sepulchres, of inſcriptions; and dedicacy of their buildings, of ſports, combates, and other ſolemnities of their ambitious funerals: but vndoubtedly theſe mens obſequies ſhould be ſolemnized with torches and Tapers, as if they had liued very little.

The End of the Booke of the ſhortnes of Life.

THE

OF COMFORT,

ADDRESSED
BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA
TO POLYBIVS.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis booke was written during the time of his exile at ſuch time as hee was deiected both in mind and body (wee muſt confeſſe it, and the writing teſtifieth it) about the third yeare of his baniſhment: for he openly maketh mention of the firſt entrance into Britany, which was about that time: As touching POLYBIVS *hee was one of the moſt powerfull free men that belonged to* CLAVDIVS, *and receiued that title by reaſon of his ſtudies, for he was learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and may wee gather honeſt apparantly by the prayſes which* SENECA *loadeth him with; hee comforteth him in the death of his brother, and the whole diſpoſition of the Booke is hidden, becauſe both the beginning and diuers things elſe are miſſing: In that which is extant, this is his order: he denieth that wee ſhould griene at the death of one man, becauſe the worlde it ſelfe and whatſoeuer is in it is condemned by that law: likewiſe becauſe the griefe is vaine, and without fruit. Thirdly, that wee are borne to afflictions, and that we ought to faſhion our ſelues theraunto. Fourthly, hee calleth to witneſſe, the will of the dead, and ſheweth his deſire not to liue. Fifthly, that in conſtancy and example hee ought to exceed his other brothers, becauſe hee was a worthy perſon, and all mens eyes were fixed on him. Sixthly, he wiſheth him to take comfort from his ſtudies which hee alwayes loued. This and ſuch like vntill the 31. Chapter. From thence forward hee intermixeth the example of thoſe who haue endured the like couragiouſly; amongſt theſe (not without vilde flattery) he produceth* CAESARS *example, whom hee wonderfully praiſeth, and in concluſion once againe ſendeth* POLYBIVS *to his booke and ſtudies, as a remedy of his griefe: wee cannot deny but this was* SENECAES *writing: I thinke not to the intent hee meant it ſhould be publiſhed, but according to his preſent fortune abiectly, and too humbly written to a ſlaue (alaſſe) adorned with how many praiſes? I am aſhamed, I am aſhamed, whoſoeuer publiſhed this, was an enemy to* SENECA, *and his glory.*

OVT OF THE [illegible]. CHAP.

IF thou compare our bodies with them, they are ſtrong, if thou reduce them to the condition of nature that deſtroyeth all things, and recalleth them thither from whence ſhee made them, they are fraile; for what can mortall hands make immortall? Thoſe ſeuen miracles, and whatſoeuer elſe more wonderfull then theſe, the ambition of ſucceeding yeeres haue builded, ſhall bee ſeene leueled with the ground; the end of things are varied, and whatſoeuer hath had a beginning ſhal haue an end: Some maintaine that the wicked ſhall

shall perish, and if thou thinke it lawfull to believe, so much then shall a day come that shall dissipate the same, and drowne the whole vniuerse (which containeth all whatsoeuer is diuine and humane) into their former confusion and darkenesse: now then let him lament that list, by reason of the death of so many persons that haue been, let him deplore the destruction of *Carthage*, *Numantium* and *Corinth*, or whatsoeuer places were notorious, eyther in their flourishing or fall, when as this likewise as euidently appeareth vnto him, that euen that which hath nothing whereupon to fall, must perish; let him goe and complaine himselfe, that the Destinies (which must one day attempt and execute so great a mischiefe) haue not spared him likewise.

CHAP. XXI.

Secondly, there is nothing that befalleth vs, that hath not befallen others.

WHat man is hee of so proud and insolent arrogancy, that in this necessity of nature that reuoketh all things to the same end, will haue himselfe and his exempted out of the ranke of all others, and discharge some house from that ruine which shall deuoure the whole world. It is therefore a great comfort for a man to bethinke himselfe that the same hath hapned vnto him, which all others haue suffered before him, and all that follow him must endure, and therefore in my iudgement nature hath made that most common which is most grieuous, to the end that the equality thereof might in some sort lenifie the cruelty of the fate. This likewise will yeeld thee no little comfort, if thou thinke that thy sorrow will neither profit him whom thou bewailest, nor thy selfe; for thou wouldest not haue that long that is vnprofitable: For if sorrow would profit vs any thing; I refuse not to intermixe the remainder of those teares that my aduerse fortune hath left me with thine; yea more likewise will I finde out some remnant of remorse, that may flow from mine eyes that are dried vp by so many teares which I haue spent by reason of the misfortunes of my house: if that may returne thee any profite, why ceasest thou? let vs complaine: I will take the cause in hand, and make it mine owne. O fortune that in all mens iudgement art most vniust, vntill this present it was supposed that thou sparedst this worthy man, who by thy fauour had attained such credite, that his felicity (which is a thing both rare and lesse heard of) was not enuyed by any man; behold thou hast impressed a sorrow in him more greater then he could receiue, but in the losse of the Emperour, & when thou haddest attempted and sought into him euery wayes, thou couldst not finde any fit meanes to assaile him but this: for what other iniury couldst thou haue done him? what; take away his money? neuer was he a slaue vnto it, and now also as farre as in him lieth, hee casteth it from him; and in this his so great felicity and means of enriching himselfe, hee seeketh no greater fruit therby then the contempt therof. What take away his friends? Thou knewest he was so well beloued, that hee might easily substitute others in their places that were lost; for of all those great Lordes whom I haue knowne in the Emperours house, this man alone in my iudgement was such a one that although it were expedient for all men to entertaine his friendship, yet their affection and desire to bee in his fauour, was farre more great then the assistance they pretended to reape by his countenance. What depriue him of his honour? but that is so setled in him, that thou hast no power to shake it. What, rob him of his health? thou knowest that his mind was so well

A probable speech verily, considering Senaca was exiled, but more elaborate, somewhat affected and bombasted with the highest matter.

grounded in liberall sciences (wherein hee is not onely bred vp but borne) that all infirmities of the body whatsoeuer cannot abash him. What, take away his life? how little haddest thou hurt him? the excellency of his mind had promised him a life of longer continuance, hee hath carefully endeauoured himselfe to eternize the better part of him, and to warrantize himselfe from death, by the excellent and learned works that hee hath composed. As long as learning shall be any wayes honoured, as long as the vigor of the latine tongue, and the grace of the Greeke shall haue credite amongst great men: so long shall this man liue amongst the men of most reputation, whose sufficiency and worth hee hath eyther equalled, or (if his modesty refuse this testimony) hath very neerely imitated.

CHAP. XXII.

4 Some complaints against our estate, seeme in some sort to bee able to lessen our griefe.

THou hast therfore bethought thee of this one meanes, whereby thou mightest harm him most; for the better a man is, the more ofter is he accustomed to thy assaults, who art displeased without election, and dreadfull amidst thy greatest benefites. Was it so great a matter for thee to warrantize this man from affliction, whom thy fauour in some sort seemed to haue sufficiently defenced, and not according to thy vsuall custome to haue light vpon him rashly? but if thou wilt let vs adde to these complaints the gentle nature of thy brother, ranished out of this world in the prime of his youth; hee deseured to haue thee to his brother, and thou vndoubtedly art most worthy to lament such a brother as hee was: all men giue an equall testimony of him, he is bewailed to thy honour, and praysed for his own desert, there was nothing in him which thou wouldest not willingly acknowledge. For thine owne part thou wouldest haue shewed thy selfe good to an other brother, who might haue beene lesse good, but thy piety hauing found an answerable subiect in this man, hath expressed it selfe more freely. Although his meanes were great, yet neuer offended he any man, neither threatned he any man with thee who wert his brother: hee was formed according to the example of thy modesty, considering what honour it was vnto him to bee so neerely allied vnto thee, and of what importance that was, so likewise knew hee how to manage such a charge. O cruell destinies, enemies to all vertue; thy brother was taken out of this world before hee knew his owne felicity; I am not displeased or angry more then I should be, for there is nothing so difficult when a man is extremely vexed, as to finde out wordes that are answerable to his sorrow: yet againe, if this will yeelde vs any remedy wee will lament? Where one thoughts thou vniust and iniurious fortune? why hast thou so sodenly repented thy selfe of thy fauourable dealing? what cruelty was this to breake in amidst brothers, and by so bloudy a rapine to lesson such a company as liued in the greatest peace of the world? why wouldest thou trouble and diminish without cause a house so well furnished with vertuous young men? amongst whom, there was no one that degenerated. By this reckoning perfect innocency preuaileth nothing, ancient temperance is vnprofitable, a soueraigne honour (accompanied with vnspeakeable modesty, and intire, and pure loue towards good letters, and an vpright conscience) shall be vnfruitfull. *Polybius* mourneth, and being admonished in one brother, what hee is to feare of the rest, is euen afraid of those very comforts which should lenifie his sorrow.

sorrow. *Polybius* mourneth and is sorrowfull, although he bee in great fauour with the Emperour: vndoubtedly therefore, O malignant fortune, thou hast made choice of this meanes, to shew that no man, no not *Cæsar* himselfe can warrantize a man from thy fury.

CHAP. XXIII.

5. Wee ought not to grieue and torment our selues for that which is firme inauoidable, & immutable.

WEe may accuse the Destinies longer, but we cannot change them, they continue obstinate and inexorable; no man can moue them eyther with vpbraides, or teares, or persuasions: they acquit no man of any thing, they pardon nothing: let vs therefore spare our teares, because they are vnprofitable: for sooner will sorrow lodge vs with him then returne him vnto vs; since shee tormenteth vs, & comforteth vs not, let vs shake her off in good time, and let vs retire our minds from vaine solaces, and from a bitter desire of sorrow: for except reason restrain our teares, fortune will not. Goe to, turne thy selfe on euery side, and consider all men in this world: there is in euery place an ample and continuall cause of teares; one man is called to his dayly labour, by a laborious pouerty, an other tormented with insatiable ambition, an other feareth those riches he hath wished for, and is sicke of his owne desires, this man is afflicted with care, that man with labour, this man is tyred with a troupe of sutors that besiege his dores, this man is sorry that hee hath children, that man because he hath lost them: we shall sooner want teares then cause of sorrow. Considerest thou not what life it is that nature hath presented vs with, since shee would that teares should be the first presages of our condition in this world? This is our beginning whereunto all the course of our yeares haue relation: thus liue wee, and therefore wee ought to keepe a measure in this thing, which wee ought to doe so often: and then considering how many fatall accidents attend vs, if wholly wee cannot giue ouer our teares; at least wise we ought to reserue some part of them for time to come. There is nothing wherein wee ought to bee more sparing then this whereof wee haue so frequent vse. Moreouer thou shalt bee very much comforted, if thou thinkest that thy brother, for whom thou afflictest thy selfe in this sort, taketh lesse pleasure in that thou doest then any man thou canst name: hee will not, or hee knoweth not that thou art thus tormented: It is therefore an vnprofitable labour to grieue for him, for if hee feeleth nothing, it is superfluous, and if he feeleth, hee taketh no pleasure therein.

6. They that wee lament for sorrow not themselues, nor are sorry for vs; neither take pleasure in our lamentations.

CHAP. XXIIII.

7. They condemn not our affection, but they wold not haue vs torment our selues.

BOldly dare I say, that there is no man in the whole world that is delighted in thy teares. What then? thinkest thou that thy brother is worse affectioned towards thee then any other man? that he should desire thy affliction, that hee should withdraw thee from thy businesses, that is, from thy studies, and from *Cæsar*? this is farre vnlikely; for he hath loued thee as his brother, honoured thee as his parent, and respected thee as his superiour; hee would thou shouldest remember him, but not torment thy selfe for him; what auaileth it thee therefore to consume thy selfe with sorrow, which if the dead haue any sense, thy brother desireth it should be finished: for an other brother whose inclination might seeme vncertaine, I should put all these things in doubt, and I should say, thy brother desireth that thou shouldst be tortured with incessant teares; he is vnworthy of this affection, and if hee would not, then giue ouer thy vnprofitable griefe. Neither should an impious brother be so bewailed, neither would a pious be so lamented. But in this whose piety is so well approued, thou art to resolue thy selfe that nothing can bee more grieuous vnto him, then if this his death be distastfull vnto thee: if it vexe thee any wayes, if it troubleth and spendeth thine eyes vnworthy of so great misery, with causelesse shewers of complaint. But nothing shall withdraw thy piety so much from vnprofitable teares as if thou thinke that thou oughtest to bee an example to thy brethren, whereby they may be instructed to sustaine these iniuries of fortune with constancy. That now art thou to doe which great Captaines doe in desperate dangers or vncertaine, who purposely faine a merry demeasure, and cloake their discontents with a pleasant countenance, for feare lest their Souldiers should bee discouraged by discouering their gouernors discontent. Shew thou a countenance that is contrary to thy thought, and if thou canst purge thy selfe of all sorrow, at least wise hide and containe it inwardly, lest it appeare, and endeauour thy selfe that thy brothers may imitate thee, who will thinke that honest whatsoeuer they see thee doe, and will assume their courage according to the temper of thy countenance. Thou must both solace and comfort them; but thou canst not withstand their sorrow, if thou make a wanton of thine owne.

CHAP. XXV.

The eighth, We ought to bee much admired of confidence and patience to those that suffer.

THis thing likewise may restraine thee from sorrowing extreamely, if so bee thou informe thy selfe, that none of those things which thou doest can remaine hidden. The common consent of all men hath made thee great, maintaine that. Thou art enuironed with a troup of men that come to comfort thee, who carefully consider thy thought, and diligently obserue whether it bee fortified against griefe besides, not onely if thou know how to vse prosperity discreetely; or if thou canst endure a duersity manfully: they obserue thine eyes. All things are more free vnto those whose passions may be couered. As touching thy self thou canst not hide thy self; fortune hath placed thee in al mens eies. Euery man shall know how thou hast carried thy selfe in this conflict; whether vpon the first assault thou gauest ouer thy weapons, or if thou hast stood confidently in the battell. Heretofore the fauour of the Emperour, and thine owne valour haue made thee rise to great estate, and therefore all bare and vulgar infirmitie ill befitteth thee. But there is nothing so vilde and so base, then for a man to suffer himselfe to bee deuoured in sorrow. In the same griefe it is not lawfull for thee to behaue thy selfe so as thy other brothers. The opinion which is conceiued of thy studies and manners, permitteth thee not many things; men require many things at thy hands, and expect much, if thou wouldest haue had all things lawfull for thee, thou sholdest not haue drawn al mens eies vpon thee. But now so much art thou to performe as thou hast promised all men, who praise and applaude the endeuours of thy witte, who, whereas they haue no need of thy fortune, yet haue neede of thy witte. These are the watchmen of

The ninth, The more eminent our vocation is, the lesse occasion haue we to make our neighbours beleiue that wee haue lost our courage, and that we are vnworthy to act that which is committed to our charge.

thy mind. Thou canſt therefore doe nothing that is vnworthy the profeſſion of a perfect and learned man, but if diuers men will repent themſelues, becauſe they haue admired thee. Thou muſt not weepe immoderately, and although thou art not to looſe a part of the day in ſleepe, nor in ſeeking thy repoſe, forſake the bulke of affaires, and goe and trifle it in the Country, nor vndertake with a ſprightly conceit a long voyage to recreat thy body, being wearied with continuall trauell of thy weighty charge, nor to looſe thy ſelfe in diuers paſtimes in the Theaters, neither to ſpend the howers of the day according as it beſt liketh thee.

Authority, Hee that is in authority muſt not ſoile himſelfe with abiection of mind for a great mans example doth much harm on a ſodaine then he can remedy all his life time.

CHAP. XXVI.

THere are many things which are vnlawfull for thee, which are permiſſible in men of baſe condition, and ſuch as liue in obſcurity. A great dignity and proſperity is a great ſeruitude. It is not lawfull for thee to doe any thing according to thine owne mind. Thou muſt giue audience to a thouſand perſons, reade an infinite of petitions; thou muſt bee accoſted by a numberleſſe number of ſutors, poſting from euery part of the world. Thou hadſt need of a gouerned mind to diſpatch readily and ſodainely the affaires of the greateſt Prince in all the word. I ſay it is not lawfull for thee to weepe, becauſe thou art to heare diuers men that weepe; and to the end that their teares may be profitable vnto them that are in danger to obtaine the mercy of moſt milde *Cæſar*; thine are to bee dried vp. Yet behold what will comfort thee greatly, and proue a ſingular remedy for thee: caſt thine eyes vpon *Cæſar*, when thou wouldeſt diſburthen thy ſelfe of ſorrowes. Conſider what a charge his fauour hath impoſed vpon thee, how much induſtry thou oweſt him, and then ſhalt thou vnderſtand, that thou art no more to bee humbled by theſe croſſes, then hee (if a man may giue any credite to fables) who beareth the whole world on his ſhoulders. For this cauſe diuers things are not lawfull for the Emperour, who may doe all that wbich he pleaſeth. His vigilancy conſerueth the houſes of all men in particular: his trauell giueth them repoſe, his induſtry maketh them liue at eaſe, and in delight. His occupation furniſheth them with time to diſport themſelues in. Since that time that *Cæſar* dedicated himſelfe to the world, and rauiſhed himſelfe from himſelfe, and as the Planets which inceſſantly runne their courſes, hee cannot repoſe, neither diſpatch any thing of his owne affaires. So in the like ſort, the ſame neceſſity is enioyned thee, thou art neither to reſpect thine owne profite, nor affect thy ſtudies. As long as *Cæſar* is Lord of the world, thou canſt not addict thy ſelfe to pleaſure, or griefe, nor to any thing els, thou art wholly *Cæſar*, Adde hereunto that hauing alwayes made the world beliene that thou loueſt *Cæſar* better then thine owne ſoule, it is not lawfull for rhee as long as he liueth to complaine of thy fortune. Hee being in ſafety, all they that appertaine vnto thee are in ſecurity; thou haſt loſt nothing, thine eyes muſt not onely bee dried but bee ioyfull. In him thou haſt all thinges, and hee to thee is as much as all. I will tell thee without impeachment of thy prudence and piety, that thou haſt little reſpect of his greatneſſe, that as long as thy body is in good health, thou giueſt way to any thy ſorrow whatſoeuer. But I wil ſhew thee another remedy which is not ſo ſtrong as the precedent, yet is it more familiar, if at any time thou retire thy ſelfe into thy houſe, then wilt thou haue ſome cauſe to ſuſpect thy

Eloquence ſpent in vaine and palpable flattery.

The eleuenth, Wee muſt conſider as well thoſe goods that remaine with vs, as thoſe at leaſt wiſe which we haue leaſt.

thy ſorrow, for as long as thou ſhalt behold *Cæſars* Godhead, ſorrow will finde no acceſſe vnto thee, *Cæſar* will poſſeſſe whatſoeuer is in thee, when thou departeſt from him, then as if occaſion were giuen, ſorrow will finde out thy ſolitude, and will creep by little and little into thy ſoule that deſireth repoſe. Thou art not therefore to intermit any time of ſtudy, then will ſciences and good letters which thou haſt ſo long and faithfully loued, requite thy endeauour, and auowing thee for their patron and affectionate ſeruant, will take thee into their ſafeguard. Then *Homer* and *Virgil* (who haue ſo much obliged all men vnto them, as thou haſt made them obliged, hauing giuen order to make thē known to more men, then they themſelues haue written verſes) ſhall long time make abode with thee. All the time thou ſhalt commit and giue them to keepe, ſhall be aſſured. Imploy thy ſelfe then in couching, in writing the deeds of the Emperour thy Maſter, to the end that in all ages the Romane people may celebrate his memory, for he it is that will furniſh thee with matter, and giue thee example to digeſt and ſet downe his actions.

The twelfth, Study lenifieth ſorrow.

CHAP. XXVII.

I Dare not induce and perſwade thee ſo farre according to thy accuſtomed elegancy to ſet downe the fables of *Aeſope*, a worke as yet vnattempted by our Romane wits: for it is a hard matter for a mind ſo vehemently deiected as thine is, ſo quickly to vndertake this more pleaſing and pleaſant ſtudies, yet ſhalt thou know that thy mind will be fortified, and recouer himſelfe, if hee may giue ouer theſe grauer ſtudies, and employ himſelfe in thoſe that are more delightfull and free: for in the grauer, the auſterity of things which hee ſhall intreat vpon, will draw the ſame, although it bee ſicke and at debate in it ſelfe, but in thoſe that ſhal breede delight, thy ſpirit ſhall take no pleaſure, but at ſuch time as it ſhall bee ſetled and quieted in it ſelfe. Thou ongheſt therefore to exerciſe thy ſelfe in matters of importance, and then to temper thy mind with more pleaſing ſtudies. This likewiſe will comfort thee very much, if oftentimes thou debate in this ſort with thy ſelfe. Whether am I ſorrowfull in reſpect of my ſelfe, or in regarde of him that is deceaſed? if for the loue of my ſelfe, it is in vaine that I perſwade my ſelfe, that I am a good brother, and the griefe which beginneth is excuſable, becauſe it is honeſt, and eſtranged from piety in this, becauſe it hath regard to profite. But there is nothing that worſe beſeemeth a good man then to haue a will to conſider, how much hee hath eyther won or loſt by the death of his brother. If I complaine me for the loue of him, I muſt needes approue it by one of theſe two ſucceeding conſiderations, that is to ſay, that eyther the dead haue a feeling or no feeling. If they haue no ſenſe, my brother hath eſcaped all the incommodities of life, and is reſtored vnto that place wherein hee was before hee was borne, and being voide of all cuill, hee neyther feareth nor deſireth, nor ſuffereth any thing. What madnes is this in me, that I neuer giue ouer grieuing for him who ſhall neuer bee aggrieued? if the dead haue any ſence, the ſoule of my brother being as it were diſcharged out of a long priſon, is now in freedome and full liberty, ſhee ſearcheth and beholdeth with content the workes of Nature, ſhee diſcouereth them from a high place wherin ſhe ſees all humane things, & neerly approcheth the diuine: in ſearch whereof ſhee was ſo long time vainely tormented. Why

The thirteenth, If we haue the meanes to exerciſe our minds in high and worthy thoughts, it will be ſure & expedient to pacifie our griefes.

The fourteenth, Wee ought not to lament thoſe that are dead in regard of our ſelues, for this were to loue our ſelues, not for their ſakes, for as touching their bodies they haue no ſenſe, and as touching their ſoules, if they haue beene vertuous, they are in repoſe.

therefore afflict I my ſelfe with the loſſe of him who either is bleſſed, or is no body. To bewaile him that is bleſſed, it is enuy to lament him that is no more; is madneſſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The fifteenth, They are deliuered from the miſeries and misfortunes of this life.

OR art thou diſpleaſed hereat, becauſe in thy iudgement thy brother is depriued of great goods which followed and attended him? When thou ſhalt bethinke thy ſelfe that there are many things which hee hath left, conſider that there are more thinges which hee feareth not. Anger ſhall not vexe him, ſickneſſe ſhall not aflict him, ſuſpition ſhall not prouoke him, gnawing and hatefull enuy that is alwayes an enemy to other mens proceedings, ſhall not attend him, feare ſhall not preſſe him, inconſtant fortune that now taketh from one to giue it to another, ſhall torment him no more: If thou calculate well, thy brother hath gotten more then he hath loſt. But hee ſhall no more enioy his riches, neyther his owne honour, or the countenance hee hath had by thee; he neither ſhal receiue or doe pleaſures any more. Thinkeſt thou him miſerable, becauſe hee hath left theſe thinges, or happy becauſe hee deſireth them no more? Belieue mee he is more bleſſed that hath no need of fortune, then hee that is much troubled in entertaining her. All theſe goods which delight vs by reaſon of their faire but fallacious appearance, as money, eſtates, credite, and other ſuch like which corrupt couetous and ambitious mens minds, are poſſeſſed with paine, and beheld with enuy; they oppreſſe thoſe that are adorned with them, and threaten more then they profite. They are ſlippery and vncertaine, they are neuer firmely poſſeſſed, for although a man were not in doubt of that which is to come, yet ſo it is that the maintenance of a great proſperity is accõpanied with many cares, if thou wilt giue credit to thoſe who more inwardly examine the truth, all our life is but a puniſhment. Being caſt into this ſo deep and troubled a ſea, tormented with continuall ebbes and floates, that now rayſeth vs vp with ſodaine encreaſes, and ſtraight forſaketh vs with greater loſſes, and continually toſſing vs, wee neuer remaine in a ſetled place, wee liue in ſuſpence and incertaincty, who are beaten one againſt another, and ſometimes we are ſhipwrackt, but alwayes fearefull. Sayling in this ſo ſtormy ſea, and expoſed to all tempeſts, we finde no hauen but in death. Enuy not thy brother therfore, he is at reſt, now at length hee is free, now at length hee is ſecure, now at length hee is eternall. He hath left the Emperour and all his race, thy ſelfe and all his brothers behinde him. Before that fortune turned her fauourable face from him, hee forſooke her euen then when ſhee ſtood vnto him, and heaped fauours vpon him with a plentifull hand. But now hee enioyeth an open and freer heauen from an humble low Tabernacle, hee hath attained ſo conſpicuous a place, what ſoeuer it be that receiued thoſe bleſſed ſoules that are deliuered out of theſe earthly bonds into his bleſſed boſome, that now he freely wandreth and beholdeth all the goods of nature with exceeding pleaſure. Thou art deceiued, thy brother hath not loſt the light, but hath attained a more ſecurer. It is a way that we muſt all walke. Why complaine we of deſteny? hee hath not left vs, but gone before vs.

The vanity of riches.

Great fortune, great care.

The ſixteenth, They that we call dead are liuing, and the liuing are dead.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

The ſeuenteenth, He that dieth in proſperity hath no doubt aduantage.

The eighteenth, We haue long time enuied thoſe whom death redemandeth at our hands.

BElieue it, there is a great happineſſe in dying happy, nothing is aſſured, no not for the length of one day, onely humane affaires being ſo obſcure and confuſed, as they bee who will vndertake to reſolue whether thy brothers death had wrought him enuy, or whether it hath procured him good? Beſides this, there is an other conſideration, which is to comfort thee, for thou oughteſt to think that in looſing ſuch a brother, thou haſt receiued no iniury, but that thou haſt beene greatly fauoured; becauſe that ſo long time it hath beene in thy power, to enuy and make vſe of his piety. Vnreaſonable is that man that hath not giuen his benefactor that credite to diſpoſe of that hee giueth according to his beſt liking. and that man is couetous, that in ſtead of calling that gaine which a man giueth him, complaineth that hee hath loſt that which hee hath reſtored. Vngratefull is hee that ſaith, that iniury is the end of pleaſure. And fooliſh is he that thinketh there is no fruit but in things preſent, that contenteth not himſelfe with thoſe things that are paſt, eſteeming thoſe things for certaine goods which appeare not any more, becauſe hee ought not to bee afraid that they are loſt. Too much ſcantleth he his wayes, who thinketh that hee enioyeth nothing but thoſe things that hee hath and ſeeth, and eſteemeth them as much as nothing which he hath had, and hath no more; for all pleaſures abandon others very ſodainely, it is a thing that ſlippeth away, that paſſeth, and is taken from vs almoſt before it commeth; wee muſt therefore beſtect our thoughts vpon the time that is paſt, and recall to memorie, and oftentimes ruminate on all that which hath euer giuen vs pleaſure. The remembrance of delights and contentments is more aſſured and endureth longer time, then the preſence of them: remember this therefore amongſt thy greateſt goods, that thou haſt had a good brother: thinke not how long time hee might as yet haue liued with thee, but how long time hee hath remained with thee. Nature gaue him both to thy ſelfe, and the reſt of thy brothers, not as a thing proper vnto you, but ſhee hath lent him you, and when ſhee thought good ſhee hath redemanded him, not ſatisfying thy will herein, but her owne arreſt. If a man ſhould bee angrie for paying a debt for which hee allowed no intereſt, ſhould hee not be thought a moſt wicked fellow? Nature hath giuen thy brother life, and thy ſelfe likewiſe, and afterwards vſing her owne right, ſhe hath redemanded her debt from him, ſhee thought fitte to challenge. Shee is not in fault (whoſe condition was very well knowne; but we ought to accuſe the couetouſneſſe of mortall men, who ſometimes eyther forget what nature is, and neuer remember themſelues of their condition, except it be then, when they are brought in memory thereof. Reioyce therefore that thou haſt had ſo good a brother, and take in good part the vſe thou haſt had of him, although it were ſhorter then thou couldeſt haue wiſhed it. Thinke that it was moſt pleaſing to thee that thou hadſt, and humane that which thou haſt loſt. It is an vnreaſonable matter to bee ſorrowfull, becauſe thou haſt ſo ſmall a time enioyed thy brother, and not to be glad that thou haſt once enioyed his preſence. But hee died ſaieſt thou at ſuch time as I leaſt thought of it. Euery one ſuffereth himſelfe to be deceiued by his ſleight beliefe, and when wee loue a thing, we will not forget that it is ſubiect vnto death. But nature hath proteſted that ſhee will exempt no man from this neceſſity, which is impoſed vpon all men. Wee ſee dayly both our acquaintance and

The ninteenth, Wee ought not to be grieued to repay that to God which hee hath lent vs, & appertaine to him, it ſufficeth he cruaeth his owne without intereſt.

The twentieth, It is a thing decreed that all men muſt die, & therefore our friend cannot be exempted no more then others.

and ſtrangers carried to their graues, yet thinke wee vpon an other matter, and call it a ſodaine accident, which during our whole life time hath beene tolde vs that it ſhould come to paſſe. This is not therefore the iniquity of the Fates, but the depraued neſſe of mans mind, who is diſpleaſed becauſe he muſt depart from that abroad, which was onely lent him for a time.

CHAP. XXX.

An example what we ought to doe.

NOw farre more iuſter was he, who receiuing tidings of the death of his ſonne, vttered a worthy ſpeech correſpondent and anſwerable to his worthy mind; *I knew when I begat him that hee ſhould die.* Wonder thou not that ſuch a man begat ſuch a ſonne that could die couragiouſly. The death of his ſonne was no nouelty to him: For what wonder is this for a man to die, whoſe whole life is nought elſe but a iourney vnto death. *I knew when I begate him that hee ſhould die:* and afterwards hee annexed a thing of a greater note, prudence and conſtancy; *I brought him vp to this end.* So are wee all whoſoeuer enters into life, is deſtinated to death. Let all of vs therefore content our ſelues with that which is giuen vs, and reſtore it againe when wee are required. Let our minds be alwayes addreſſed, and neuer feare that which muſt needes fall out; nor expect that alwayes which is vncertaine. Shall I call to remembrance in this place, the great Chiefetaines in warre, their children, and diuers perſons honoured by diuers Conſulates and triumphes, who are dead by the hands of inexorable Deſtiny? whole Kingdomes with their Kings, whole peoples and nations haue ended their courſe. All men, nay more, all things tend vnto their end. Although that in regard of the particular they are different. One is taken away, and dyeth in the midſt of his rece, another in the entry, another in his extreame olde age, being now wearied and deſirous to depart, is ſcarſely permitted to die. The times of death are different, yet all of vs tend to the ſame place. I know not whether it bee more fooliſh to bee ignorant of the law of mortality, or more impudency to refuſe the ſame. But I pray thee take ſome time to ouerlooke theſe things, which with great trauel of thy mind thou haſt worthily celebrated; namely the Poems of *Homer* and *Virgil*, which thou haſt ſo readily and cunningly continued in proofe, that although the quantity & compoſition of the vertue, appeare no more, yet the grace of the ſame remaineth. For thou haſt in ſuch ſort turned them from Greeke into Latine, and from Latine into Greeke, that thou haſt attained all thoſe perfections that are requiſite in him, that tranſlateth from one tongue into an other. There is no one booke in all thoſe writings that furniſheth thee not with a great number of examples of the vnconſtancy of mans life, of vncertaine accidents and caſualties, that ſucceed and flow from diuers courſes. Conſider with what Maieſty of ſpeech thou haſt preſented theſe things, at ſuch time as thou art aſhamed to looſe thy courage ſo ſeen, and to diſcend ſo low after thou haſt ſpoken ſo high. Demeaſure not thy ſelfe like him that of late admired thy writings, and asked how it was poſſible that ſo feeble a ſpirit as thine was could conceiue ſo great and ſo ſolide things; but rather caſt thine eyes aſide from theſe afflictions that torment thee, and turne them toward ſo many excellent conſolations, in regarding thy brothers ſo vertuous, thy wife and thy ſonne. Fortune hath parted ſtakes with thee, in taking away thy brother, and leauing thee all the reſt in ſecurity and ſafety.

The twentie one, We ought not to feare that which muſt neceſſarily happen, although it be in diuers ſorts.

The twenty two, The good bookes that are written either by our ſelues or others, may comfort vs greatly, as alſo gravity in yeeres in reputations, and occupations, which we ought carefully to obſerue.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

The twenty three Men ought to conſider the gods that remaine with vs to oppoſe againſt them thoſe that are vſurped from vs.

DIſhonour not thy ſelfe ſo much, as to giue the whole world occaſion to beleiue that one ſorrow hath more power ouer thee, then theſe ſo many ſolaces. Behold thy brothers, thy wife, and thy ſonne wounded with the ſame ſorrow that thou art, without hauing any meanes to helpe thee, nay contrary thou feeſt, that they expect thou ſhouldeſt ſuccour them. And therefore the leſſe ſpirite and knowledge they haue, the more needfull is it, that thou reſiſt this euill that concerneth you all. And it is in ſome ſort a kind of comfort to demand a mans ſorrow amongſt many, and becauſe many partake with thee in thine, there ſhould be very little remainder for thy ſelfe. I will not ceaſe to repreſent vnto thee the Emperour *Claudius*, as long as hee ſhall gouerne the world, and make it knowne that the Empire is farre better maintained by benefites then by armes, thou needeſt not feare that thou ſhouldſt feele any croſſe: thou haſt ſufficient ſecurity, and a conſolation in him alone. Raiſe and rowſe thy ſelfe, and as often as teares beginne to drie thine eyes, fixe them ſo often vpon *Cæſar*, and by beholding ſo great and ſo excellent a power, thine eyes ſhall bee dried; his brightneſſe will ſo rauiſh them that they cannot admire any other thing but him ſelfe, and will keepe them fixed vpon him ſelfe. Hee it is whome thou beholdeſt day and night, and from whom thy heart is neuer eſtranged, & whoſe admiration muſt deuoure thee? This is hee that can aſſiſt thee againſt fortune, and I doubt not ſince hee is a Prince ſo courteous, and ſo well affected towards all his ſeruants, but that hee hath already applyed diuers remedies to thy wounds, and miniſtred diuers medicines to thy paines, for feare they ſhould encreaſe. And what? although hee had done none of all theſe, doth not the onely preſence and remembrance of him comfort & animate thee greatly? Vouchſafe all you gods and goddeſſes to giue him a long and happy life: let him exceede *Auguſtus* both in actions and yeeres, and ſo long as hee ſhall liue in this world, let him bee exempted from beholding the death of any of his. Let his dominion of long continuance be adorned with all iuſtice. Let the Emperour leaue his ſonne for their Lord, and receiue him as an aſſociate to his Father, before they accept him as a ſucceſſor. Let the time runne ſlowly, and only during the life of our childrens children, wherein his ſubiects ſhall ranke him amongſt the number of the gods.

CHAP. XXXII.

Seneca's vowes and ſecret inſpirations.

TOuch him nor O Fortune, neyther imploy thy forces againſt him, but in as much as thou art profitable, ſuffer him to heale mankind too long trauelled with ſickneſſe and miſery, permit him to reſtore and reeſtabliſh all that which the fury of his Predeceſſor hath ſhaken. Let this ſtarre euer ſhine that hath enlightned the world that was plunged in obſcurity, and deuoured in darkeneſſe. Let him pacifie *Almany*, giue entry vnto *England*, triumph both for his owne, and his Fathers victories. His clemency the chiefe of all his vertues, promiſeth mee that I ſhall bee one of the beholders; for hee hath not ſo humbled mé, but he may exalt me, what ſay I humbled? hee hath not onely relieued, but hee hath ſuſtained

sustained me at such time as fortune had deiected me, and when as I was headlong cast downe to the ground, he hath courteously and mercifully raised me by his diuine hand. Hee interceded to the Senate in my behalfe, and hath not onely giuen mee life, but required it likewise; let him determine in what sort hee would haue my cause estimated; eyther his iustice shall finde it good, or his clemency shall make it what soeuer befall me, be it that hee knoweth, or that hee would that I should bee innocent, it shall bee alwayes a benefite of his towards me; Meanewhile the greatest comfort that I haue in my miseries, is to see his mercy spred ouer all the world, which when it hath digged out many after the ruine of so many yeeres, and out of that very angle wherein I am buried, and brought them to light, I feare not, nay more I trust, that hee will not leaue me alone desolate. But hee best knoweth the time wherein hee ought to comfort and relieue euery man; for mine owne part, I will endeuor to the vttermost, that hee may not be ashamed to succour mee. How happie is thy clemency O *Cæsar* which hath caused those that are banished to liue in greater assurance vnder thy gouernment, then Princes did vnder *Caligula*? The banished feare not, they expect not howerly for a Hangman to come and dispatch them, neither are they abashed when they see the shippes approach, as by thy fauor there is some measure in their aduersity, so hope they for a more prosperous condition, and they content themselues in some sort in the exile, because it so pleaseth thee. Thou must know that the flushings of thy lightning are not to bee feared, but darted of set purpose, when those that are attainted therewith reuerence it.

CHAP. XXXIII.

To comfort with more effect hee inducetth Cæsar to perswade Polybius.

THis price therefore, who is the publike solace of all men, hath or else I am deceiued already recreated thy mind, and hath applyed greater remedies to this thy so great wound: Hee hath already confirmed thee euery wayes, and with an exquisite memory hath related vnto thee all the examples which are proper to enduce thee to moderate thy griefe, and hy his ordinary eloquence hath discouered vnto thee all the precepts of Philosophie. A man therfore cannot find out any who is more fitting to speake vnto thee then hee is. His wordes will be of greater weight then mine, and shall be so much reuerenced as so many Oracles, which hy thy diuine authority shall crush all the forces of thy sorrowes. Suppose therefore that he speaketh vnto thee after this manner. Fortune hath not onely made choise of thee to examplifie her cruelty vpon. There neither is nor was any house in this whole world without some lament. I will ouerslip common examples which although they are lesse, yet are they wonderfull. I wil reduce thee to our Annals and publike Chronicles. Seest thou all these images, which haue filled *Cæsars* imperiall Hales; there is not one of them that is not touched with some calamity of his parents or friends, euery one of these men who by their vertue shall astonish the ages to come, haue been aggrieued at the death of those that touched them neere, or haue been with great sorrow lamented by their friends after their death. What needs I recount vnto thee *Scipio* of *Africa*, who during the time of his banishment was resolued of his brothers death. This brother that had deliuered his brother out of prison, could not warrant him from death. All men saw how impatiently *Scipio* suffered

The twenty four. The examples of greater men that haue been afflicted should confirme our resolution.

fered the iniury that was done vnto his brother whom he loued so much: for the same day that hee deliuered his brother from the hands of the Sergeant: hee presented himselfe as a priuate man before the Tribune of the people, to obtaine fauour. Meanewhile he endured the death of his brother, with no lesse courage then he had shewed in preseruing his life. Shall I reckon vp vnto thee *Aemilianus Scipio*; who almost at one time saw his fathers triumph, and the obsequies of his two brethren? yet notwithstanding although he were very yong, and but as yet an Infaut, he endured this sodaine ruine of his family as constantly falling vnder the triumph of his father; as such a personage as hee should do, who was borne to that end, that *Rome* should not be without a *Scipio*, nor *Carthage* without ruine.

HAP. XXXIIII.

Other examples.

SHall I tell thee of the amity of the two *Lucullí* that was dissolued by death? Shall I reckon vnto thee the *Pompeis* whome cruell fortune permitted not to perish vnder one ruine? *Sextus Pompey* ouerliued his sister, by whose decease the firme bonds of the Romane Empire, and the peace thereof were broken. He ouerliued his brother likewise, whom fortune had raised to this end, that his ouerthrow might not bee lesse then the ruine of his father; yet after this fall of his, hee proued both sufficient to disgest this sorrow, and to maintaine a warre. Infinite are the examples on euery side of brethren that haue died one after another, and I say on the contrary part, that scarsely shalt thou finde two brothers that haue liued so long as them both. But I will content my selfe with the example of those of our house: supposing that no man will bee so deuoid of reason and iudgement, who vnderstanding that fortune hath taken pleasure to make Emperours weepe, will complaine that she hath driuen others to sorrow. *Augustus* lost his deereft sister *Octauia*, neither did Nature take from him the necessity of mourning, to whom shee had destinated heauen; contrariwise, this Prince afflicted with all sorts of death of those that touched him neereft lost besides her his sisters sonne, who should haue beene his heire. And left I should enter into a particular account of his sorrowes, hee lost his sonne in lawes, his children, his Nephewes, and no man amongst all morrall men, had more feeling that hee was a man then hee did, whileft hee liued amongst men; yet notwithstanding his heart, the most peaceable that a man might imagine, disgested so many bitter griefes, and so made himselfe victorious not onely ouer forrain nations, but also of his passions. *Caius Cæsar* the Nephew of mine vncle by the mothers side, euen vpon the entrance of his youthly yeeres, lost his brother *Lucius* most deare vnto him, a Prince as yong as himselfe, during the preparation of the Parthian warre, and receiued a greater wound in mind then that was which afterwards offenced his body, yet endured he both the one and the other, both piously and stoutely. The Emperour mine vncle by the fathers side, saw his yonger brother, and my father die in his armes, at such time as hee was ready to enter the heart of *Almayne*, and hee subdued the most sauage nations of the world, and made them subiect to the Romane Empire; yet kept hee a measure in his sorrow, and gaue order that others should containe themselues, reducing the Army not onely aggrieued but desolate, and astonished, and who generally demanded the body of their generall *Drusus* to the Romane

customs,

customе and manner in mourning, iudging this that hee was obliged not onely to obſerue the rules of military profeſſion, but a meaſure in bewailing the dead. He could not repreſſe other mens teares, except firſt of all hee had reſtrained his owne.

CHAP. XXXV.

See Plutarch in this mans life and behold a true patterne of inconſtant fortune.

Marke Anthony my Grandfather inferior to none but him, by whome hee was ouercome, eſtabliſhing the Romane Eſtate, and being one of the Triumuirate, raiſed aboue all men, and (except his two companions) ſeeing all things vnder his feet, heard news that his brother was ſlaine. O inſolent Fortune, what pleaſure takeſt thou in procuring mens miſeries. At that time when *Marke Anthony* had the power of life and death amongſt the Romane Citizens, his owne brother was commanded to death; yet endured hee this ſo hatefull a wound with the ſame magnanimity of mind, wherewith he had endured all other aduerſities, and his mourning was of this nature, that hee ſolemnized his brothers funerals, with the bloudy maſſacre of twenty Legions. But to lay apart all other examples, and to the end that I may ſuppreſſe in my ſelfe other mens loſſes, Fortune hath aſſailed me twice in the death of my brothers, and I haue twice found this in my ſelfe, that I might bee hurt but not confounded: I loſt my brother *Germanicus*, whom how entirely I loued, hee may perfectly vnderſtand, who thinketh how much pious brothers loue their brothers; yet ſo gouerned I my affection, that I neither omitted any thing that might bee required at a good brothers hand, neither did ought that might be reprehended in a Prince. Thinke therefore that the parent of the common-weale relateth theſe examples vnto thee, and ſheweth thee how nothing is ſacred or vnattainted by Fortune, who out of theſe houſes durſt lead our funerals from whence ſhee was to receiue her goods. Let no man therefore wonder, if Fortune behaueth her ſelfe cruelly or vniuſtly: for can ſhee acknowledge any equity towards priuate houſes, or any modeſty, whoſe implacable cruelty hath vſurped vpon the gods? Let vs exclaime againſt her not onely in priuate but in publike, yet will ſhee not bee changed, her eares are deafened againſt all prayers and complaints. This was Fortune in humane affaires, and this will ſhee be; there is nothing that ſhee dare not attempt, nothing that ſhee leaueth vntouched: ſhee will forcibly enter thorough all things, and according to her accuſtomed manner, without making any difficulty to beare the dead into thoſe houſes, whereinto men enter by Temples, and to hang thoſe dores with blacke, which before times were adorned with lawrell.

The twenty fiue, If death ſpareth not the greater, why ſhould ſhe ſpare the ſmall.

CHAP. XXXVI.

The twenty ſixth If the great ones of this world beare their loſſes patiently, the leſſer ſhould follow their example.

THis one thing let vs obtaine at her hands by vowes and publike prayers, except as yet ſhee hath not reſolued to confound all humane race.) That if with a fauourable aſpect ſhee continue as yet, behold the Romane name, that ſhee will be pleaſed to reſerue vnto herſelfe and to all men, this Prince who was raiſed to reeſtabliſh the decaying world: let her learne clemency of him, and by the mildeſt

deſt Prince of all others be inſtructed what mercy is. So then thou oughteſt to conſider all thoſe of whome before time I haue made mention, either already receiued into heauen, or very neerely approch the ſame, and patiently endure fortune, who ſtretcheth her hand to thee alſo, wherewith ſhe attempteth thoſe likewiſe by name, by whom wee are accuſtomed to ſweare. It behoueth thee to follow their conſtancy, and to ſuſtain & ſurmount miſfortunes, and as much as may bee lawfull for a man to follow the ſteppes of the gods. Although that in other things there is a great difference betwixt men, by reaſon that ſome are more highly raiſed then others; yet is vertue planted in the midſt of all men and diſdaineth not any man, prouided that he thinke himſelfe worthy of her. Be carefull to follow thoſe who hauing any occaſion to be diſpleaſed, becauſe they are cloaſed in, and viſited ſo neerely, notwithſtanding haue thought that fortune offered them no outrage in equalling them with other men, but that it was the law of mortality, and thus were they neither vexed nor grieued, neither haue they ſhewed any faint and effeminate hearts in ſuch like accidents: for not to feele a mans euils is the part of a beaſt, and not to endure them, is not the part of a man, yet can I not (after I haue ouerrunne all the *Cæſars* from whom Fortune hath taken their brothers & ſiſters) ouerſlippe this man whom wee ate to draw out of the number of the reſt) whom Nature hath produced and brought to light, to the generall diſgrace and deſtruction of all mankind, by whom the Common weale was vtterly ouerthrowne, and reduced againe by the clemency of our merciſull Prince. This *Caligula* that neither knew to grieue or reioyce accordiug as it beſeemed his dignity, when his ſiſter *Druſilla* was dead, retired himſelfe out of the ſight and conuerſation of all his Citizens, neither was hee preſent at his ſiſters obſequies, neither honoured hee her according to her dignitie, but retired himſelfe into his Albarium? yet relieued hee the ſorrow of theſe ſo hapleſſe funerals, by hearing pleas, and other ſuch like occupations. What ſhame was this for the Romane Empire? The ſport of a Romane Prince that bewailed his ſiſter, was to ſolace himſelfe at dice. The ſame *Caius* with furious inconſtancy, ſometimes ſuffering his beard and haire to grow long, ſometimes courſing along al the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, not following the ordinary wayes, and neuer certainely aſſured whether hee would haue his ſiſter bewailed or deified: for at the ſame time when hee reared Temples and honours to her, hee puniſhed them by moſt cruell torments, who ſufficiently bewayled not her death: for no leſſe intemperate ſhewed hee himſelfe in ſuſtaining the ſhocke of theſe afflictions. as he was immeaſurably proud in his proſperities, for hee ſwelled aboue humane meaſure. Farre bee this example from euery Romane Citizen, eyther to attenuate his ſorrow by vntimely ſports, or prouoke them in ſoyling himſelfe with odious and baſe vncleanneſſe, or to delight in other mens euils, and not in humane ſolace. Yet ſee thou that thou change nothing of thy accuſtomed carriage, becauſe thou haſt reſolued to loue thoſe ſtudies, which moſt fitly extoll a man to felicity, and moſt eaſily leſſen his calamity, and they are thoſe that are the greateſt ornaments and ſolaces of mankind.

Twenty ſeuenth, The inconſtant fury of Caligula in the death of his ſiſter, ought to teach wiſe men how to temper and gouerne their ſorrowes, except they would haue their minds repoſted vnbridled.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Twenty eighth. A speciall consolation to Polybius, declaring that vertuous studies neades the greatest sorrowes.

NOw therefore drowne thy selfe more deepely in thy studies: now enuiron them about thee as the fortresses and bulwarkes of thy mind, neither let sorrow find any entrance in any part of thee: Publish likewise thy brothers memory in some one monument of thy writings, for this is the onely worke amidst all humane offices, which no tempests may hurt, no age consume: the rest that consist in gathering and laying stones in marble monuments, or earthly tombes that are raysed to a great height, will not continue long, for they themselues will bee consumed. The monuments of the mind are immortall; bestow these on thy brother, enshrine him in these. Thou shalt alwayes eternize him better by thy lasting wit, then by bewailing him with fruitlesse sorrow. As touching that which concerneth fortune, although that for the present a man may not plead her cause before thee (for all that which she hath giuen vs are hatefull vnto vs for this very cause, that she hath taken somwhat from vs) yet then will wee speake of it when time hath made thee a more equall iudge in her behalfe, for then maiest thou reenter into fauour with her: for shee hath prouided many things whereby shee may amend this injurie, for many things will shee now giue, whereby she may redeeme the same: to conclude thou receiuedst that at her hands which shee hath taken from thee, Vse not thy wit therefore against thy selfe, neither accompany thou thy sorrow. Well I wot that thine eloquence can approue those things to bee great, which are but small. Againe, it can lessen great things, and bury them in obscurity, but let her reserue her forces to some other purpose, and now let her employ them wholly in comforting thee. But beware that this thing likewise bee not vnprofitable for thee; for nature exacteth somewhat at our hands, and vanity striueth to shorten it: yet neuer will I entreat thee to giue ouer sorrow wholly. I know there are some men more obstinate and inflexible then prudent and couragious, who maintaine that a Wiseman should not bee touched with sorrow. But these men seeme to haue neuer tasted of such like disasters, otherwise Fortune had driuen their proud wisdom from them, and had compelled them thogh against their wils to confesse the truth. Reason hath don enough, if she restraine the excesse of sorrow, but to haue it wholly rooted out, no man ought either to hope or desire it. Let him rather obserue this measure, it neither falleth into impietie or folly, and containe vs in that habite which becommeth a quiet and no disturbed mind. Let our teares flow, let them bee stayed: let our sighes be drawne from the bottome of our hearts; yet let them haue an end. So gouerne thy mind that thou mayest approue thy selfe to Wise-men, and to thy brothers. Labour to deserue that thou mayest oft times remember thy brother, to the end thou mayest magnifie him in thy wordes, and that by a continuall thought and remembrance thou mayest represent him vnto thee. Whereunto thou mayest finally attaine, if thou make his memory pleasant vnto thee, and not lamentable. For it is naturall for the mind to flie alwayes from that whereto she returneth with sorrow. Thinke vpon his modestie, thinke thou of his readinesse in his businesse, his diligence in executing them, his faithfulnesse in his promises. Let other men know, and do thou thy selfe remember all his deedes and words. Consider what he hath beene and

Against those that condemne sorrow, and what measure wee ought to obserue therein,

and what can bee hoped that hee shall bee: For what cannot a man promise for such a brother. This Discourse haue I addressed vnto thee in the best sort I may, hauing my spirite almost spent and dulled with sorrow, which if it bee scarce answerable to thy expectation, or seeme to bee too weake to medicine thy sorrow, bethinke thy selfe how hardly Latine wordes flow from him, whose eares are tired with the rude and vnpolished language of the Barbarians.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

OF CONSOLATION.

WRITTEN

By LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO

MARCIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

MARCIA a gracious and rich Matron, as it appeareth the daughter of AVLVS CREMVTIVS CORDVS, a man famous both for his studies and writings, had a sonne who died in his full yeeres, for hee was a husband, a father, and a Priest, and already three yeeres were past as appeareth in the end of the first Chapter, since hee died. Itherefore gether that this booke was published about the beginning of CLAVDIANVS time, and not before. For it is scarse probable that this METELLVS (for such was his name) was raised to honour in TIBERIVS time. Vnlesse CAIVS (before) who out of some other acts of TIBERIVS, and namely published AVLVS CREMVTIVS writings to be read: which likewise is touched in the first Chapter. And therefore this consolation could not be published before, especially the griefe being fresh, and after three yeeres space. Nay to him that well considereth the same, this booke may bee supposed to bee written vnder CLAVDIVS, and after his exiles: it matters not much. Touching the Booke, it is one of his best, although it be not voide of feminine flattery. There are two partes thereof. In the former he prayseth her, and both by his own and other mens examples comforteth her vntill the 19. Chapter; in the latter hee descendeth to reasons, and first hee alleageth the common reason that sorrow profiteth nothing. Then that is vnnaturall, and rather is grounded on tendernesse, and inconsideration, because wee foresee not that those things which may bee done, are futurely to succeede. And againe, he produceth the examples of men and women. Then passeth hee ouer to the estate and condition of those that are borne, to whome death is annexed, vntil the nineteenth Chapter. Then offereth hee this Dilemma: That neither the mother nor hee are iniured. Of the mother, in short, shee is gracious, and onely vexed by opinion. Of the sonne diuersly, hee is in quiet: and deliuery both from casualties and vices. What if hee had beene inclined to those in so corrupt a City? that hee was therefore taken away in good time, and at last the Father CREMATIVS is in person prouided, comforting and animating his daughter, and inciting her with a constant speech to regard and behold cœlestiall and diuine things.

CHAP. I.

EXcept I knew *Marcia* that thou wert so farre estranged from womannish infirmity of minde, as from other vices, and that euery man obserueth thy manners, as it were some ancient patterne of vertue. I durst not vndertake to encounter with thy sorrow, whereunto men are too willingly inclined & subiect: neither had I conceiued any hope in a time so vnreasonable, before a Iudge so partiall, in a crime so hatefull, that I could effect this, that thou shouldest complaine of thy fortune: but the approued constancy of thy mind and thy vertue confirmed by many trials, haue animated me, and made mee confident. It is not vnknowne in what sort thou diddest behaue thy selfe in the person of thy Father, whom thou louedst no lesse then thou diddest thy children, except in this that thou diddest not desire that hee should not ouerliue thee, yet know I not whether thou diddest wish it mee or no. For a great piety permitteth it selfe some thing, which are not answerable to good and laudable manners of life. Thou hinderest as many as lay in thy power the death of *Aulus Crenutius Cordus* thy father. But when hee had discouered vnto thee, that hee had but one meanes to escape from seruitude, wherein hee was detained by the vassals of *Seianus*, thou fauouredst not his counsels, but sufferedst thy selfe to bee ouercome, and secretly powredst forth teares, thou deuouredst thy sorrow, yet couldest not conceale it with a merry countenance: and this in the age wherein it was great piety to doe nothing impiously. But as soone as the reuolution of time presented thee any occasion, thou broughtest him to light for the generall good of all men) the testimonies of thy fathers wisdome, who was put to death, and exemptedst him from the graue by publishing and communicating those his bookes vnto the world, which that worthy man had written with his owne bloud. Worthily hast thou deserued of the Romane studies, for the greater part of them was consumed by fire; worthily of posterity, to whom the incorrupted truth of former occurrents shal bee testified to the glory of that great man thy father, who wrote them; worthily at his hands, whose memory shall flourish and liue as long as men are desirous to know the Roman affaires, as long as there shall bee any who will reflect & read the acts of antiquity, as long as there is any that would know what a braue Romane, who seeing the yoake of *Seianus* vpon his necke, and his feete treading on the heades of euery man, hath brauely discharged himselfe of that seruitude, and shewed that both in vnderstanding, soule, and hand hee was a free man. Truely the common weale had suffered a great losse, if thou haddest not brought this worthy person to light, who was buried in obliuion, to let vs see two worthy parts in him, to witte, his eloquence and liberty: hee is read, hee flourisheth, hee is entertained in mens hands and hearts, he feareth no iniury of time. But the hainous crimes of those bloudy butchers, who deserue

Seneca *in this place intending to comfort* Marcia *in the death of her sonne, propoſeth two things in this Preface. The one the greatneſſe of her courage in the death of her father. The other the good ſhe did vnto the Romans by producing his hiſtories, which teſtifie that ſhee patiently endured ſuch a loſſe.*

He excuſeth the vehemencie, hee is reſolued to vſe conſidering the vigor of Martias minde, the time paſt ſince her afflictions, and the contempt of thoſe conſolations that haue beene miſtred vnto her.

memorie for nothing but their murthers, ſhall bee obſcured. This greatneſſe of thy minde, forbad me to looke backe vnto thy Sexe, forbad me to behold thy countenance, which the continuall ſorrowes of ſo many yeares as it once clouded, it ſo now couereth it: But conſider that I intend not to ſurpriſe thee, neither thinke thou that I will ſteale away thy paſſions. I haue refreſhed the memorie of thine ancient euils: And wilt thou know that this wound alſo is cureable? I haue ſhewed thee the cicatrice of as great a wound. Let other men therfore dally and flatter with thy ſorrowes, I am reſolued to combat with thy griefe, and if thou wilt heare a truth, I will drie vp the current of thoſe teares that haue wearied and waſted thine eyes, which rather now flow by cuſtome then any deſire or cauſe, which may bee done if thou fauour thoſe remedies which I preſent thee: if not, I will doe it againſt thy will, although thou retainest and entertainest thy griefe, which thou haſt reſerued to continue in thy Sonnes place. But what end ſhall there be? All things are attempted in vaine. Thy friends are wearied with talking with thee, thy Allies and other great perſonages know no more what to ſpeake vnto thee, thy deaff-eares entertain no ſolace, although a man relate vnto thee that which thou haſt learned, and

ſudainely ſetled and pacified her minde, *Octauia* and *Liuia*, the one the ſiſter, the other the wife of *Auguſtus*. Loſt each of them a Sonne, hauing both of them hope that one day they ſhould haue beene Emperours. *Octauias* Sonne was called *Marcellus*, on whom his Vnckle and his wiues father began to build them ſelues, in committing to his hands the affaires of the Empire, a yong man of ſharpe vnderſtanding, of a great minde, modeſt and meruailouſly continent, and conſidering his yeares and fortunes, very laborious, enemie of delights, and readie to vndergoe all that which his vnckle would lay vpon him; or (if I may ſo ſpeake it) build on his backe: Neither failed hee in his choice, for this yong man was ſufficiently enabled to vndertake all ſortes of burthens. His mother ſeeing him dead, ceaſed not all her life time to mourne and weepe, neither would ſhee admit any conſolation, nor likewiſe ſuffer any by any meanes to diſſwade her from her penſiue thoughts. But intending this one thing, and wholly fixing her minde thereupon, ſuch was ſhee all her life time as ſhee was at his funerall. I ſay not that ſhee durſt not riſe, but that ſhee refuſed to bee raiſed, iudging it no leſſe then a ſecond orbitie to ſurceaſe her weeping. Shee would haue no Image of her deereſt Sonne, neither would ſhee liſten to any that made

more then either her grauity, or *Augustus* greatnesse, or the equity of the cause required. Meane while shee ceased not to publish her sonnes prayses in euerie place, to represent him vnto her selfe both priuately and publikly, to speake most willingly of him, and take pleasure in those that recounted his praises, whe as no man could make mention of any other, but incontinently the remembrance of *Drusus* made her perceiue: Choose therefore which of these examples thou thinkest most probable; if thou wilt follow the first, thou cutteſt thy selfe off from the number of the liuing, thou wilt teach both thine owne and other mens children, and wanting him, thou wilt make all mothers afraid that meete with thee. Thou shalt disclaime thine honest and lawfull pleasures, as ill beseeming thy condition, and shall require nought else but to bee requested from company: in briefe, thou shalt loath thine owne life, because it endeth not as quickly as thou desirest. Besides, which is a thing estranged, and vnworthy thy mind, which hath a far contrary reputation, thou wilt make it known that thou wilt not liue, and that thou canst not die. But if thou fashion thy selfe according to the example of this great woman, which is more milde and moderate, thou shalt not vaile bonnet vnder thy sorrow, neither macerate thy self in afflicting thy self so much: for what folly is this (poor woman as thou art) to drowne thy selfe in sorrow, and to encrease thy miseries? maintaine in this accident the vertue, and moderation which thou hast approued in all the rest of thy former life; for if there bee any conueniency in sorrow, when thou hast alwayes the name of this young man (most worthy of rest) in thy heart and in thy mouth, thou thy selfe shalt place him in a happy abode; if hee appeare before thee merry and ioyfull as he did during his life.

CHAP. IIII.

The third, Sorrow should not be extreame, or perpetuall.

NEither will I perswade thee by more forcible precepts, command thee to endure humane accidents with a mind more then humane, that vpon the very day of the funerall thou shouldest dry vp the teares of a mother. I will doe thee iustice. The question is betweene vs, whether thy griefe ought to be great or perpetuall: I assure my selfe, that the example of *Liuia*, whom thou hast inwardly both knowne and honoured will please thee more then the other. Shee cals thee to counsaile her. Shee in the first fauour (whome as miseries are most impatient and furious) gaue an eare to the counsels and comforts of the Philosopher, *Areus* that attended her husband; and confessed that it yeeldeth her much more comfort then the Romane people, whom shee would not digest by her sorrow, more then *Augustus* who was troubled, who had lost one of the staies of his Empire (nor was to bee deiected by the sorrow of any of his) more then *Tiberius* his son, who effected this then, that in that biter & displeasing funerals to all nations, found nothing missing but the number of one. This as I thinke, was the induction of that discourse which hee vsed in regarde of this woman, that was so setled in her opinions. Hitherto liued, and as neerely as I could conceiue, in as much as I was an inward Counsellor to *Augustus* thy husband, (who not onely knew thy publike sayings and actions, but also the secret motions of thy mind, thou hast carefully endured that no man should finde any thing that might giue him cause of exception: Neither hast thou obserued this onely in affaires of importance, but in the smallest things thou hast taken care, lest

A proofe hereof by a dilemma which Areus vsed to Limnatus. Seneca produceth here to the end hee may perswade Marcia more powerfully.

lest thou shouldest doe any thing that might bee afraide of report, which freely consumeth the actions of the greatest in this world. Neither thinke I that there is any thing that is more worthy those that are in high place, then to pardon many things, and to require pardon of nothing. Thou art therefore to obserue in this thing thine accustomed manner, not to limit any thing whatsoeuer, th at thou wouldest haue done lesse or otherwise.

CHAP. V.

The fourth. Wee must accustome our selues in time to yeeld a will ag care, to those that speake of them, whose decease we haue bewailed in bitter teares.

AFter this, I desire and entreat thee, that thou show not thy selfe froward and intractable to thy friendes. For thou art not to bee ignorant, that all these know not how to behaue themselues, whether they shall speake any thing before thee of *Drusus*, or nothing, lest eyther the obliuion of so noble a young man should doe him iniurie, or his memory and mention wrong thee, when wee are drawn apart, and are assembled together, wee magnifie his deedes and speeches as much as in vs lieth, and hee deserueth, but in thy presence wee make no mention whatsoeuer: you are therefore depriued of a great pleasure, which is the prayses of thy sonne. When I assure my selfe thou wouldest eternize, if thou hadst the meanes, although it cost thee thy life. Suffer therefore, nay more, command men to speake of him, and yeelde thine eare to the name and memory of thy sonne, thinke it no irkesome thing (as other men doe) who in such cases interprete all things to the worst that is spoken to them; if a man propose thee some consolations, thou inclineſt now to the other side, and forgetting all the goods thou hast receiued, thou regardest the worser face of fortune, wherewith shee most affrighted thee. In stead of casting thine eyes on the conuersation of thy sonne, vpon his pleasant and gracious entertainement, vpon his childish and wanton flatteries, vpon the aduancement of his studies, thou secureſt to bee enchanted to this last apparance of life, and as if it were not mortall ynough of it selfe, thou heapeſt vp together what soeuer may bee possible. Long not I beseech thee after so vnmeasurable a glory, which may make thee being miserable, amongst miserable.

CHAP. VI.

The fifth. In aduersity we are to make proofe of the constancy of our mind.

THinke likewise that it is an act of a generous mind to carry a great appearance in prosperity, when as life exhausteth her course with a full sayle. For a peaceable sea and a fauourable wind approue not the sufficiency of a Pilot. There must some storme encounter vs that may approue the mind. And therefore discourage not thy selfe, but contrariwise stand firme in thy place, and endure euery burthen that is laide vpon thee, being onely affrighted with the first assault: there is nothing that so much confoundeth fortune, as a resolute mind. After this hee shewed her her sonne in safety, hee shewed her her Nephewes, to recompence the losse of her sonne. At that time *Marcia* thy affaires were in hand, *Areus* fate by thee, and comforted thee vnder another name. But thinke *Marcia* that death hath taken from thee more then euer was taken from any mother (I will not flatter thee, or lessen thy losse) if teares may conquere the destinie, let vs vnite our

The sixth, Since that sorrow is vnprofitable, because death is not moued thereby, wee ought to refrain sorrow.

our teares, let vs spend euery day in sorrow, let the sleeples night consume it selfe in sadnesse, let our hands violate our torne breastes, and let our nayles imprint our sorrow in our faces, let discontent exercise and extend it selfe in all sorts of cruelty. But if the dead are recalled by no teares, if Fate be immoueable, and euerlastingly fixed, no misery is changed, and death possesseth whatsoeuer hee hath taken away; let sorrowes cease because it is vnprofitable. For which cause let vs gouerne our selues, neither permit this passion to transport vs beyond measure. It is a shame for a Master of a shippe to suffer his helme to bee beaten out of his hands by the billow, to neglect his Sailes that are shattered in the wind, and leaue his shippe to the mercy of a tempest, but hee euen in shipwracke is to bee commended, who holdeth his helme in his hand, though the seas swallow and sinke him.

CHAP. VII.

The seuenth, Wee must keepe a measure in sorrow.

BVt yet there is a naturall inclination in vs to bewaile those whom wee loue, who denies it as long as it is moderate? for there is a necessity that presseth vs, and retireth, and astonisheth the most constant hearts, not onely at such time as our friends die, but also when in this life by diuers occasions they are separated from vs. But that which opinion addeth, is more then Nature commandeth.

Nature teacheth it not.

Consider how vnbrideled the desires of bruit beasts are, and yet they are short. Cowes for a day or two lowe after the Bull, neither doth the wanton and wandring course of Mares last long. Wilde beastes after they haue sented the foote of their young ones, and haue searched them sometimes amidst the forrest, when they returne backe againe to their empty dennes, in a few dayes surcease their rage. Birdes with great chattering flie about their empty nests, but in an instant they are appeased, and keepe their accustomed flight. There is no creature that so long time bewaileth the want of his young ones as man, who accompanieth his owne griefe and is not onely touched with the sense thereof, but also with the conclusion; hee hath taken with himselfe to torment himselfe thus and so long time. And to the end thou maiest know, that it is an vnnaturall thing to bee broken with sorrowes; first one and the same losse is more hurtfull to women then men, to barbarians then ciuill men, to the ignorant then the learned. But those that haue receiued their forces from nature keepe the same tenure in all things. That which is diuers, is not naturall: Fire at all times will burne the Inhabitants of all Cities, as well men as women. Iron will shew it selfe in euery body that it hath power to cutte vpon. Why? by reason that nature which doth nothing in vaine hath giuen them this property. One man feeleth pouerty, paine, losse of children in one kind, and that man in another kind as custome teacheth him, and as a feeble opinion of feuring of those things that are terrible, maketh him eyther impatient or constant.

The eighth, It is the property of cowardes and degenerate persons to torment themselues much.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

The ninth, We must suffer time to extinguish sorrow.

AGaine that which is naturall decreaseth not by delay, but time consumeth sorrow. Bee shee neuer so rebellious, bee shee neuer so continuall, be shee neuer so obstinate against remedies, yet time which is the most effectuall meanes to mitigate fury, will weaken it. True it is *Marcia*, that as yet thou art very much afflicted and it seemeth that thy sorrow (not so vehement as at first, but setled and obstinate) hath contracted a callosity, and is wholly heardned. Yet will time draw this from thee by little and little, as oftentimes as thou shalt exercise thy selfe in other things, thy minde shall finde some relieue. Now thou hast a guard ouer thy selfe: but there is a great difference whether thou permittest or commandest thy selfe to mourne. How farre more beseeming is it for thine honest and venerable manner of life to giue an end to thy sorrow, then to expect that it should end of it selfe? neither oughtest thou to attend the day wherein sorrow should abandon thee against thy will. But beginne thou first to giue him passport.

CHAP. IX.

The tenth, The common condition of all mankind should make vs resolute otherwise to passe all thinges would very hardly be digested.

WHence grow wee therefore so obstinate in our complaints, if this that is done, bee not by the commandement of nature. It is because wee thinke that euill shall neuer encounter vs, except then when wee feele the same: but as if wee had a letter of exemption, and that wee were entred into a way more plaine then other men; the sinister accidents of our neighbours cannot teach vs that our danger is as great as theirs. We see so many dead bodies passe before our dores, and so many mourners that attend them with bitter teares, but in stead of thinking our death, wee shape out in our thought a mans garment for our young children, wee runne to the warres, and already husband the inheritance and succession of our fathers. Wee see so many rich men sodainely become poore; yet neuer sinketh it into our hearts, that our riches may as easily slip out of our hands, as these did from them. Our fall therefore must bee the greater, because wee feele not that wee are subiect to slippe, but then when we are false and brought vnto the lowest. Those things that are long time foreseene, assault vs more leasurely. Wilt thou know how thou art exposed to all strokes, and that those weapons that haue wounded thee, haue beene enforced against thee? Suppose that being disarmed, thou mountest vpon some wall, or some place well defenced by the enemy, hard to bee scaled, and that thou expectest to be rescued, sodainely wounded, that thou makest a certaine account that those arrowes, those stones, those dartes that flie in the aire are aimed at thee, when thou shalt see that they fall on one side, or behinde thy backe, then maiest thou cry; O fortune thou shalt not deceiue me, neither shalt thou surprise me, eyther secure or negligent. I know thy designes, thou wouldest haue strucken me, but hast wounded another. But what man is he that euer considered his goods as if they should perish? who is he amongst vs that durst be so bold, as to thinke on his exile, his pouerty or sorrow? who is he, that if he bee admonished to thinke vpon his parents security, refuseth it not as a direfull and ominous presage

The eleuenth, Afflictions that are foreseen are light.

sage, and that prayeth not that this mishappe may sooner fall vpon the head of his enemy, or of that his vntimely Counsellor and admonisher? I thought not that this should come to passe, Thinkest thou that which thou knowest is incident vnto many, and that thou seest befall other men, cannot happen to thee: I hard an excellent verse and worthy *Publius*;

The twelfth, That which may befall any man may also befortune vs. When it is come, let vs endure it.

That which befortunes one may fall to many.

This man hath lost his children, and thou maiest lose thine. That man is condemned, and thine innocency is vnder the stroke. This error deceiueth vs; this maketh vs effeminate, whilest we suffer those things which we neuer foresee that wee could succour. He taketh away the power of present euils, who foreseeth the future.

CHAP. X.

The thirteenth, All our goods are giuen vs to bee restored again at Gods pleasure let vs not bee aggrieued that he redemand them.

ALL these accessaries *Marcia* that shine about vs as children, honours; riches, large pallaces, and people that expect at our dore to salute and attend vs, a worthy, noble and fayre wife, and other such goods as depend on the inconstancy of mutable fortune, are but forraine and hired ornaments, which are not giuen but lent vs to decke the Theatre wherin the Sceane of our life is acted, and which ought to bee returned to those to whom they appertaine. Some of these must bee brought home the first day, others the next day; few shall perseuer, and continue to the end. Wee are not therefore to esteeme them, as if they were our owne, they are but lent vs. The vse of them is ours, according as it pleaseth him to whom they appertaine. Wee ought to haue in a readinesse those things which were giuen vs for a certaine time, that when they be called for, they may be restored without grudging. Wicked is that debtor that slandereth and iniureth his creditor; so then wee ought to loue those in such sort, who are issued from vs, and whom according to the law of nature wee desire to leaue in this world after vs, and doe not amisse to wish that we may die before them, as if wee had no promise that they should suruiue vs or continue with vs. Oftimes the manner is to bee admonished to loue them as transitory things, yea as such as are already parting from vs, and let vs possesse all that which fortune hath giuen vs, as a thing that must vanish in an instant: take your pleasure of your children, and let them haue the fruition of your selues, and without delay enioy all that pleasure you affect. Let no man builde vpon to morrowes content, I haue giuen you too long, delay nothing of that howre in which we are. Wee are to make hast, death attendeth at our backes, and all this number that attendeth vs shall bee scattered in a moment. In lesse then a watchword, all these secreties shall be dispersed. All things are vanished from vs miserable men; you haue not the spirit to liue in following life; if thou complayneste the death of thy sonne, the fault is in the time wherein he was borne, for at that time was hee destinated to die. Hee was giuen thee vpon that condition, and as soone as hee came out of thy wombe, hee ranne after this arrest. We are vnder the rigorous & vnconquered power of fortune, and endure our good or euill according to her pleasure: shee afflicteth, outrageth and tormenteth our bodies; some burneth shee with fire, either to ruine them, or to heale them:

The fourteenth, It is Gods ordinance that hath limited our life which wee shall depart withal, when it pleaseth him.

them: some shall she cast into the sea, where after they haue struggled with the waues in stead of casting them on the shore or the sand, shee shall cast them into the bellie of some great fish. Other some there are that shee shall detaine long time betwixt life & death, having tired them by diuers sorts of sicknesses; and likewise tied them to an vnconstant and lasciuious mistris, that maketh no account of her slaues, but sometimes tormenteth and striketh them, sometimes flattereth and rewardeth them. What neede wee complaine of the parties of our life. The whole is lamentable; new incommodities shall vrge thee before thou hast satisfied the olde: you ought therfore to moderate your selues in those things, especially, which you impatiently suffer, applying one part of your thoughts to the apprehension of euils, an other to the sense of them.

CHAP. XI.

The fifteenth, Since wee are mortall, let vs not thinke it strange or euill if that which is begotten by vs, be subiect to death. The description of the miseries of life.

BVt whence commeth it that thou thus forgetteste thine owne estate, and the condition of the whole world. Thou art borne mortall, and hast brought forth mortall children; thou hast a body enclined to corruption and distraction, hauing beene beaten with so many accidents and sicknesses; didst thou hope in so fraile and weak a matter that thou trauedst some thing solide and eternall? thy sonne is departed, that is, hee hath finished his course, to which end they that are more happy then thy sonne doe flocke and hasten. All these that wrangle at the Palace, that fill the Theaters, that pray in the Temples, march (hether but in a different place. Euen those things which you reuerence, and those things which you despise, one death shall make equall. The same is commanded thee by the inscription of the Oracle of *Apollo*, *Know thy selfe*. What is man? a broken vessell, a thing moore fraile then may bee imagined, shere needs no great tempest to breake thee, where soeuer thou art cast, thou art shattered. What is man? a weake, fraile, and naked body, disarmed by nature, that needeth an others helpe, abandoned to all the outrages of fortune; in the greatest vigor of his age, exposed for a pray to wilde beasts, subiect to bee spoyled by the next that meeteth him; framed of those thinges that haue no firmity or continuance, faire in appearance, and in outward lineaments, but neither able to endure either colde, heate or trauell. Tending through his age and idlenes, to consume himselfe, fearing that which nourisheth him, because that sometimes the want thereof greeueth him, and sometimes the abundance burdeneth him. Careful and suspitious of his security, his soule but borrowed and loathing his abode, a sodaine noyse and vnexpected, and dreadfull touch of the eare will driue her from him, and alwayes his nourishment corrupteth and humplesh him. Doe wee remember that death which is necessary to all men, striketh at one man? was not this building raised to the end to bee ruined? His odors, fauors, lassitudes, watchings, humors, meates and other things, wisbowe, which hee could not liue, are the occasion of his death. On what side soeuer hee entreth himselfe, he incontinently espieth the markes of his infirmity. Euery ayre is not good for him, the change of waters, an vnaccustomed breath of winde, and other light and hurtfull causes make him fade that hee lit sickly, rotten, broken, and that hee beganne his life with teares. Miserable, what troubles doth this catife creature cause? how many thoughts paunceresh hee in his head,

head being forgetfull of his owne condition? His thoughts wander vpon immortalities and eternities, he disposeth of the affaires of his third and fourth generation, and whilst hee thus swelteth after these long apprehensions, death laies hould on him, and that which wee call age is but a small reuolution of yeeres.

CHAP. XII.

Sixteenth, Whether it be that those that are deceased, haue beene in ioy little or long time, with vs their condition is such that we haue no occasion to bewaile them.

TEll me O *Marcia*, if thy sorrow haue any ground or reason in it, whether it respecteth thine incommodities or these of thy sonne? Whether art thou moued in the losse of thy Sonne, because thou hast receiued no pleasures by him, or for that thou mightest haue enioyed greater if he had liued longer? If thou say that thou hast receiued none, thou wilt make thy losse more tollerable. For men lesse complaine, the misse of those things that haue giuen them neither ioy nor pleasure. And if thou confesse that thy Sonne hath highly contented thee, thou art not to complaine, because hee is taken from thee, but to giue thankes for that thou hast enioyed. Thou hast likewise reaped great fruit of thy labours in his very education, except happily they, who carefully nourish yong whelpes and birds, and such like friuolous delights of the minde, conceiue some pleasure in the sought touch and wanton fawning of mute beasts, and that education it selfe is not the fruit of education, to those that nourish their children. Although therefore his industrie hath profited thee nothing, neither his diligence hath preserued thee, that his prudence hath not employed it selfe to doe thee good, yet that which thou hast had and loued is the fruit of thy labour. But it might either haue beene longer or greater? Yet art thou delt better with all, then if it had not happened at all, for if choice may be giuen, whether it be better to be happie for a small time or neuer, it were better for vs to enioy those goods which must quietly passe from vs, then to haue none at all. Hadst thou rather haue had an vnthrift, who had nothing good in him, but the title and name of a Sonne, or this thy Sonne who was of so good a nature? The young man was quickly prudent, quickly pious, quickly a husband, sudainely a father, quickly a magistrate or officer, and sudainely a Priest; In briefe, all good things appeared sudainely in him. Scarcely doth long and great goods befall any man. There is no felicitie that endureth long, and attaineth his period, but that which encreased by little and little. The immortall gods intending to giue thee a Sonne for a little time, did presently giue thee him, such as hee might haue proued by continuance. Neither canst thou say this, that thou onely art chosen by the gods to enioy thy Sonne a little while. Cast thine eyes euery way amongst thy acquaintance and strangers, thou shalt euery where meete with greatest Great Captaines and Princes haue tasted hereof. The Poets haue not exempted the gods themselues, and I thinke they haue thus made men beleeue, that the gods were dejected, that they might pacifie and lessen the sorrow we conceiue in the losse of our neerest friends. Prie I say into euerie place and thou shalt name me no house so miserable that shall not finde solace considering another that is farre more afflicted and miserable. Assuredly I haue not so ill an opinion of thy manners that I would thinke that thou wilt more easily endure thy crosse, if I should recken vp vnto thee a great number of mourners. A troope of miserable men, is an enuious kind of solace, yet some

The Seuenteenth, The more excellent the goods we haue are, the more willing should we be to restore them because the diuine prouidence is not accustomed to allowe a long possessio of that, which from the beginning he hath perfected.

some will I recken vp vnto thee, not to the end thou shouldest know, that this is wont to happen vnto men, for it is a ridiculous thing to collect the examples of mortality: but to the end that thou maist know that there were many who haue lessened their aduersities by bearing them patiently. I will begin with a most happie man. *Lucius Scilla* lost his sonne, neither did this casualty weaken his malice or his extreame rigor both towards enemies & his cittizens, neither was it the cause why hee might not seeme to vsurpe that surname (ceuelig) which he tooke vpon him after the losse of his sonne, neither affraide of the hatred of men on whose miseries his ouer fruitefull felicities consisted; neither of the gods displeasure, whose crime it was that *Scilla* was so happie. But what *Scilla* was, let vs leaue amongst those things that are vncertaine, yet will his enemies confesse that he tooke vpon him armes happily and gaue them ouer discreetely. And in regard of that whereof we now speake, it appeareth that it is no great euill which attainteth and attaineth those that are most happie. And nolesse let Greece admire that father, who during the time of his sacrifice receiuing tidings of his sonnes death, onely commaunded the musition to hould his peace, and tooke the crowne from his head, and afterwards duely finished the rest of the sacrifice.

The eighteenth Other meanes afflictions should teach vs to digest our enemie.

CHAP. XIII.

Other examples of Zenophon and Paluillus.

THis did *Paluillus* the chiefe bishop, who at that time as hee held the post, and dedicated the Capitoll, receiued tidings of his sons death, and yet without making shew of that was tould vnto him, he pronounced the solemne hymme of the pontificall consecration, without interrupting the same with any sighes, and hearing the name of his sonne, he caused *Iupiter* to be propitious and fauourable to the cittie & common weale. Wouldst thou thinke that this sorrow which vpon the first day, and the chiefest assault could not draw the father from the publique altars and solemne dedication, should euer haue ceased? vndoubtedly *Paluillus* was worthy of a memorable dedication, worthy of a high priesthood, who desisted not from worshipping the gods; no not when they were displeased: yet the same man as soone as he came home, and had satisfied his griefe with teares, and powred forth some lamentations, and hauing fulfilled those offices which were accustomably due vnto the dead, returned to the Capitoll with a merrie countenance. *Paulus Æmilius* about that time of his so renowned, triumph, wherein he led before his chariot the king *Perseus* as his prisoner, and giuen two of his sonnes to be adopted into another famelie, sawe the two others buried, whom he had reserued to himselfe? what were these two thinkest thou, when as *Scipio* was one of these that was giuen to be adopted? yet the Romane people beheld *Paulus* chariot voide & yet he vnmoued, yet declaimed he, and gaue thankes vnto the Gods, because they had graunted him his wish. For he had besought them often times, that if for so great a victorie some greater incomoditie might befall him, it might rather redowne to his priuate, then the publique damage. Seest thou with how great a minde he bare it? he gaue them thanks for the death of his children. Could such a change moue any man more? he had lost in one instant his solaces and his staies, and yet *Perseus* had not that credite to see *Paulus Æmilius* sad or distressed.

CHAP. XIIII.

The fourteenth, Examples of Lucius Bibulus.

WHy should I leade thee thorow so innumerable examples of great men, and complaine their wretchednesse? as if it bee not a harder matter to finde out happy men? what house is it that hath continually stood at one stay in all respects? wherein there hath not happned some disaster and perturbation? Consider the yeeres one after another, and marke those that haue beene Consuls, and if thou will *Lucius Bibulus*, and *Caius Cæsar*, and thou shalt see betwixt these two companions that were mortall enemies, one and the same fortune. *Lucius Bibulus* a man more honest then stout, had two of his sonnes slaine at one time. They were both of them a scorne to an Egyptian souldier, so that the Father had more occasion to bewaile the indignity they had received at his hands, then the losse of his children; yet *Bibulus* that during the whole time of his Consulate, had kept house by reason of the euill carriages of his fellow Consull, receiuing tidings of this accident, came abroad and performed his wonted and publike offices. What could hee doe lesse then bestow one day on his two sons? so quickly ended hee his sorrow for his children, who had bewailed the Consulate a whole yeare. *Caius Cæsar* when hee had ouerrunne the whole Country of *England*, and could not containe his felicity within the Ocean, had tidinges that his daughter was dead, that by her losse drew the publike peace into danger: he had represented before his eyes his sonne in law, *Cnaius Pompey*, who could not endure that any other should be reputed or held more great in *Rome* then himselfe, and who would haue opposed himselfe against all those which pretended to bee aduanced, although it were not to his disaduantage; yet notwithstanding all this, *Cæsar* which three dayes executed that charge which was committed vnto him in being Generall, and ouercame his sorrow so soone as hee was wont to ouercome all other things.

CHAP. XV.

The sixth example of Augustus.

WHy should I relate vnto thee the funerals of the other *Cæsars*, I will onely tell thee this, that in my iudgement fortune hauing so rudely assailed them, hath giuen by this meanes a profitable instruction to the whole world; for shee maketh them see that the children of the gods, and such as should engender gods, haue not their owne fortune in their hands as they haue other mens. *Diuus Augustus* hauing lost his children and nephewes; in briefe the whole Progeny of the *Cæsars* supported his desolate house by adoption; yet endured hee these losses as temperately as if hee had beene already deified, and as if some one had done him iniury, if hee should haue come and complained of the Deities. *Tiberius Cæsar* both had lost him whom hee begat, and him whom he had adopted, yet notwithstanding, hee himselfe pronounced the funerall Oration, in prayse of his sonne in the publike place of declamations, and constantly stoode in the sight of the dead body, and had but a vaile betweene them to conceale the body from the sight of the high Bishoppe. Although the Romane people wept, hee changed not his countenance, and made *Seianus* know who stood fast by him, that hee was armed with patience to endure the losse of his children. Seest thou

thou not this great number of men of note, enriched with so many gifts of the mind, and so many honours both publike and particular; whome death (that deuoureth all thinges) spareth not? nay further, this tempest extendeth it selfe ouer the whole world; and without election destroyeth all things, and maketh them as her owne. Command euery man to giue a reason, and thou shalt finde that no man hath entred into this world but to forsake it.

CHAP. XVI.

To satisfie Marcias obiection, that those are the examples of men, he vnderneth Lucretia.

IKnow what thou wilt say. Thou hast forgotten that thou comfortest a woman, and onely tellest vs of the examples of men: but who dare maintaine that nature hath shewed her selfe partiall in womens behalfe, and hath restrained their vertues. Beleiue mee they haue the same vigor and free faculty of mind, as men haue to apprehend that which is honest, and if they accustome themselues, they endure both labour and sorrow as equally as they doe. Good gods in what City speake wee this? In that where *Lucretia* and *Brutus* deliuered the Romanes from the captiuity of Kings: wee must acknowledge our liberty to proceede from *Brutus*; and wee are indebted to *Lucretia* for *Brutus*. In that where wee haue eternized *Cælia* the virgin in the number of the most valiant of her time, by reason of her vndaunted boldnes, when in despight of the enemy she swam ouer *Tiber*. Her statue on horseback, planted in the midst of that famous and sacred street, reproacheth our young men that are mounted in their Coaches, and enter in that fort into that City, wherein wee haue made presents of horses vnto women: but if thou wilt haue mee set thee downe an example of women that haue endured the death of their friends constantly, I will not begge it from dore to dore, I will produce out of our family the two *Cornelias*. The first was *Scipios* daughter, and mother to the *Gracchi*. She had twelue children that all of them died before her. As touching ten of them, whom *Rome* neither apperceiued liuing or dead, if I may so speake it, the losse might in some sort bee borne. But in respect of those her two sonnes *Tiberius Gracchus* and *Gnaius*, (whom though men admit not for peaceable men, yet must they acknowledge them for honourable Personages) she saw them slaine and vnburied. And when as some one in comforting her called her poore and desolate mother: *Neuer* (saith shee) *will I call my selfe vnhappy who haue bred the Gracchi*. The other *Cornelia* lost *Liuius Drusus* her sonne a yong Gentleman, well borne of great hope, and one that followed the example of the *Gracchi*, who hauing left some suites of great importance vnperfect, which concerned the common-weale, was slaine in his owne house, and no man knew who did the deed; yet *Cornelia* endured the bloody and vnreuenged death of her sonne, that shee her selfe presumed to bee so bold, as to publish certaine Edicts in way of consolation to the people. Now *Martia* shalt thou become friends with fortune againe, if thou consider that shee hath darted the like arrowes against thee, as shee did against the *Scipios* their mothers three children; and *Cæsars* themselues. Life is replenished and broken with diuers accidents, which haue no long repose, and almost no truce. Thou hast had fower children *Martia*: but they say that there is no arrow that falleth in vaine that is shot against a troupe of the enemy. Is it so great a wonder that so great a company could not be ouerpassed without enuy or losse? But in this was Fortune more vniust, because

The nineteenth, He answereth a new complaint of Marcias, and sheweth her what occasion shee hath to comfort her selfe, considering those comforts that are left behind, and this is it that wee ought to consider in our afflictions, that God of his owne meere benefits, when he might take away all.

ſhee not onely tooke away thy children, but made choice of them, yet ſay thou not that hee is wronged that hath his equall part and portion with his Lord. Fortune hath left thee two daughters and their children, and of all theſe ſhee hath onely borne away thy ſonne, whom thou ſo much bewayleſt, hauing forgotten the other that was dead before him. Thou haſt by this ſonne two daughrers who reſemble their father, if thou bring them vp and nouriſh them againſt thy heart, they are two mighty burthens; contrariwiſe if thou take pleaſure in them, they will bee great comforts vnto thee. To this end brought hee them thee, that ſeeing theſe daughters they ſhould refreſh the memory of thy ſonne, and not of thy ſorrow. The husbandman when hee ſees his trees ouerturned, which eyther the winde hath rent vp by the roote, or the violent tempeſt hath broken by a violent wherry, nouriſheth the reſt of their ſiens, and preſently ſetteth the ſeedes of thoſe plants hee hath loſt, and in a moment (for time is as violent and headlong in increaſes, as ſhe is in loſſes) they ſpring more flouriſhing then thoſe that were loſt. Subſtitute now theſe daughters of *Metillius* in his ſtead, and fill vp the voide place. Relieue thou our ſorrow with a double ſolace. Truely this is the nature of mortall men, that nothing is more pleaſing then that which is loſt, wee are more partiall to thoſe that are left, and more deſirous of thoſe that are taken from vs. But if thou wilt eſtimate how much fortune ſpared then, euee then when ſhee was angry with thee, thou ſhalt know that thou haſt more then comforts, witneſſe ſo many Nephewes and two daughters.

CHAP. XVII.

The twentieth. The condition of our life ought to inuite vs to conſtancy.

SAy this likewiſe *Marcia*, it would moue mee, if fortune ſhould reſpect euery one according to his behauiour Good men ſhould neuer be ſeconded by misfortunes; but now I ſee without any difference, and after the ſame manner, that both good and bad are indifferently diſtreſſed: yet is it a grieuous matter to loſea young man whom thou haſt brought vp, and that now would be both an help and ornament to his father and mother. Who denies that it is a grieuous matter? yet is it humane. To this wert thou borne, that thou ſhouldeſt loſe, that thou ſhouldeſt die, that thou ſhouldeſt hope, that thou ſhouldeſt feare, that thou ſhouldeſt diſquiet both thy ſelfe and others, that thou ſhouldeſt feare & wiſh death, and that which is worſt of all, that thou ſhouldeſt neuer know in what eſtate thou wert. If a man ſhould ſay to him that would embarke and ſayle to *Siracuſa*: Before thou ſet ſayle, conſider all the commodities and incommodities of thy voyage, then enter thou the ſhippe. Theſe are the things that thou maieſt wonder at. Firſt of all thou ſhalt ſee *Sicily* diuided from *Italy* by a little arme of the ſea, whereas in times paſt they were of one continent. The ſea in that place maketh ſodaine inſults;

Vnder an excellent deſcription of a voyage by ſea in o Sicily he ſheweth to what goods and euils our liues are allotted, to the end in proſperity to prepare vs to aduerſity.

Dividing Italy from Sicily.

Then ſhalt thou ſee (for thou muſt ouerpaſſe ſwiftly that dangerous ingate of the ſea) that gulfe of *Charibdis* ſo renowned amongſt the Poets, which as long as it is free from the ſoutherne winds is peaceable and calme; but if any wind breath from that place, ſhee ſwalloweth ſhippes in her deepe

deepe and deuouring billowes. Thou ſhalt likewiſe ſee the fountaine of *Arethuſa*, ſo celebrated amongſt the Poets, wonderfully cleere and pure in the bottome and bubling vppe water that is very colde, wherher thou draweſt it from the ſpring, or where ſhee ſtealeth from vnder the earth, when ſhee looſeth her ſelfe, and paſſeth vnder the ſea without intermixing it ſelfe looſing her ſweetneſſe amiddeſt the ſalte water. Afterwardes thou ſhalt arriue in the ſecureſt hauen that Nature euer made, or that humane induſtry hath accommodated for the ſecurity of ſhippes, ſo aſſured and calme that the fury of moſt greateſt tempeſts cannot any wayes afflict or encreaſe the ſame. Thou ſhalt ſee the place where the Athenian Nauy was diſcomfited, when ſo many thouſand men were loſt, and lockt vppe in that renowned priſon, ſo immeaſurably high and builded of hewen ſtone. After this the great City of *Syracuſa*, and her towred walles of greater extent then are the Confines of diuers Cities, and no day without Sunne-ſhine. But after you haue ſeene all theſe commodities, on the other ſide, there preſenteth it ſelfe a moſt hote and vnholeſome Summer time, which corrupteth the beneſites that the Winter had cauſed. There ſhalt thou find the Tyrant *Dioniſius* ſworne enemy of liberty, Iuſtice, and lawes; deſirous of gouernement, and domination, and of life alſo. After his baniſhment; ſome he will burne, otherſome he will beate, theſe vpon a fleight occaſion hee wil command to bee beheaded, to ſatisfie his luſts; hee ſhall make vſe both of male and female. and amongſt the loathſome troupes and attendants of kingly intemperance, it ſhall bee a ſmall matter at one time to commit pollution both wayes. Thou haſt heard what may inuite thee, and what may withdraw thee; therefore eyther ſayle onward or ſtay behind. If after this relation any man ſhould ſay that hee would enter *Siracuſa*: can hee iuſtly complayne againſt any man but himſelfe, who ſhould not haue ſalne vnto theſe miſeries, except willingly and wittingly hee had ſought them out? Thus ſpeaketh Nature to vs all. I deceiue no man; thou if thou beareſt children maiſt haue them faire, maiſt haue them deformed, and if happily thou bring forth many, one of them may as well bee a Protector of his Country, as an other a Traitor. Thinke not that they ſhall mount to that high dignity, that no man dare ſpeake euill of thee for feare of them. But propoſe this to thy ſelfe, that they may bee ſo diſſolute and licentious that euery one will curſe them. Nothing hindreth them to acquite themſelues of that deuotion which they owe vnto thee. neyther are they forbidden to praiſe thee, ſet diſpoſe thy ſelfe, as if thou wouldeſt lay them on the Beere, eyther children, young men or olde men; for yeeres concerne this matter nothing at all: becauſe there is no funerall, that is not accompanied with ſorrow, and attended by the parents. If after theſe conditions, which haue been propoſed, thou burieſt thy children, thou canſt in no ſort complaine againſt the gods who haue promiſed thee nothing.

CHAP. XVIII.

An application of that he hath spoken of the voyage to Syracusa.

NOw therfore let vs apply and compare all the course of our life according to this example; I haue told thee since thou art determined to visite *Siracusa*, what thing may please thee, and what offend thee, & suppose that now when thou art to enter life I come and giue thee this counsell. Thou art to enter a City, that is common both to gods and men, comprehending all things, obliged to certaine eternall and irreuocable lawes; where the cælestiall bodies performe their course without repose or lassitude. There shalt thou see innumerable stars, and wonder to see one Planet that enlightneth all things; the sunne that by his daily course diuideth the spaces of day and night, equally distinguishing the yeere into Winter and Summer. There shalt thou see the nocturnall succession of the Moone borrow her milder and remisser heate from her brothers beames; sometimes hidden, and straight againe ouerlooking the whole earth with a full face, admirable in her encreases and decreases, being no one day the same, but altered continually. Thou shalt see the fierie Planets obseruing different courses, and shining oppositely the one against the other in their Spheares: on their so sodaine courses depend the destinies of nations, great and lesser effects doe follow, according to the benignity or malignity of their aspects. Thou wilt admire to behold the clouds that are gathered, the rains that fall, the oblique flashes of lightning, and the thunder in the ayre; when thou shalt cast thine eyes vpon the earth that are already glutted with the sight of celestiall wonders; thou shalt be entertained with an other forme of things and wonderfull in an other kinde. On this side the extent of spacious Planets that the eye cannot apprehend them, on that side the toppes of mountaines enuying the cloudes, charged with snow the downefall of riuers, the floudes issuing from one and the same sowrce, running from east to west, the forrests nodding their bowes vpon the toppes of the highest mountaines, so many woods with the beasts that inhabite them, and such variety of melodious birdes. After these the diuers situation of Cities, the nations separated the one from the other by the difficulty of passages, the one retiring themselues to the mountaines, the other spared themselues along the riuers sides, lakes, vallies, and marshes: the harueſt forwarded by the husbandmans hand: the trees fruitfull without assistance of man, the gentle fleating of breakes and of the lawndes, the pleasant gulfes, the commodious hauens, so many Iles dispersed in the Ocean, which by their situation distinguish the seas. I speake not of pearles or pretious stones, nor of golde that runneth amidst the sands of the most violent riuers, nor of those fires that are enkindled both in the earth and in the seas, nor of the Ocean, which is the bond of Nations which separateth them with a triple straight, hauing otherwayes her perpetuall flux and reflux. When his billowes are layde, and steale along without any agitation of the winds, thou shalt see terrible fishes, and of incredible greatnesse: others more heauie which swimme along vnder the conduct of others, some very swift, and more sodaine in their turninges then a vessell with many Oares, others breathing out water to the great daungers of those that are Passengers. Thou shalt obserue on these Seas certaine Vesselles that goe to seeke out new found Landes, thou shalt see that humane boldnesse would know and discouer all thinges and thou thy selfe bee a looker and the greatest Aduen-

turer in the voyage thou shalt learne & teach with some tending to the commoditie, other some to the ornament and others to the gouernment of this life. But on the other side in this cittie there shall be a thousand plagues of bodie and soule, wars, thefts, imprisonings, shipwrackes, heate, could, terrible changes of the aire, and cruell punishment of our bodies and of those whom we loue most; but finally death which thou knowest whether it shall be sweete and easie or accompanied with tortures and grieuous punishments. Deliberate with thy selfe, and ballance carefully which of these two thou wilt entertaine, if thou hast part of those goods that are mentioned before, thou must issue likewise thorow the midst of those miseries. Thou wilt answer that thou wilt liue and why not? nay rather I thinke that thou pretendest not to approch such a thing whereof thou canst not endure that any one should pull any portion from thee! Liue therefore as it becommeth thee, no man saist thou hath demaunded our aduice. Our parents haue consulted about vs, who whereas they knew the condition of life verie well, haue brought vs vp vnto that end.

CHAP. XIX.

The One and twentieth, They that are deceased are not absent, neither haue abandoned vs, but haue gone before vs, and we shall sodainely follow after them.

The two and twentieth, Oft times it is better for vnto be alone then in compaile.

The three and twenteth, Since those that are dead were created to die, we should not weepe for them.

The foure and twenteth, Death is the end of miseries, but this must be so vnderstood that it is intended onely in respect of the body and till the time assigned wherein the world shall haue an end.

BVt to returne to consolations, wee must first of all see what the infirmitie is whereunto we ought to applie a remedie. Secondly in what manner. He that mourneth is moued with the losse of him whom he loued, and this appeareth tollerable in it selfe. For wee bewaile not those who during their life time are and ought to bee absent from vs, although we bee depriued of their presence and the aide they might yeelde vs. It is therefore opinion that tormenteth vs, and all affliction is as much to be prised as wee haue rated it at. The remedy is in our owne hands. Wee iudge that our friends, parents, and neere kinsfolke are absent, and wee deceiue our selues? we haue dismissed thē; nay more we haue sent thē before with a purpose to follow them. This likewise moueth him that mourneth, I shal want one to defend me, & protect me frō contempt. To vse a scarce probable but yet a true comfort. In our cittie want of children getteth vs more grace then it taketh from vs. And so much hath solitude enabled ould age that was wont to destroy it; that some faine hatred of their children, some forsweare them, and willingly make themselues desolate, I know what thou wilt say, my detriments moue me not, for he is vnworthy of solace that taketh it heauily that his sonne is departed from him, as if he had lost a slaue, and that considereth in his sonne any other thing then his owne person. What therefore moueth thee *Marcia*? whether art thou agreeued because thy sonne is dead? or for that hee liued not long? If because he is dead, thou shouldst haue beene alwaies in griefe, for thou knowest al waies that he should die. Thinke this that the dead are afflicted with no euils, those things that make hell terrible vnto vs, are but fables, wee know that the dead are not enfoulded in darkenesse, that they are not in prison. Wee beleeue not those floods flaming with fire, neither the lake of forgetfulnesse, nor the iudgement seate, neither that there are any guilty in that so large libertie, neither likewise that there are tirants. These are poeticall, and thus haue they tormented vs with vaine terrors. Death is both the solution and end of all sorrow, beyond which our euils passe not that reposeth vs in that tranquillitie wherein we lay before we were borne. If a man will be sorrowfull for those that

that are dead, let him haue compassion likewise on those that are vnborne. Death is neither good nor euill. For that may bee either good or euill which is any thing, but that which of it selfe is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, betrayeth vs to no fortune. For those things that are good and euill haue relation to some matter. Fortune cannot detaine that, which nature hath dismissed, neither can he bee a miserable man that is no man. Thy sonne is exempted from those bands wherein he was in bondage. He is entertained by a great and eternall peace, he is not afflicted with the feare of pouertie, the care of riches, the prouocations of lust attainting the minde by pleasures, hee is not touched with the enuy of another mans felicity, neither are his modest eares beaten with any slanders, hee beehouldeth neither publique nor priuate slaughters, he taketh not care for that which is to come, neither dependeth he on euents which tend and incline alwaies from euill to worse. At last he is staied in such a place, from whence nothing may driue him away, and where nothing affrighteth him.

CHAP. XX.

The fine and twentieth, He prosecuteth his discourse wherein he proueth more particularly the commodities of death.

How ignorant are men of their miseries, who praise not death which is the best inuention of nature, which whether it include felicitie, or repe calamity, or terminateth lacietie or lassitude of old age, or carries away youth in his flower whilst better things are hoped for, or cutteth off childehood before hee vndergoe dangerous courses; The end of al, the remedy of many, the wish of diuers men, deseruing better of no men, then of those to whom shee came before she was called. She dismisseth the slaue in dispight of his Lord, she vnchaineth prisoners, shakes off the fetters of those men whom tirants hold captiue. She sheweth banished men that haue alwaies their hearts and eies fixed vpon their country, that it is a small matter amongst whom they are laid and buried. Shee when as fortune hath diuided common goods vnequally. And hath giuen to two brothers different things, maketh them equall. She it is that hath neuer done anie thing according to another mans liking, she it is in which no man hath felt his humility, she it is that hath obaied no man, she it is *Marcia* whom thy father desired. She it is I say that bringeth it to passe that to bee borne is no punishment, that causeth me not to loose my courage when I am threatned by infinite accidents that maketh mee preserue my minde entire and maister of himselfe; I know where I must arriue; I see on this side libbets of diuers fashions, some hanging their heads downeward towards the earth, some thrust thorow with stakes, some hauing their armes stretched out vpon the gallowes. I see cords, strapadoes, and tortures for euery member of the body, yea likewise I see death. On the other side, I perceiue furious enemies, and proude cittizens, but heere likewise see I death. It is no hard matter to serue, when as at suth time as a man cannot endure his maister, he may attaine his libertie by stepping one foote forward, against the iniuries of life I haue the benefit of death. Thinke how much good a fit and commodius death affordeth vs, and what euils haue befallen many by liuing too long If *Pompey* that honor and support of our common weale had died at Naples, vndoubtedly a man might haue said, Behold the prince of the Romaine people is deported. But now the adiection of a little more time made him fall from the height of his dignitie. Hee saw his legions slaine before his

The fine and twentieth, death dischargeth vs of many sorrowes.

his face, and what miserable remainders were these of that battaile, where the Senators led the armie to their end, that their Generall might be saued? For anon after he saw the Ægyptian murtherer, and presented his so venerable bodie to a souldier that slew him. And had his life beene saued, he had repented himselfe. For what a shame had it beene that a King should haue giuen *Pompey* his life? If *Marcus Cicero* had died then, when he deliuered himselfe from that massacre, which *Catiline* pretended to execute vpon him and Rome, that Common-weale that was defended by him, had called him her protector and safegard. Afterwards had he followed his daughter, then might his death haue beene esteemed happie, hee had not seene those threatning swords that were brandished ouer the heads of his Citizens, nor the goods of those that were murthered, giuen to the murtherers, in such sort that riches were cause of their deathes, who possessed them, he had not vnderstood that those goods that were taken from Consuls were sold at out-cries; nor of the murthers, nor of the spoiles which were recompenced out of the publike treasure, nor of the warres and rapines of three as bloudie as *Catiline*. Had the sea swallowed vp *Cato* when he returnd from Cyprus, with those goods which the King had bequeathed by his will to the Roman people, or had he perished with all that siluer which he brought with him, which was afterwards employed in the maintenance of ciuill warre, had he not died happily? Surely he had carried away this honour with him, that no man had or durst doe any fault in *Catoes* presence. But now the adiection of a few yeares constrained this man, who was borne to maintaine both his owne, and the publike libertie to flie from *Cæsar*, and to follow *Pompey*. No euill therefore hath vntimely death brought to *Metellus*. Nay more, he is thereby exempted from all euils; yet died hee too soone and too yong. First presuppose that he liueth yet, and consider how little time is allotted man, in regard of the yeares of his life. And what is this? We are placed in this world for a moment of time, and shall in lesse then an instant dislodge from the same: and hauing entered thereunto vpon this condition, we haue alwayes our eye fixed on that place whither we must tend: I speake of our yeares which fleete away with an incredible swiftnesse. Examine how many yeares, Cities haue stood, and thou shalt see how little while they haue lasted, yea euen those that most glorie in their antiquitie. All humane things are fraile, and scarce occupie any place in this vast extent of infinite time. We say that all this earth, with the people thereof, these Cities, riuers, and that sea which incloseth them, is but a point in respect of the vniuerse. Our life is lesse then a point, if it be compared with all that time which is past, and is to come, which hath farre greater extent then the world, considering that time so oftentimes turneth and measureth himselfe in this so great inclosure of the same. What auaileth it vs then, to extend that which being brought to his full extent, will be almost as much as nothing? In one kinde we haue liued enough, and long enough, if it sufficeth vs. And if thou liuest as long as I can desire, and that therein old age be extended so farre as thou mayest make reckoning of ninety or of an hundred yeares: yet if thou wilt fixe thy thought vpon all the time of eternitie, there will be little difference betwixt the shortest and the longest life: if considering how many yeares euery one hath liued, if thou compare them with those wherein he hath not liued. Againe, he died not vntimely, for he liued as long as he should haue liued: for there was no ouerplus of time wherein he should haue liued longer. The age of old men is not alike, no more is that of beasts. Some creatures are a weary of life after fourteene yeares, and this is their longest age,

The seuen and twentieth, That no man dieth too soone.

The eight and twentieth, No man dieth before his time, because he hath liued as much as he ought.

age, which to a man is but the first. Each one hath a different facultie of liuing. There is no man dieth too soone, who was not to liue longer then he liued. Euerie mans time is prefixed, it shall alwayes continue where it was setled; neyther shall eyther diligence or care aduance him further: he knoweth that he breaketh his braines, and looseth his labour that pretendeth the contrary. Thy sonne hath runne his race, and hath attained to the prefixed end of his life. Thou art not therefore to loade thy selfe in this sort. He might haue liued longer. His life was not interrupted, and fortune neuer crossed the course of his yeares. Euery one is payed that which is promised him: the destinies are carried according to their proper vehemency: they neyther lengthen or shorten the time: in vaine are they besought or sollicited. Euery one shall haue as much as the first day of his life hath assigned him. From that time he began to see the light, he hath entered the way of death, and approached destinie: those yeares that were added to his youth were stolne away from life: we are all in this errour, that we thinke that none but olde and aged men are neere vnto death, whereas infancy, youth, and euery other age leadeth vs thereunto. The Fates ply their businesse, they steale from vs the apprehension of our death; and to the end she may more easily steale vpon vs, she maskeith her selfe vnder the name of life. Childehood carrieth away infancy, youth ratifieth childehood, and olde age youth: but if thou calculate well these decreases, they are as many decreases and losses.

The sixt and twentieth, We are all in errour, there is no man more estranged from the truth then our selues.

CHAP. XXI.

THou complainest *Martia*, that thy sonne liued not so long as hee might, but how knowest thou whether it were expedient for him to liue longer, or more profitable for him that he died thus? What man canst thou finde at this day, whose affaires are so firme and well assured, that he hath no cause to feare that which is to come? Humane affaires steale and slip away. Neyther is there any part of our life more declining and incertaine, then that which pleaseth vs most. And therefore the most happy ought to wish for death; because amidst this inconstancy and confusion of things, nothing is certaine but that which is past. Who could assure thee that this faire bodie of thy sonne, and the marueilous care that hee had of his honour, maintayned in the middest of so many eyes of a Cittie, founded and confounded with dissolutions and excesse, could in such sort warrant himselfe from sickenesse, that vntill olde age his beautie and seemlinesse should haue remained vntouched?

The thirtieth, It is only God that knowes when it is expedient for vs to leaue our liues.

CHAP. XXII.

PRopose vnto thy selfe a thousand infirmities of the soule; for many excellent spirits haue not maintained vnto their olde age, that hope that we had conceiued of them in their youth; but oftentimes they haue degenerated. In their latter dayes therefore consequently, and to their greater shame, they haue addicted themselues to palliardise, which hath made them spoile the faire beginnings of their life. Or being plunged in drunkennesse and gourmandise, their principall care hath

The one and thirtieth, No man knoweth his destiny, and the best aduised cannot foresee that which is to come to passe; we ought not therefore to bewaile those that die in youth.

hath beene to know what they should eate or drinke. Adde hereunto the burnings, the ruines, shipwracks, the operation of Surgeons, who cut off their members, pull out their braines, thrust their hands into their entrailes, and heale their priuie parts, not without excessiue paine: after these, banishment, for thy sonne was no honester man then was *Rutilius*: and prison, sure he hath not bin a wiser man then *Socrates*: and with the stab of a Poinard that was voluntarily buried in his breast, sure he was not more vertuous then *Cato*. In considering these things thou shalt finde that they are happy whom nature hath retyred in good time into a place of securitie, considering that in the end they could not receiue any other reward of their life, then that or some such like. There is nothing so deceitfull as mans life, nothing so trayterous. No man would haue accepted life except it had beene giuen as vnawares: and therefore it is a great happines not to be born, and another happines that death is neere to shorten that life, and put vs in that estate wherein we were before we liued. Call to thy remembrance those wretched times, wherein *Seianus* made a present to *Atrius Secundus* his Client of the confiscation of thy fathers goods, which he tooke from him by reason of some confident speeches he had vttered: for thy father could not hold his peace, seeing that men intended not onely to make vs subiect to *Seianus*, but that by degrees he mounted to the soueraigne authority. It was decreed that a statue should be raised for him in *Pompeis* Theater, which the Emperour caused to be redified because it had beene burned. *Cordus* exclaimed, *That then the Theatre was wholly ruinated.* And what heart would not haue burst, seeing *Seianus* sit vpon *Pompeis* Cinders, and a wicked souldier enstalled in the place of a great Captaine? Notwithstanding the statue was reared with a subscription. On the other side those Masties that this cursed *Seianus* nourished with humane bloud, to the end that they should be priuate to himselfe, and inraged against all others, began to barke on euery side against thy father, who thought not of them. What should he doe? To maintaine himselfe in life, it behooued him to humble himselfe before *Seianus*; to die, to haue licence from thee his daughter. But it was impossible for him to pacifie *Seianus*, and his daughter lesse; yet at the last *Cordus* resolued with himselfe to deceiue his daughter. Hauing therefore taken his bath, the more easily to deceiue her, he retired himselfe into his chamber, as if he intended to take some refection before his supper; and hauing dispatched his seruants and pages about some businesse, he cast some morsels of meat out of the window, to the end it might be thought that he had eaten. Afterwards, as if he had sufficiently nourished himselfe in his chamber, he abstained from his supper, continuing the same course the second and third day: vpon the fourth day the infirmitie of his body discouered what he meant. Embracing thee therefore he said, *My deerest daughter, I haue concealed nothing from thee during my whole life, but this, I am entred the way of death, and haue almost attained the halfe: thou neyther shouldest, nor canst recall me back againe.* After he had spoken this, he commanded the lights to be carried away, and retired himselfe into an obscure place. This act of his being discouered, euery one was glad that the prey was taken out of the throats of those greedie Wolues. His accusers by *Seianus* incitation, presented themselues before the siege of the Consuls, complayning that *Cordus* was a dying, to the end to obtain permission to withdraw him from that whereunto they had compelled him; so much were they aggrieued that *Cordus* should escape their fingers. The question was vpon a matter of great importance, whether those that were adiudged to die should be hindered from procuring their death. Whilst this matter was

A notable manifestation of Cremutius Cordus constancy and death, yet let men temper their iudgement: there is a law about Stoicall when that must reform these resolutions.

was in debating, and the accuſers goe and come, *Cordus* was deliuered from their clawes. Seeſt thou not, *Marcia*, how vnexpectedly the reuolutions of wretched times doe ſteale vpon vs? Doeſt thou weepe becauſe one of thine muſt needs die? Thou ſeeſt how hard a thing it was for him to get this priuiledge.

CHAP. XXIII.

The two and thirtieth, Our bodies are the priſons of our ſoules, which conceiue great content to get their recourſe to heauen.

BEſides this, that euery future thing is vncertaine, and the way to the worſe is more aſſured: it is eaſier for vs to aſcend to heauen, whereas our mindes are quickly diſmiſſed from humane conuerſation. For they haue gathered leſſe droſſe and ordure, and being deliuered, before which were confuſed and ouerwhelmed with the meditation of earthly things, they are more light to flie backe againe to their originall; and more eaſily ouerpaſſe all that which may hinder them. For neuer did great wits take pleaſure to remaine in their earthly priſons, they are glad to forſake them, and breake thorow them: theſe ſo ſtrict limits are diſpleaſing to them, being accuſtomed to raiſe themſelues aboue the heauens, and to contemne from aboue all humane and baſe things. Thence is it that *Plato* crieth, *That a wiſe mans minde is wholly intended vpon death, that this he willeth, this he meditateth, that he is alwayes poſſeſſed with this deſire, when he beholdeth exterior things.* What thoughteſt thou, *Marcia*, when thou ſaweſt a yong man, repleniſhed with aged wiſedome, a minde triumphing ouer all pleaſures, reformed, deuoid of vice; rich without auarice, raiſed to honor without ambition, deſirous to haue pleaſures without diſſolution to keepe him long time? Whatſoeuer hath attained his perfection haſteth to his end. Perfect vertue retireth it ſelfe and vaniſheth from our eyes: neither do the fruits expect their Autumne, that are ripe in Summer. The fire the more it ſhineth, the ſooner is it extinguiſhed, and that laſteth longeſt which being mixed with a moiſt matter and hard to kindle, and ſmothered in ſmoke, ſhineth thorow the ſmother. For that which nouriſheth it, as it were by conſtraint, is the cauſe it continueth more long time. So good ſpirits, the more famous they are, the ſhorter they liue. For whereas there is no place of encreaſe, there decreaſe is the nearer. *Fabianus* ſaid, and our predeceſſors alſo haue ſeen it, that there was an infant at Rome, as great as an abſolute man, but he liued not long, and euery one that had iudgement was of opinion that hee ſhould die ſhortly. For he could not encreaſe ſo much in yeares, as hee had attained by his ſtature. So maturitie is a token of imminent ouerthrow, and the end aproacheth where encreaſes are conſummed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The three and thirtieth, He that hath liued vertuouſly, ought not to be bewailed in his departure out of this world, where the longer he had ſtayed, the more might he haue beene corrupted.

BEginne to eſtimate him by his vertues, and not by his yeares. He hath liued enough, he was left a pupill, and vntill the fourteenth yeare of his age he was vnder the gouernment of Tutors, but alwayes vnder his mothers cuſtodie: when hee had a houſe of his owne, yet would he not leaue thine. Being a yong man, both in ſtature, beautie, and other ſtrength of the bodie, borne to be a ſouldier, he refuſed warfare, becauſe hee would not leaue thee deſolate. Conſider *Marcia*, how many mothers there bee in diuers houſes, that ſee their children verie little. Thinke you that thoſe mothers, whoſe ſonnes follow the warres, loſe in reſpect of them whole yeares, and liue ſolitarilie? then ſhalt thou know that there is much time remaining thee, in which thou haſt loſt nothing. Thy ſonne neuer departed out of thy ſight, hee framed his ſtudies in thy preſence, ſhewing himſelfe of a moſt excellent ſpirit, but it was accompanied with a modeſt feare, the which hath burted many perfections in diuers men. He was one of the goodlieſt Gentlemen that a man might behold, yet behaued he himſelfe with ſo great temperance and modeſtie, that amiddeſt ſo great a troope of men-corrupting women, he gaue no occaſion of ſuſpition: and whereas ſome of their impudence had attempted ſo far as to tempt him, he bluſhed and was angrie with himſelfe, becauſe he had pleaſed. This holineſſe in his manners was the cauſe, that ſo yong as he was, he was thought worthie to be entertained amongſt the number of thoſe that intermedled with thoſe things that appertained to religion, and that by the aid and aſſiſtance of his mother. In contemplation of theſe his vertues ſo behaue thy ſelfe, as if he were more conuerſant with thee now then euer. Now hath he nothing to withdraw him, he ſhall neuer put thee in care, or cauſe thee to ſorrow, and all the griefe thou haſt conceiued for ſo good a ſonne is finiſhed: the reſt being exempted from caſualties, are full of pleaſures, if thou knoweſt how to make vſe of thy ſonne, and if thou knoweſt that which hath beene moſt precious in him, thou haſt but loſt the Image and reſemblance of him, although it reſembled him not rightly. For he is eternall, and for the preſent in better eſtate then euer, deſpoiled of forren incombrances, and at his full libertie. Theſe bones that thou ſeeſt wreathed about with nerues, this skin that couered vs, this countenance, and theſe miniſtring hands, and thoſe other members that encloſe vs, are the bonds and fetters of the ſoule which is deiected, obſcured, infected, and hindered from knowing the truth of thoſe things that appertaine vnto her, and diſtracted with error. Shee hath a grieuous combate with this fleſh, to the end ſhe may not be made captiue and ſlaue vnto it. She extendeth and raiſeth her ſelfe to the place from whence ſhe was ſent: there is her eternall repoſe, where in ſtead of troubles and confuſions of this world, ſhe ſhall ſee nothing but that is cleare and pure.

CHAP. XXV.

The foure and thirtieth, The bodie is not the man but the ſoule, which leaueth nothing of her ſelfe vpon the earth.

THou haſt no cauſe therefore to runne vnto thy ſonnes ſepulchre. There lye his bones and aſhes, the worſer part of him, and moſt troubleſome vnto him, and are no more parts of him then his raiment and other couertures of his bodie. He is fled away wholly, and is departed wholly out of this world, without leauing any thing of himſelfe vpon the earth: and afterwards hauing made a little pauſe

aboue vs, to clenſe him from thoſe ſpots that were remaining in him, and to ſhake off the ruſt of this corruptible life, he hath beene carried to farre higher places, where he conuerſeth with the happier ſoules, and hath beene entertained by that holy company of *Scipioes*, *Catoes*, and others that haue contemned this life, and now enioy a full libertie by the benefit of death. There *Martia* thy father embraceth his nephew (although that there al be parents) ioyfull to ſee him enlightned with a great brightneſſe, and teacheth him the courſes of the neighbouring Starres, not by coniecture, but as one that is truely expert, and leadeth him willingly into the ſecrets of Nature. And as he that ſhoweth the ſingularities of an vnknowne Citie, is an agreeable gueſt to that ſtranger that hath not ſeene them: ſo is this domeſticall interpreter welcome to his nephew, that examineth the cauſes of celeſtiall things, and taketh delight to prie into the ſecrets of the earth. For he hath a ſingular contentment to behold from on high that which he hath left. Behaue thy ſelfe therefore in ſuch ſort, O *Marcia*, as if thou wert in the preſence of thy father and thy ſonne, now ſuch as thou knoweſt them, but without compariſon more excellent and highly raiſed. Be aſhamed to eſtimate them, ſo as if they were in ſome abiect and contemptible eſtate, bewaile not them who are happie, and who haue attained through free and ſpacious fields to the place of eternitie. They are not hindered by entercourſe of ſeas, neither by high mountaines, nor by deepe valleyes, nor by the dangerous ſtraits and quickſands of the ſea. Their way is eaſie euery where, they may change, and end them eaſily, the one teach the other, and are intermixed with the Starres.

The fiue and thirtieth, We ought not lament thoſe, that with out compariſon are more happie out of the world, the in the world.

CHAP. XXVI.

For concluſion and confirmation of all that which is paſt before he indeuoreth Martia to diſcouer the ioyes of thoſe that are dead, and too Stoically ſpeaketh be of the end of the world. Laugh at the abſurdities, pitie his ignorance, embrace the beſt.

I Hinke then, O *Marcia*, that thy father (who before time had credit with thee, as thou haddeſt with thy ſonne) addreſſing himſelfe vnto thee, from the celeſtiall tower ſpeaketh thus. But not with that thought wherewith he deplored the ciuill warres, and cauſed them euer to bee deteſted, who made vp the rowles of thoſe who were proſcribed, but with a ſence as farre more cleare, as he is more highly raiſed. Daughter, why ſo long time remaineſt thou in diſcomfort? Why art thou ſo long time blinded in the ignorance of the truth? to thinke that thy ſonne hath beene hardly dealt withall, in that being wearie of this life, he hath retired himſelfe amongſt his anceſtors. Knoweſt thou not with what ſtormes Fortune diſturbeth all things? how little fauour ſhee ſheweth, except to thoſe, who haue not in any ſort frequented with her. Shall I recount vnto thee by name thoſe Kings that ſhould haue been moſt happy, if death had more maturely taken them from their inſtant euils? or thoſe Roman Captains, who wanted nothing of their greatneſſes, if ſomewhat had beene diminiſhed of their yeares? or thoſe noble and famous perſons, who haue yeelded their neckes, and expected the ſtroake of their ſouldiers ſwords? Behold thy father and thy grand-father. The one fell into a murtherers hand, that tooke away his life. I offered my ſelfe to no other mens hands, and forbearing my meate, made it knowne, with how great a minde I had written. Why is he ſo long time lamented in our houſe, who died moſt happily? We are altogether vnited together, and ſee that you that are aliue are inuironed with profound darkneſſe. There is nothing amongſt you that is to bee wiſhed for, nothing excellent or

or worthy: but all things are humble, heauie, and incertaine: neither ſee you but a litele parcell of our light. Shall I tell thee that heere are no warres, nor battels fought by land or ſea, that Parricides are neither imagined nor thought vpon here, that our Courts are not confuſed with pleas, but that our daies are perpetuall, that nothing is done in obſcuritie, that our windes are ſimple, our hearts open, our liues laid open to euery one, and that all ages and euents are manifeſt? I tooke delight to collect together all the aduentures of a whole age, in a corner and remote place of the world, and ſuch actions as were attempted by a few. Now may I ſee ſo many ages, the courſe and carriage of ſo many yeares, and whatſoeuer time is paſt. Heere may I behold thoſe Kingdomes that are riſing, and thoſe that fall to ruine, the ouerturne of mightie Cities, and new courſes of the ſeas. For if it may yeeld thee any comfort to vnderſtand the ſecrets of common deſtinie. I tell thee, that nothing that ſtandeth ſhall continue ſtedfaſt: age ſhall deſtroy and carrie away all things with it, and ſhall play her part, not onely amongſt men (for how ſlight a portion are they of Fortunes power?) but alſo in places, countries, and parts of the world. So many mountains ſhall ſhe ſuppreſſe, and enforce others in another place: ſhee ſhall ſup vp the ſeas, and turne riuers; and breaking of the commerce of Nations, ſhall diſſolue the ſocietie of mankind. In other places ſhe ſhall deuoure Cities with horrible yawning of the Earth, and ſhake them with Earth-quakes: ſhee ſhall cauſe peſtilent exhalations to ariſe from the earth, and ſhall couer the inhabited countries with deluges of water, killing euery creature, drowning the whole world, and with vaſt fires ſhall terrifie and burne all mortall men. And when the time ſhall come, that the world ſhall ceaſe, to the end it may be renewed againe: theſe things ſhall beate and breake one another, and all things ſet on fire, all that which now ſhineth by an artificiall brightneſſe, ſhall bee conſumed by one and the ſame fire. We alſo that are bleſſed ſoules and partakers of eternitie, when it ſhall ſeeme good vnto God to warpe theſe things once againe, when all things ſhall be confounded; then we who are but a ſmall part of this great ruine, ſhal returne into our ancient elements. O *Marcia*, how happie is thy ſonne, who alreadie knoweth all theſe things.

Stoicall concluſions, praiſe God that hath giuen thee a better light.

The End of the Booke of Comfort.

OF CONSOLATION.

WRITTEN

BY

LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA

TO HIS MOTHER HELVIA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

THis Booke was written during the time of his exile, which was about the first yeare of CLAVDIVS *raigne (in the yeare since the Citie was builded* DCCXCIIII.) *by the suggestion of impure* MESSALINE. *This publike Harlot obiected against him, that he had committed adulterie with* IVLIA GERMANICVS *daughter, and charged* SENECA *therewith. Of this haue we spoken in his Life. Now therefore being banished into Corsica, he comforteth his mother, and sheweth her how he brooketh his misfortune constantly, and that she should doe no lesse. He wrote it not presently vpon the beginning of his exile, which the Preface testifieth, but the last of the first yeares, or the beginning of the second. But this wrote he now, when he was in the vigor and maturitie of his iudgement, being somewhat more then fortie yeares old. And therefore his writing is answerable, full of confidencie and eloquence. Perfect in stile and structure, and more orderly disposed then all the rest. I dare say it carrieth away the Palme from all other bookes. He maketh two heads of this his Consolation. Thou must neither be sorie for my sake, nor for thine owne. Not for my sake, for none of those which the common sort repute for euils, as Change of place, Pouertie, Ignominie, Contempt, are euils, and thus orderly proueth he till the fourteenth Chapter. Neither must thou be sorie for thine owne sake, for there are two things that may afflict thee, either because thou hast lost some helpe and comfort by me, or because thou canst not endure my want. The first belongeth not to thee, because thou art not ambitious, neither euer didst boast of the grace and power of thy children. Neither ought the other, because thou wert alwayes constant about thy sex. Thou hast suffered many miseries, endure this. Imploy thy selfe in the studie of wisedome which will further thee. Turne thy selfe to my brothers, and of thy nephewes by them and mee, thou art not alone, nor leadest a solitarie life. This will both ferue and delight thee. Turne thy selfe likewise to my*

sister, which will proue both a comfort and example vnto thee. And he concludeth his Booke with her praises.

CHAP. I.

He proposeth diuers reasons why he deferred to comfort his mother.

IHaue alreadie oftentimes vndertaken this resolution (most dearest mother) to comfort thee, and oftentimes haue I contained my selfe. Many considerations moued me thereunto. First, I supposed that I should despoile thee of all sorrow, if being vnable as yet to suppresse thy teares, I should in the meane space wipe them away. Secondly, I assured my selfe that I should haue more authoritie to excite thee, if first of all I had conformed and confirmed my selfe. Furthermore, I was afraid that if I had not mastered Fortune, she would haue troden vnder foote some of those whom I most loued. I therefore endeuour howsoeuer, in laying my hand on mine owne wound, to creepe forward and binde vp yours: notwithstanding there were some things on the contrarie side that crossed this my resolution. I knew well that it behoued me not at the first to encounter with thy sorrow, when it was most vehement, for feare lest my consolations should incense and afflict thee the more. For in infirmities and sicknesses, likewise there is nothing more pernicious, then vntimely remedies. I expected therefore, whilest thy sorrow had weakened and disheartned it selfe, to the end, that being mitigated and confirmed, by delay to sustaine remedies, it might suffer it selfe to be comforted and cured. Moreouer, after I had turned ouer all the monuments of those happie wits which they had composed to pacifie and moderate sorrow, I found not any example of such a man who had comforted his friends, when as he himselfe was bewailed by them. So then I remained perplexed in this new accident, and was afraid lest my endeuour, in stead of prouing a consolation, should become a renewing and cause of further griefe. Besides this, had not that man need of new words, not borrowed from vulgar and ordinarie discourse, that lifting his head from the Beere, should vndertake to comfort his friends? But it cannot otherwise be, but that the greatnesse of a griefe that exceedeth all measure, should vtterly deface the ornament and choice of words, when as oft-time it stoppeth and cloaseth the mouth. Yet howsoeuer I will endeuour, not in respect of the confidencie I conceiue in mine owne wit, but because I may serue for a most assured consolation, because I propose it my selfe. My hope is, that since thou wouldest vouchsafe me any thing that I should require, that thou wouldest doe me this fauour (although that all sorrow is rebellious) to suffer me to prefixe some limittes to thy discontent.

CHAP. II.

The ſumme of his diſcourſe is, that ſince his mother hath approued her ſelfe courageous and a conquerour in other afflictions, ſhe ſhould not giue place to this.

BEhold how much I vſurpe vpon thine indulgence. I doubt not but I ſhall be as powerfull with thee as thy griefe, which notwithſtanding is a paſſion that wonderfully maſtereth the afflicted; neyther will I ſuddenly attempt to charge him, I will firſt defend his cauſe, I will diſcouer all things whereby he is prouoked, and cut vp thoſe things that are alreadie cured. Some man will ſay, What kinde of conſolation is this, to reuiue long buried euils, and to diſcouer vnto the vnderſtanding all his aduerſities, that can ſcarcely endure the preſence of one onely? But let this man thinke that thoſe afflictions that are ſo croſſe and pernicious, as they ſurmount their remedies, are oftentimes cured by their contraries. And therefore will I preſent ſorrow with all her owne attendants, and will not make a palliatiue cure, but I will feare and ſcarrifie: what ſhall I get by it? That thy inuincible ſpirit that hath ouer-maſtered ſo many miſeries may be aſhamed to ſhrink at one wound in a body that hath ſo oftentimes bin cicatrized. Let them therefore weepe and mourne longer, whoſe delicate minds haue beene weakened by long felicitie, and are quickly dieected vpon the motion of the ſlighteſt miſeries, but let them who haue ſpent their whole yeares in calamitie, indure the moſt grieuous aſſaults, with a confident and vnmoueable conſtancy. This one good hath continuall infelicitie in it, that finally ſhe hardneth thoſe whom ſhe tormenteth ordinarily. Fortune hath not giuen thee any intermiſſion, but hath exerciſed thee in moſt grieuous ſorrowes, nay, ſhe hath not ſpared thee on the very day of thy birth. Thou diddeſt looſe thy mother as ſoone as thou wert borne, nay, euen in thy very entrance into the world, and as ſoone as thou wert, as it were, abandoned to this life. Thou wert brought vp vnder thy ſtepdame, whom thou by all obſequiouſneſſe and pietie (as much as could be expected from a naturall daughter) compelledſt to be thy mother; yet none there is that hath not paide dearely to finde out a good ſtepdame. When thou expectedſt the arriuall of thine vncle by the mother ſide, a man both vertuous and valiant, thou diddeſt looſe him. And leſt that fortune ſhould make thy misfortune more ſlight by delay, a moneth after thou buriedſt thy deereſt ſpouſe, by whom thou haddeſt three ſonnes. In the height of thy ſorrow theſe mourneſull tidings were brought thee, euen then when thy children were abſent, as if all thy miſeries had beene reſerued till that time, to the end that thy ſorrow might haue no meanes of reliefe or refuge. I paſſe ouer ſo many dangers, ſo many affrights that inceſſantly aſſaulted thee, and which thou haſt endured. Into the ſame lap wherein before time thou haſt dandled thy three little Nephewes, thou haſt afterward entertained their dead bones. Twenty dayes after thou haddeſt ſolemnized the obſequies of my ſonne, who died enfolded in thine armes, and attended by thy louing kiſſes, thou heardeſt the newes that I was baniſhed. Thou wert as yet vnexerciſed to bewaile the liuing.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

That although this accident be grieuous, yet Heluias confidence ſo much approued before both can and may reſiſt that.

I Confeſſe that this later wound is one of the moſt grieuous that thou haſt euer felt, and that it hath not only ſcratcht of the skin, but hath pierced into the depth of thy breaſt and entrailes. But euen as yong Souldiers bemoane themſelues ouer-much for a ſlight wound, and are as fearefull of the Phiſitians hand as the Surgeons razor, where contrariwiſe they that are old Souldiers, although they are thruſt thorow, doe patiently and without groning ſuffer their armes and legs to be cut off, as if their bodies were not their owne: ſo muſt thou now preſent thy ſelfe with a great courage to entertayne thy cure. Remoue from thy ſelfe theſe lamentations, theſe ſhrill ſhreeks and other immodcrate howlings of diſconſolate women. For in vaine haſt thou ſuffered ſo many miſeries, if thou haſt not yet learned to be miſerable. What thinkeſt thou that I deale too fearfully with thee? I haue taken none of thine euills from thee, but haue heaped them vp and laid them before thee. I haue done this reſolutely, for I am reſolued to ouer-come thy griefe, not to circumſcribe it.

CHAP. IIII.

Senecaes intēt in this Treatiſe which he diſtinguiſheth into two principall points.

I Shall firſt of all get the vpper hand as I thinke, if I ſhall approue vnto thee that I ſuffer nothing, in reſpect whereof I might be called wretched, and much leſſe make other men wretched whom I touch. Secondly, if I ſhall paſſe ouer vnto thee and approue that thine accident which dependeth on mine is not grieuous. This firſt will I vndertake, which thy pietie will be content to giue eare to, that I haue no euill: and if I cannot approue this vnto thee, I will make it manifeſt, that theſe things wherewith thou thinkeſt me to be oppreſſed, are not intolerable. But if this may not be believed, yet will I pleaſe my ſelfe the more, becauſe I ſhall be happie amongſt thoſe things which are wont to make others miſerable. Thou art not to credit others in that which concerneth mee, I my ſelfe tell thee to the end thou maieſt not be deluded by ill grounded reports, that I am not miſerable; nay, I ſay further to ſecure thee more, that I cannot be miſerable.

CHAP. V.

He entereth into the conſideratiō of the former point, which concerneth himſelfe, and ſheweth that he is not miſerable. Firſt, nature hath taught vs to bee contented with a little.

WE are firſt borne vnder a good condition, except wee forſake the ſame. Nature hath ſo diſpoſed things, that to liue well, we haue no neede of great neceſſaries: euery man may make himſelfe bleſſed. Theſe externall things are but ſlight matters, and haue no great effect either in proſperitie or in aduerſitie, neither doe the one of theſe raiſe a wiſeman, neither doth the other depreſſe him. For hee hath alwaies endeuoured that his greateſt goods ſhould conſiſt in himſelfe, and the complement of his contents ſhould bee reſident in his heart. What then? ſay I that I am a wiſe man? no: for if I could freely ſpeake it, I would not only denie that I was miſerable, but contrariwiſe I would maintaine it boldly, that I was the moſt fortunate of all men, and would repute my ſelfe to be moſt neare-

ly

ly lodged by the Gods. For the preſent, which is ſufficient, to mitigate all my miſeries I haue wholly dedicated my ſelfe to wiſe-men, and being ſcarce able enough to aſſure and counſaile my ſelfe, I haue retired my ſelfe into another mans Campe, that is to ſay, amongſt thoſe who eaſily both defence themſelues and their owne fortunes. They haue commanded me alwayes to ſtand addreſſed, as if I were enioyned to ſtand Sentinell, and to foreſee all the aſſaults and attempts of fortune long before they aſſaile me. To them is fortune tedious whom ſhe aſſaileth ſuddainly, and eaſily repulſe they her, who continually expect her. The enemies charge moſt inſtantly defeateth thoſe whom they ſuddenly ſet vpon: but they that before the battell haue prepared themſelues for a future warre, being well arranged and in a readineſſe, do eaſily ſuſtaine the firſt aſſault, which commonly is the moſt dangerous. I neuer gaue credite to fortune, although ſhe ſeemed to claime a truce at my hands: and as touching all thoſe things which with a liberall hand ſhe hath beſtowed vpon me, ſuch as are ſiluer, honours, and great credite, I haue put them in that place where ſhe may fetch them, without eyther my diſcontent or preiudice. There was a great diſtance betwixt her and me, and therefore hath ſhe carried them away from me, and not pulled them out of my hands. No man hath aduerſitie ouerthrowne, but him whom proſperitie hath deceiued. They that haue loued her preſents as if they had beene perpetuall and properly theirs, who would haue themſelues reſpected by reaſon of the trifles; diſcomfort themſelues incontinently, when theſe falſe and fraile delights abandon their feeble and childiſh vnderſtandings, who know not what true pleaſure is. But he that is not puffed vp with proſperitie, neyther reſtrained by aduerſitie, hath an inuincible heart at all times, and an approued conſtancie in eyther fortune; for he knoweth well in his felicitie, that he can make head againſt miſhap. I haue therefore alwayes had this opinion in thoſe things which all men wiſh for, that there is no true goodneſſe in them; nay more, I haue alwayes found that they were vaine and outwardly ſmoothed with a deceiueable gloſſe, but inwardly hauing nothing that is anſwerable to their exteriour reſemblance. For in thoſe things which we call euils I find nothing ſo terrible and hard as the common opinion threatneth. The word it ſelfe by a certaine perſwaſion and conſent, is now-a-dayes more diſtaſtefull vnto the eares, and afflicteth thoſe that heare the ſame, as if it were ſome heauy and execrable thing, for ſo will the people haue it: but men of wiſedome doe for the moſt part diſanull the ordinances of the people.

Secondly, nothing hath befalne him that he hath not foreſeene, becauſe he neuer gaue credite to worldly proſperitie.

Thirdly, the goods of this world are not truely goods, and the euils are but apparantly euill.

CHAP. VI.

He diſputeth pleaſantly of baniſhment, and proueth that there is no euill therein, and that thoſe euils which accompany the ſame ſhould not be called euils.

LEauing apart therefore the iudgement of diuers men, which is extinguiſhed by the firſt appearances of things: howſoeuer they be beleeued, let vs conſider what baniſhment is. It is the change of place. It may be thought that we ſeeme to leſſen the ſame; and that we take from it all that is worſt in it. This change of place is accompanied with the incommodities of pouerty, of ignominy, and contempt: againſt theſe hereafter I will combate. In the meane while I will firſt of all haue this looked into, which incommoditie this change of place bredeth. It is an intollerable thing to be depriued of a mans countrey. Behold this multitude which may hardly be contained within ſo many thouſand houſes of this Citie, the greateſt part of this troupe wanteth their countrey; they are retired hither from

from their Hamlets, Colonies, and all the quarters of the world. Som are drawn hither by ambition, other ſome by the neceſſitie of publique offices, ſome by Embaſſages enioyned them, otherſome are inuited for ryot ſake, that hunteth after the opportunity of riches, and a fit place wherein to exerciſe their diſſolutions; other ſome are drawne with a deſire of liberall ſtudies; others with a delight to haunt the Theaters; ſome to viſite their friends, others to make proofe of their induſtry, hauing gotten an ample meanes to make ſhew of their vertue; ſome haue brought their beautie to ſet it out to ſale, other ſom their eloquence. All ſorts of men reſort hither, where both vertues and vices are highly prized. Command and cite euery one of theſe in perſon, and aske of euery of theſe whence he is; thou ſhalt ſee that for the moſt part of them they haue forſaken their country, to come and dwell in this ſpacious Citie, which notwithſtanding is but a Citie, and not their owne. Againe, depart from this Rome, which may be called a common countrey of all men, and ouerſee other Cities, and there is none of theſe wherein thou ſhalt not finde a greater part of forraine multitude. But leaue thou theſe countries, and all thoſe who for the pleaſant ſituation of the place, are drawne to inhabite there, and goe into the deſarts and deſolate Iſles, as thoſe of Cithnon, Serephium, Giare, and Corſica. Thou ſhalt not finde any place of baniſhment, but that ſome one remaineth there for his pleaſure. What place may a man finde more naked and craggie on euery ſide, then this mountainous Iſle which I inhabite? Is there any ſoyle more barren? Are any people more ſauage? Is any ſituation of place more vnholſome, or are more diſpleaſing and intemperate? Yet are there more ſtrangers dwell here then thoſe that are naturall, borne in that countrey. So little therefore is the change of place grieuous vnto men, that this Iſle hath withdrawne ſome from their owne countrey. I finde ſome that will ſay that there is a certaine naturall deſire in mens mindes to change their ſeats, and to transferre their houſes. For man hath a moueable and vnſetled minde giuen him, he is neuer Maſter of himſelfe, he is confuſed, he intrudeth his thoughts into all knowne and vnknown things, ſtill ſtirring and neuer quiet, and beſt contented with the noueltie of things; which thou wilt not wonder at, if thou conſider his firſt originall. The minde is not compoſed of a terreſtriall and waighty matter, it is a parcell of the celeſtiall ſpirit. But the nature of celeſtiall things is alwayes to be in motion; he flyeth and is carried away with a moſt ſwift courſe. Behold the Planets that enlighten the world, there is none of them that ſtandeth ſtill, but they inceſſantly turne, and daily change their places. Although they whirle about with the heauens, yet haue they their contrary motion. The Sunne runneth thorow all the ſignes of the Zodiaque, his motion is perpetuall, neyther remayneth hee at any time in one point. All things turne and paſſe without ſtay; and as the law and ſetled ordinance of nature hath determined, they are carried from one place to another: when as the celeſtiall bodies ſhall within certaine ſpaces of moneths and yeares, ſhape their courſe in their ſpheares, they ſhall renew the ſame. Goe therefore now and make thy ſelfe beleeue that humane vnderſtanding compoſed of the ſame ſeeds that diuine things are, euer patiently endures a paſſage and change from place to place, ſince that God himſelfe taketh pleaſure in a continuall and ſudden motion, and maintaineth himſelfe thereby. But withdraw thine eyes from theſe celeſtiall things, and behold theſe terreſtriall and baſe things. Thou ſhalt ſee Nations and people change their ſeate: what meane theſe Cities, peopled with Græcians, euen in the very middeſt of barbarous Nations? What meanes this Macedonian language amongſt the Indians and

Whence it commeth that men are ſo mutable.

and Perſians? *Scithia* and all that tract of fierce and vnconquered nations ſhew vs the Cities of *Achaia*, built vpon the ſhores of the Pontique ſea. The continuall colde and the ſtrange and inflexible natures of thoſe Nations more vnited then their ayre, could not hinder the Grecians from planting their Colonies there. There is a company of the Athenians in *Aſia*, the city of *Miletum* hath peopled ſeuenty fiue Cities in diuers places: All that ſide of *Italy* that bordereth vpon the lower ſea, was the greater *Greece*. The Tuſcans iſſued from *Aſia*, the Tirians planted themſelues in *Africa*, the Africans in *Spaine*, the Greekes in *France*, and the French in *Greece*. The Perinean mountaines forbad not the Germanes to paſſe onward, humane leuity led them by vnhanted and vnknown wayes. They drew with them their children, their wiues, and their parents loden with age. Some of theſe being wearied with long trauell, choſe not their habitation by iudgement, but by reaſon of their wearineſſe made choice of that they next met withall. Some maintained their poſſeſſion by force of Arms; ſome in ſeeking out vnknowne Countries periſhed by ſea; ſome planted their pauilions there where neceſſity commanded them; neither had they all of them the ſame cauſe of ſeeking out, and leauing their Country. Some of theſe after the ruine of their Cities, eſcaped from the fury of their enemies, haue by force made themſelues Lords of other Cities, and haue driuen out the right owners. otherſome haue beene diſperſed by ciuill warres, otherſome when their Cities were ouer peopled, were muſtered and ſent away to other places, as ſuperfluous. Some Nations haue beene driuen out of their habitations by the plague, or by often earthquakes, or by ſome inſupportible incommodities of the territorie: and otherſome haue beene allured by the bruit that ranne, that ſuch or ſuch a Country was farre more pleaſant and fruitfull then their owne. Some others haue forſaken their houſes for diuers occaſions. This then is euident that no one hath remained in the place where hee was borne, and that humane kinde ceaſeth not to runne hither and thither. There is dayly ſome change in this ſo great a world. Heere ſome men lay the foundation of new Cities, there ariſeth a new Nation, and the name of the olde is loſt, and is made and becommeth more great then any other. But what are all theſe tranſmigtations of peoples but pub.ke baniſhment.

CHAP. VII.

He proueth the change of place by theſe that firſt founded and peopled the Empire of Rome.

WHy leade I thee in ſo great a Windeleſſe? What needeI ſpecifie vnto thee *Athenor* that builded *Padua*? or *Euander* that Planted the Kingdome of the Arcadians vpon the bankes of *Tibert*? What ſhould I tell thee of *Diomedes*, and ſo many others, who both victorious and vanquiſhed, haue beene ſcattered by the Troian warre into ſo diuers Countries? Behold the founder of the Roman Empire, who being an Exile, a fugitiue, gathering together ſome few ſcattered ſouldiers with him after the facke of *Troy*, conſtrained by neceſſity, and to warrant himſelfe from the hands of his victorious enemies, ſearched out forraine Countries and arriued in *Italie*. After all this, how many people hath hee ſent in Colonies thorow out the Countries of the whole world? Whereſoeuer the Roman is Conqueror there dwelleth hee. To this change of places euery one willingly ſubſcribed his name, and the oldeſt forſaking their altars and fires, willingly accompanied thoſe that ſought out other Countries beyond the Seas.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

A ſecond proofe by the inhabitants of the Iſle whereunto he was baniſhed.

THe matter requireth not much example, I will onely adde that which I know to bee ordinary, the Iſle where I am hath changed the inhabitants diuers times. But wee ought not to inſiſt vpon thoſe hiſtories which antiquity hath buried. The Greekes themſelues, who at this time inhabit *Marſilles*, had before time made their abode in this Iſle. No man knoweth who draue them thence, whether it were the ayre which is vnpleaſant, or the feare they had of *Italy*, which is the Miſtriſſe of the world, which is more neighbour to the Iſle, or becauſe there is dangerous landing at it. That the naturall fierceneſſe of Iſlanders was not the cauſe it appeareth, becauſe theſe Greekes went and intermixed themſelues with the French, a cruell nation, and who at that time knew no ciuility: A none after theſe of the Coaſt of *Genes* came hether, the Spaniardes likewiſe, which appeareth by their reſemblance in manners, and the behauiour both of the one and the other; for their head attire is the ſame, and their ſhooes, ſuch as the bordering Spaniard vſe; they retaine likewiſe ſome wordes of their language, hauing forgot their mother tong by reaſon of the conuerſation they haue had with the Greekes and Genowayes. After theſe *Marcus* cauſed a Colony of Romane Citizens to bee ſent thither, and *Scilla* an other. See here how oftentimes one barren, cragged and mountainous Country hath changed inhabitants. In briefe, thou ſhalt not finde one Angle of the earth that a man may ſay it was manured by the homebred Countrymen of that place. All are mixed, tranſported and tranſlated from one quartet to another. One people hath ſucceeded an other. One Nation hath deſired to dwell there which an other hath diſpeopled. That other haue been driuen from that place whence they expulſed others. So hath it pleaſed the Deſtinies, that nothing ſhould alwayes remaine firme and continue in one place. *Varro* the moſt learned man amongſt the Romanes, thinketh this a ſufficient remedy, that whereſoeuer we become, wee account it the ſame world. *Marcus Brutus* thinketh this ſufficient for thoſe that are baniſhed to carry their vertues with them. If any one thinketh that theſe two expediments conſidered apart, haue little power to comfort a baniſhed man; hee will confeſſe that theſe two together may doe very much. For that which wee haue loſt, deſerueth it to bee called any thing? Two the moſt excellent priuiledges, that is to ſay, common nature, and our proper vertue will follow vs in euery place whereſoeuer wee fixe our foot. Beleiue whoſoeuer hath created this vniuers, whether it be that Almighty God, whether it be incorporall reaſon, that Workmaſter of great things, whether it be a demy ſpirit, equally extended and ſpred amidſt all great and ſmall Creatures, whether it be Deſtiny, and this immutable ſucceſſion of things enchained the one within the other: ſuch a one hath cauſed that no things (except they be things moſt abiect and of little worth) are not out of our power. All that which is good in man, is not ſubiect to humane power and violence, which neither can giue it, or take it away. Nature hath created this world which is the greateſt and faireſt thing that a man may ſee, But as touching the ſoule that contemplateth and admireth the world, whereof ſhe is the moſt excellenteſt part, ſhe is proper vnto vs, ſhee is perpetuall and ſhall continue ſo long with vs, as wee continue: let vs goe forward therefore willingly and confidently, whetherſoeuer our fortune leadeth vs; let vs march forward with a confident pace.

The third in all the eſtates of the world. Priuiledges which exile cannot take from vs.

A doubtfull opinion of Seneca, as touching the Deity, and his ordinary Paradox, ſaying, the firſt cauſe which is God to ſecondary cauſes, reade here with aduice.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

An other notable consideration in exile is, that the whole worlde is a mans country

LEt vs trauell ouer what countries soeuer wee will, and wee shall finde no Country in this world that is not accessible by a man. On what soeuer side wee addresse our eyes towardes heauen; these things that are diuine are separated from those that are humane by equall distance: so then prouided that mine eyes bee not hindered from beholding the heauens, as long as it shall bee lawfull for mee to beholde the Sunne and Moone, and to consider neerely the other celestiall bodies, their risings, settings and distances: Search out the causes why the one haue more swifter motions then the other; behold so many shining starres by night, the one fixed, the other shaping a short course, and retiring into their Spheares, some appearing sodainely, others blemishing the eye with their spatious clearenesse, as if they would fall; others flying with a long tract, and great light. As long as I shall behold these things, and exercise my selfe amidst these celestiall troupes, as much as is lawfull for a mortall man, and if I haue alwaies my mind lifted vp on high in contemplation of those things that concerne the same, what care I vpon what ground I tread? But this land wherein thou liuest is not fertile, neither beareth it shadowie trees, it is not watered by the currents of great and nauigable riuers, it bringeth forth nothing that other Countries might seeke after; scarsly is it able to sustaine the inhabitants: no precious stone is cut here, no veines of golde or siluer are digged out of it. Base is that mind that taketh pleasure in terrestriall things; to those things must hee be addressed which euery way appeare equally, and euery where shine equally, and this is he to thinke, that the goods of this world through the false opinion that men haue conceiued of their firmity, doe but obscure and hinder the true goods. The more they enlarge the walkes and porches of their houses, the more high they raise their turrets, the more larger they extend their streetes, the more deeper they digge their caues and summer retreates, the more higher they rayse the roofes and seelings of their dining Chambers, the more they hide the heauens from themselues. An accident hath driuen thee into a certain Country, where in steade of a Pallace thou hast but a little Cabbin, truely thou hast but a weake minde, and such as is comforted with base delights, if therefore thou endure this patiently, because thou knowest *Romulus* his cottage. Rather say thus, what soeuer the house bee, it is bigge enough to entertaine vertues. Then will it bee more faire then all the Temples when iustice shall bee seene there, when continency, when prudence, piety, the meanes how to discharge himselfe of his duety, and the knowledge of diuine and humane things. No place is too straight that entertaineth this troupe of so great vertues, no banishment is grieuous, wherin a man may march in such cõpany. *Brutus* in that booke which hee wrote of vertue, saith; *That hee saw Marcellus that was banished into Mitilene, and as farre as humane nature permitted, liuing most blessedly, neuer more desirous of the knowledge of good letters then at that time*: hee therefore added, *that hee in departing from him, rather thought that hee went into banishment, who was to returne backe againe without him, then that hee left him an exile.* O farre more happy *Marcellus* at that time when hee approued his banishment to *Brutus*, then when he iustified his Consulat to the people of *Rome*. How great a man was he, who brought to passe that, that man should seeme a banished man in his own iudgement, in departing from him that was an exile. The same *Brutus* sayth, that

that *Cæsar* passing along by *Mitelene*, would not onely enter into the same, because hee could not endure to behold a deformed man. The Senate by mutuall supplication obtained *Marcellus* reuocation, so pensiue and sad were they, that a man would haue said at that time, that euery one of them had *Brutus* soule, and besought not for *Marcellus* but for themselues, for feare least being without him, it should proue a true banishment, yet more attained he that day when *Brutus* was sorry to leaue him an exile, and *Cæsar* to see him: for by this meanes he had a testimony from them both, *Brutus* was sorry to returne without *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* was ashamed; doest thou doubt that this so worthie a man did not encourage himselfe to endure his banishment with a quiet mind, in these or such like words? *It is no misery for thee that thou wantest thy Country: so hast thou informed thy selfe with good letters, that thou knowest that euery place is a wisemans Country. And what shall wee say of him that hath banished thee? hath hee not beene out of his Country for the space of ten whole yeeres? Vndoubtedly it was to the end to encrease the Romane Empire, yet was he absent so long. And now behold Africa draweth him vnto her, being replenished with the alarums of a threatning war.* Spaine *recalleth him that repaireth the broken and dispersed troupes of* Pompey; *perfidious* Aegypt *calles him forth, and in conclusion the whole world which is intent vpon this occasion of the shaken Empire. Whether shall he march first, against what party shall hee first oppose himselfe. His victory shall driue him thorow all the countries in the world. Let all Nations reuerence and serue him, as for thy selfe finish thy dayes with this content, that thou art much esteemed by* Brutus. Constantly therefore did *Marcellus* endure his exile, neither did the change of place any waies change his mind, although he were pressed with pouerty, wherein there is no euill, as that man knoweth very well, when auarice and dissolution (which ouerturne all things,) haue not as yet ouerturned his vnderstanding. For how little is it, that is necessary for a mans entertainement? hath a vertuous man need of this or that? For mine owne part I finde that I am dispossessed of many incumbrances, and not of my goods. The desires of those things whereof the body standeth in need are short, hee demandeth no more but a couering to defence him against the colde, and meate and drinke to extinguish his hunger and thirst. All that a man desireth besides these, serueth but to entertaine excesse, and hath no true vse. It is not necessary to sound all depthes, nor to murther so many beastes to fill the belly, nor to goe and fish for Oysters in forraine and vnknown seas: The Gods and Goddesses may destroy those men, whose dissolution hath exceeded the bounds of the Romane Empire so much enuied. They will haue the fowle of their ambitious Kitchens taken and brought from beyond the floud *Phasis*, which is in the further part of *Asia*, and are not ashamed to send for their dainties from the Parthians: from whome as yet wee haue not demanded recompence for the wrongs they haue done vs. They bring from all places that which they know is proper to enkindle these gluttons appetites: that which these decayed stomackes will hardly digest, being glutted with too many dainties, is brought from the farthest Ocean: they vomit to the end they may eate, they eate to the end they may vomit: they take not time to digest those dainty morsels which they search through the whole world. If a man dispise these delicacies, what wrong doth hee to pouerty? if a man desire them, pouerty likewise profiteth him. Some there are that are not healed but against their wils, and if a poore man being deprined of these dainties, ceaseth not to wish for them, yet vndoubtedly when hee cannot, hee is like to him that will not. *Caius Cæsar* whom Nature as I thinke brought into this world to shew

Notable considerations to pacifie the fury of exile, worthily set downe vnder the person of, Marcellus.

what great vices might doe in a great and worldly prosperitie, spent at one only supper the summe of two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, and being herein assisted by the wits of his best belly-gods, yet scarcely found he how he might consume in that one repast all the reuenue of three Prouinces. O miserable men whose pallats are not pleased but with precious dainties, which are made precious, not by reason of their excellent sauour or any sweetnesse they yeeld the taste, but by reason of their rarities and cunning in dressing. Otherwise if they would awaken themselues neuer so little what neede they so many arts to entertaine their bellies? what neede they such traffiques, such desolation of woods, such fishing of Seas and Riuers? Nature hath furnished in all places sufficient meat for our bodies. But these Countries and places like blinde men they passe ouer, and trauell through all Nations, and faile all Seas, and when as they may satisfie their hunger with a little, they prouoke the same with much.

CHAP. X.

A continuation of his inuective against intemperance.

IT pleaseth me to aske: Why rig you and lanch you your ships? Why arme you your hands both against wilde beasts and men? why runne you hither and thither so tumultuously? why heape you riches vpon riches? will you not thinke how litle your bodies are? Is it not a desperate furie and extreme folly when as thou canst hold so little, to desire so much? Although therefore you increase your rents, and enlarge the bounds of your lands, yet shall you neuer make your bodies greater. When your traffique hath beene prosperous, your warfare hath brought home rich spoiles, when all the dainties you haue sought for from all places are gathered together: where will you bestow all this prouision? why heape you vp so many things? vndoubtedly your ancestors whose vertues at this time sustayne your vices were vnhappie, who prepared their meat with their owne hands, whose bed was the earth, whose houses as yet shined not with gold, whose temples as yet shined not with precious stones. In these daies they sware religiously by Gods made of earth, and those that had sworne by such Images returned to the enemie with resolution to die, to the end they would not violate their plighted Faith. By this accompt lesse blessedly liued our Dictator who gaue audience to the Embassadours of the Samnites, at such time as he dressed his homely victuals by the fire with his owne hands. Yea such hands as had alreadie oftentimes defeated the Enemie, and put the crowne of Laurell in the lap of *Iupiter Capitoline*. Better then *Apicius* liued in our memorie, who in the same Citie out of which sometimes Philosophers were commanded to depart, as if corrupters of youth, made profession of the science of gourmandise, and infected the whole age with his discipline, whose death it shall not be amisse to consider and know. After he had gathered together into his Kitchin the summe of two millions and a halfe in gold, after he had in his particular banquets consumed all the presents that were giuen him by Princes, and the great reuenue of the Capitoll, finding himselfe very much in debt, he beganne at that time to consider in what estate his affaires stood, and finding that there remained as yet the summe of two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, supposing that it was too litle, and that he should be in danger to die for hunger, he killed himselfe by poison. How great was his dissolution that thought

thought himselfe poore hauing two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes? Goe now and thinke that the measure in monie and not in minde, is pertinent to the matter.

CHAP. XI.

Hauing sufficiently detested intemperance, he proueth againe that euery Countrie hath enough in it selfe to nourish him that inhabiteth the same. The desire of worldly goods is infatiable.

APICIVS made small reckoning of two hundreth and fiftie thousand crownes, and that which other men desire with wishes, he droue away by poison. But to a man of so depraued a minde, that last potion was the most Holsommest. Then eate hee and drunke he poison, when as he was not only delighted with immeasurable banquets, but gloried therein: when he bragged of his vices, when as he had drawne the whole Citie into admiration of his riot, when as hee had incited the youth (who of themselues are apt enough to follow euill examples) to follow and imitate him: This is the end of those men who keepe no measure in the vse of worldly goods, which notwithstanding haue their bounds, but abuse and follow euill customes, that hath no limit or rule but his vnbridled wil. Couetousnesse thinketh no thing enough, nature is sufficed with a very little. Is pouertie then no incommoditie to those that are banished? none; for there is no exile so miserable that is not fertile enough to nourish one man. Should not a banished man couet a gowne or a lodging? if hee desireth them only for vse, hee shall neither want house or clothing: for the body is couered with as little as it is nourished. Nature hath made euery thing easie which shee knew necessarie for a man. If he wish for a furre gowne of purple embroidered with gold, composed of diuers colours, and after a rich fashion, hee is poore by his owne default, and not by the rigour of aduersitie. Restore vnto such a man all that hee hath lost, yet shalt thou doe nothing for him, because hee shall want more of that which he desireth thee, a banisht man wanteth of all that which he hath had. If he coueteth a Cubberd garnished with vessell of gold, siluer cups of great price, because that long agoe they were laboured by cunning workmens hands, medals made precious by a few mens madnesse, and a troupe of Seruants so great that the house (which otherwaies is spacious) is vnable to containe them; a goodly stable furnished with many fat and gallant Horses, marbels, and other stones of price, brought from all the corners of the World. Let a man gather vp together as many of these things as he can, yet will they neuer satisfie an vnsatiable minde: no more then all the water in the world is not sufficient to quench his thirst, that desireth to drinke not to satisfie his necessitie, but to extinguish the heat proceeding from the inflammation of his entrailles. For this is no thirst but a sickenesse: neither hapneth this only in monie, but in meate also. This is the nature of euery desire that proceedeth from error, not from want: all what soeuer thou shalt heape vp, will but serue to inflame him, not to satisfie him. He then that containeth himselfe within a naturall measure will haue no sence of pouertie, but he that exceedeth this mediocritie in midst of his greatest riches shall alwayes finde that pouertie attendeth him. The most solitarie and barren places suffice those that content themselues with necessarie things, but they that desire superfluity haue neuer enough although they had whole Kingdomes. It is the minde that maketh men rich, he it is that accompanieth them in exile and in the desart, where finding sufficient to maintaine his bodie he hath goods in aboundance, and enioyeth them

Medioeritie on the contrarie side is alwaies, and euery where content.

contentedly. Mony appertaineth nothing to the mind, no more then all those things which vntrained minds, and too much addicted to their bodies so much affect, concerne the immortall Gods. Precious stones, gold, siluer, great tables well garnished are but earthly burthens, which a sincere minde, and such as is not forgetfull of his nature cannot loue, because it is alwayes light, and will mount as high as heauen as soone as he findeth the gate open; in the meane while, and in as much as these bonds of the body, and masse of the flesh which inuironeth the same will permit, vpon the wings of a suddain and swift thought he visiteth and raiseth celestiall things. And therefore a free-man that is allied to the gods, as great as this world, or time, can neuer be banished: for his thought circleth the heauens, and examineth both time past and that which is to come. This fraile body, the ferters and giues of the soule, is tossed hither and thither, punishments, thefts, and sicknesses are exercised vpon it. As for the minde, it is sacred and eternall, and hands cannot be laide vpon it.

Why vertuous men cannot loue the goods of this world.

CHAP. XII.

NEyther thinke thou that to lessen the incommodities of pouertie (which no man feeleth to be grieuous except he that supposeth it) that I vse only the precepts of Philosophy; first, consider how great the number of poore men is, whom notwithstanding thou shalt not see more pensiue or carefull then the rich; contrariwise, I dare almost auow it, that they are more ioyfull, because their mindes are lesse distracted by affairs. Let vs ouer-passe the poore, and com vnto the rich: In the greatest part of their life resemble they not poore men? If men would trauaile they scantle their burthens, and trusse vp their packes, and as often as necessitie requireth them to make more haft, they ouergoe the troupe of their companions. They that follow the warres, for the most part carry none of their necessaries with them, because that militarie discipline permitteth them not to carrie much luggage. Besides this condition of time, and incommoditie of places, which equalleth them with the poore; sometimes they are so glutted with their riches, that some dayes they will content themselues to suppe vpon the grasse, and will command their vessels of golde and siluer away, and content themselues to be serued in platters and vessels of earth: mad and vnaduised they alwayes feare that which they couet sometimes. What cloude of errour, and what ignorance of truth shaddoweth these men, which auoyde that which they imitate to yeelde them pleasure? For mine owne part, as often as I consider the life of our ancestors, I blush and dare not vse the solace that pouerty giueth me, because that dissolution hath gotten so great a head in this time, that at this day banished men haue a greater viaticum, and more commodities then great Princes patrimonie and reuennues came to in times past. It is well known that *Homer* had but one seruant, *Plato* three, and that *Zeno* the author of that seuere and manly wisedome of the Stoickes had none at all. If any one will therfore say that they liued miserably, wil not he think himselfe a caitiue & miserable, by reason of this his false opinion? *Menenius Agrippa*, who made a peace betwixt the Senate and the Romane people, that were ready to assaile one another, was buried at the common charge. *Attilius Regulus* after hee had ouerthrowne the Carthaginians in Africa, wrote vnto the Senate that his husbandman was dead, by reason whereof his lands were vnmanured, whereupon the Senate

The fourth fruit of exile and pouertie is, that it hath no care or torment of mind, and contrariwise, the rich are poore for the most part of their liues.

Diuers examples of the temperance of our ancestors. See Titus Liuius in his second booke and eighteenth chapter: Valerius Maximus in his fourth booke and fourth chapter.

Senate tooke order as long as *Regulus* was absent. So much was it to him that he had not a seruant, that the Common-weale of Rome became his husbandman. *Scipio's* daughters were married at the Cities charge, because their father had left them nothing. Truely there was great reason why the people of Rome should pay tribute vnto *Scipio* once, whon as they exacted a tribute from Carthage alwayes. How happy were the husbands of these daughters, who had the Romane people for their fathers in lawe? Thinkest thou them more happy, whose daughters after they had played in the Theatres, had twentie thousand crowns to their marriage, then *Scipio* was, who from the Senate their Tutor, haue receiued some small summe of money for their dowry? What man is he that dare disdaine pouertie, that hath so worthy examples? Would a banished man complaine that he wanted this or that, when as *Scipio* had no money to marry his daughters? *Regulus* was without a husbandman, *Menenius* had need of friends to pay for his funerals; and considering that all that which was wanting to those worthy men, hath beene more plentifully ministred vnto them then they had need; so then such Patrons not onely make pouertie secure, but also gratious.

CHAP. XIII.

TO this it may be answered, Why so artificially discourseſt thou on these things, which considered apart may be maintained, but if they be compared cannot? Change of place is tolerable if thou onely change thy place: pouertie is tolerable, if ignominy be taken from it, the which alway is wont to oppresse mens mindes. To him who would terrifie me with a troupe of euils, thus would I answer; If thou haue force enough against euery part of fortune; the like mayest thou haue against all. When vertue hath once hardned the mind she maketh him inuincible. If auarice dismisse thee, which is the most violent plague of mankind, ambition will neuer leaue thee at rest. If thou beholdest thy last houre, not as a punishment, but as a lawe of nature, into that breast whence thou hast driuen the feare of death, there is no feare of any thing that dare enter. If thou thinkest that the honest desires of marriage, was not allotted man to feed his lust, but to encrease his family. He that is not violated with this secret mischiefe infixed in his bowels, euery other desire will ouerpasse and touch him not. Reason not onely ouerturneth vices one after another, but all of them together: she fighteth at once, and ouercommeth the enemie at one stroake. Thinkest thou that a wise-man that is grounded in vertue, and estranged from vulgar opinions is shaken by ignominie? Death is more ignominious then one simple ignominie; yet *Socrates* with the same countenance and resolution entered the prison, wherewith he in times past alone brought the thirtie tyrants into order, and tooke the ignominie from the place by his entry: for that could not seeme to be a prison wherein *Socrates* was lodged. What man is he so brutish, that will say or thinke that *Martius Cato* was disgraced, at such time as he demanded the Prætorship, and afterwards the Consulate? It was a disgrace both to the Prætor and Consulate who were honoured by *Cato*. No man can be despised by another man, except he first be contemned by himselfe. An humble and abiect minde becommeth subiect to this contumely; but whosoeuer encourageth himselfe against these terrible accidents, and ouercommeth those euils where-

An obiection, that ignominy annexed with pouertie is a thing very odious.

His opinion touching death, proceeding from the ignorance of the fall of the first man.

Examples to confirme his answer.

with other hearts are ouerturned, reputeth his afflictions to be his ornaments. When we are thus affected, that nothing moueth more admiration in vs then to see a man couragious in his miseries. *Aristides* was sent by the Athenians, and commanded to be put to death, who made all those hang downe their heads and mourne that saw him in that estate, not as if they had executed a iust man, but iustice her selfe; yet was there one amongst them that spit in his face: this might he haue taken heauily, because he knew that no man that had modestie would haue done it, yet wiped he his face, & smilingly beheld the Magistrates, and said thus, *Admonish this man, that hereafter he open not his mouth so vncleanely.* This were enough to humble outrage it selfe. I know that some will reply, that nothing is so hardly dis-jested as contempt, and that death seemeth more pleasing then the same. To these I answere, that oftentimes exile is exempted from these incommodities. If a man of note fall vpon the ground, yet is he alwayes the same, and as great; neyther is contemned any more, then when as the ruins of sacred Temples are troad vpon, which as well both the religious as the standers by doe adore. Thou canst not therefore finde any want of thy sonne that is taken from thee, whom during his aboade with thee, thou neuer thoughtest to appertaine vnto thee.

CHAP. XIIII.

He now cõmeth to the second point of his discourse, the scope whereof is, that Heluia in regard of her selfe, hath not any occasion to torment her selfe for the absence of her sonne, and that for two principal causes.

SInce, most deere mother, thou hast not any occasion in respect of me to afflict thy selfe thus continually, there must be therefore some particular considerations that presse thee thus. But these are two; for eyther thou tormentest thy selfe because thou thinkest that thou hast lost some stay, or because thou canst not endure the sorrow thou sustainest. I will slightly touch the first consideration; for I know that thy heart loueth nothing in thy children but themselues. Let those mothers, who by their indiscretion breede much discontent in their children that are growne in credite, consider what they doe. Being vnable to execute publique charges, they shew themselues ambitious by their children; they embezzill and spend their reuennues, and by their bables breake their heads who are constrained to giue eare vnto them. But for thine owne part thou hast greatly reioyced at the goods that haue befalne thy children, which thou hast neuer had a part of. Thou hast alwayes restrained our liberalitie, when thou hast had no power of thine owne: thou being but the daughter of a family, hast not forborne to bestow thy fauours plentifully vpon thy children that were rich: thou hast administred the goods that our father left vs, as if they had beene thine own, and hast beene as sparing of them as if thou haddest had them to restore them to some strangers: thou hast spared our credite as if thou haddest been to employ such a one that were no wayes allied vnto thee: our estates and honours were but a charge and pleasure to thee, and thou neuer diddest respect vs to enrich thy selfe: thou canst not therefore want thy sonne that is taken from thee, who in his safetie neuer thoughtest that he appertained vnto thee.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

To remedie his mothers sorrow, the better to effect it he practiseth the patient, and applieth diuers remedies.

ALL my consolation must be aimed to withstand that, whence the true force of thy motherly sorrow doth arise. I want the embraces of my deare child, I cannot see him, I cannot deuise with him. Where is he, by whose sight I redeemed my sorrow, to whom I communicated al my discontents? Where are his discourses, wherewith I could not satisfie my selfe? Where are his studies, which I entertained more willingly then a woman, more familiarly then a mother? Where is this meeting, wherein the sonne shewed himselfe ioyfull to behold his mother? Thou wilt adde hereunto the very places where I was wont to reuerence thee, to drinke and eate with thee: the place likewise, whereas we met the last time, which cannot but haue great efficacie to afflict the minde. For this likewise did Fortune most cruelly complot against thee, because that when thou wert secure, and fearedst no such matter, she dared to assault thee three dayes before I was strucken. We had before times beene fitly separated by distance of places, and our absence during some yeares, had as it were, disposed thee to this affliction: thou camest backe againe vnto me, not to enioy any pleasure or contentment by thy sonne, but to the end thou mightest not lose the good to conuerse and communicate with him. Haddest thou beene separated from him long time before, this assault had not so much vexed thee, because the distance of time might haue assuaged thy sorrowes: if thou haddest not beene seuered from him, thou haddest endured thy losse more contentedly, because thou haddest enioied this last fruit to be yet two daies in thy sons companie. But cruel destinie hath carried the matter in such sort, that thou foundest me not at Rome at such time as I was banished, and arriuedst there intõtinently afterwards, to receiue the more griefe, because I was then vpon departure. But the more furious these assaults are, the more oughtest thou to call thy better resolued vertue to assist thee, and to fight more confidently with thine enemie, which is sufficiently knowne vnto thee, and that heretofore hath beene diuers times defeated by thee. This blood of thy present affliction, is not the first that thou hast lost, thy precedent wounds, as yet vnhealed, haue beene renewed againe.

CHAP. XVI.

He confirmeth her by the consideration of other womens infirmities.

THou oughtest not to alleage in thine excuse, that thou art a woman, which is almost permitted to weepe her fill, and yet ought there to be some measure. And therefore our Ancestors allowed them ten moneths space to bewaile their husbands, and in limiting in this sort by their publike ordinance this obstinate sadnes of women, they pretended not to hinder their teares, but to bring them to some end. For it is a foolish and vnbridled affection in any one to torment himselfe incessantly, for the death of another whom he loueth. As contrariwise not to be moued, is to be reputed to haue a heart both obdurate and inhumane. The best meane that we can obserue betwixt pietie and reason, is to feele some remorse, and afterwards to extinguish the same. There is no reason thou shouldest build vpon certaine women, that hauing once begunne to entertaine sor-

row,

row, neuer giue it ouer till death hath made an end of them. Thou hast knowne diuers, that hauing lost their sonnes, haue neuer afterwards put off their mourning garments. The constancie that thou hast alwayes shewed heretofore, requireth somewhat more at thy hands. Such a one as in times past hath approued it to all men, that she was deliuered from all feminine imperfections, cannot alleage for her excuse, that she is a woman. Impudicitie, one of the most greatest euils that raigne in our time, hath not entangled thee amongst diuers others: pearles and precious stones haue not tempted thee, riches, which are esteemed the greatest good in this world, haue not bewitched thine eyes, the dangerous examples wherewith the wickeder sort seduce the best haue not distracted thee, thou that hast beene well brought vp in a Noble and well ordered Familie, art not ashamed to haue beene fertile, and the mother of diuers children: as if thou wert vpbraided thereby that thou art old. Neuer hast thou according to the custome of diuers other women, which desire nothing more then to be reputed bewtifull, hidden thy grossenesse, as if it had beene an vnfitting burthen, neither hast thou made away the fruit of thy wombe, which thou thoughtest thou haddest receiued. Thou hast neuer painted thy selfe, nor taken any pleasure to weare such garments as might discouer thy naked skinne. Modestie is the onely ornament which thou hast esteemed to be most fitting, most seemely, and such as cannot bee indemnified by age. So then thou canst not to the end thou mayest obtaine licence to weepe; pretend the name of a woman, because thy vertues haue separated thee from that ranke. So farre oughtest thou to be estranged from the teares of this sex, as thou art from their imperfections. Women likewise themselues will not permit thee to consume and submit thy selfe to thy sorrow: but hauing suffered thee to weepe a little, and as much as need requireth, they will make thee rise vp, especially if thou wilt behold those women, who for their excellent vertues, haue beene numbred amongst the most famous men. Fortune reduced *Cornelia*, the mother of twelue children, to that passe, that shee had onely two remaining: if thou wouldest count those she had buried, they were ten, if thou wilt estimate them she had lost, the *Gracchi*, yet expressely forbad she those that wept about her, and cursed that vnhappie aduise to accuse Fortune in any sort, which had giuen her the *Gracchi* to her sonnes. By this woman should he be bred, who said vnto a certaine person that declamed before the people: *Speakest thou euill of my mother that bare mee?* But the mothers speech, in my iudgement, is more courageous. The sonne made high reckoning of the birth of the *Gracchi*, the mother of their deathes. *Rutillia* followed her sonne *Cotta* into exile, and her loue towards him was so entire, that shee had rather endure exile then his want; neither returned she backe againe into her Countrey, before she returned with her sonne. After his returne, and at such time as her sonne was raised to the greatest honors: she bare his death as constantly as she had followed him courageously; and no man could euer marke that she let one teare fall from her eyes after he was enterred. She made proofe of her vertue at such time as she was banished, and of her wisdome, when death drew him out of this world. Nothing hindered her from shewing her selfe charitable, and nothing detained her in a sottish and superfluous sorrow. My desire is that thou shouldest be numbered amongst such women, and because thou hast alwayes imitated their life, bee thou continuallie most studious and carefull to follow their example, and to represse and suppresse thy sorrow. I know that the matter is not in our power, and that there is no passion that will bee moderated, and especially not that which

He animateth her by worthie examples.

Afterwards he counselleth her to conquer, and not to dissemble her passions.

which proceedeth from griefe, for it is fierce and rebellious against all remedy: yet will wee in the meane time that it master and swallow vp sorrowes, and yet notwithstanding permit we teares to streame along a counterfeit and concealed countenance? wee will endeauour to exercise the mind in sports, or in seeing the Sword-players skirmish; but amidst all these spectacles that shall detaine the same, wee are content that a light touch of griefe shall shake the same. It is far better to ouercom the passion then to abuse it: for sorrow withdrawn by the pleasures of this world, or beguiled by occupations, reliueth him selfe, and by the meanes of repose gathereth more greater forces, and skirmisheth afterwardes more confidently. But the mind that giueth place to reason, attaineth a perpetuall repose. But I will not teach thee these remedies which I know diuers other shaue vsed, namely that thou shouldest passe the time in some long voyage, or that thou shouldest sport thy selfe in places of pleasure, or that thou shouldest employ many daies in carefully ouerlooking how thy affaires are carried, and to order thy reuenew, or in short that thou shouldest entangle thy selfe alwaies in some new affaires. All these things profite for a short moment, and are not remedies, but delayes of sorrow. For mine owne part I had rather thou shouldest cease then deceiue thy griefe. I will therefore lead thee thether whether all they ought to haue recourse, who flie from fortune, that is to Philosophy, which will heale thy wound, & plucke out all sorrow from thy mind. Though hitherto thou hast neuer addicted thy selfe thereunto, yet now must thou doe it; but thou hast not studied all the liberall sciences, thou hast onely tasted so much as the ancient seuerity of my father permitted thee. I could haue wished that my Father (one of the best men in the world) had beene lesse addicted to the fashions of our ancestors, and that hee would haue permitted thee seriously to bee instructed in Philosophy, and not slightly: now then shouldest thou not haue needed to prepare a remedy against Fortune, but thou shouldest haue exercised therein. As for these that vse good letters, not for wisdome sake, but rather for ostentation and pride; for their cause hee suffered thee the lesse to follow thy studies, but by reason of the pregnant witte thou hast apprehended more in a little time then could bee expected. The foundations of all sciences are laide in thee. Returne now vnto these, and they will make thee secure: these will comfort thee, these will delight thee, these if they enter thy mind in good earnest, neuer shall sorrow or sollitude; nor the vaine sorrow of superfluous affliction enter into thy heart any more, thy breast shall lie open to none of these, for already is it shutte vppe against all other vices. These are the most assured remees, and such as can onely deliuer thee from fortune. But whilest thou hast attained that part which studies promise, thou hast neede of some supports and staies, and therefore in the meane while will I shew thee thy comforts. Behold my brothers who being in security, it is vnlawfull for thee to accuse fortune, thou hast in both to delight thy selfe for their seuerall vertues; the one by his industry hath attained honours, the other hath contemned them wisely: content thy selfe in the one of thy sonnes dignity, and the others quiet, note the piety of them both. I know the inward affections of my brethren, the one in this respect affecteth dignity, that hee may bee an ornement vnto thee, the other hath retired himselfe to a peaceable and quiet life, onely to attend thee. Fortune hath disposed thy children well, both for thy succour, and for thy delight; thou maiest bee defended by the dignity of the one, and enuy the others retirement. They will contend in offices towards thee, and the desire of one shall bee supplyed by the piety of them both

A principall remedy in foolish and vnbridled passions to haue recourse to Philosophy, whereunto he exhorteth his mother.

Particular remedies. He requireth her to consider her other children that continue with her, and describeth vnto her their nesses and pleasures shee enioyeth by their presence.

both. I dare boldly promise thee, thou shalt want nothing but the number. From these behold my Nephewes likewise, *Marcus* that pretty wanton lad, at whose sight all sorrow must be banished, there is nothing so great, nothing so newly impressed in any mans breast, which hee by his wanton dalliance will not leniffie, whose teares will not his pleasures suppresse? whose mind except it bee wholly contracted by care, will not his merry and witty iestes make ioyfull? Who will not bee drawne to delight by beholding his wantonnesse; who though wholly fixed and deuoured in thoughts, would not bee delighted by his prety prattle, and so pleasing that neuer wearieth any man? I beseech the Gods to grant him long life amongst vs. Let all the wearied cruelty of the Fates be spit and spent vpon me, let all my mother should grieue for, be transferred to me, or what afflicts my grandmother, afflict me. So the rest may flourish in their accustomed estate, I shall not complaine of mine owne solitude and condition. Let mee onely be the expiation of the family, that hereafter shall liue in repose. Keepe in thy lappe my *Nouatilla* that shall shortly make thee a great Grandmother with that affection I appropriated and made her mine owne, that hauing lost me, shee might seeme to bee an Orphan, although I am now liuing. Loue her I pray thee for my sake: Fortune of late hath taken her father from her, thy piety may effect this that she shal only haue cause to bewaile the death of her mother, and yet notwithstanding shall haue no sense of this losse. Now fashion her mind, and then her manners. Precepts take best hold when they are imprinted in tender yeeres. Let her accustome her selfe to your speeches, let her conforme her selfe according to thy manners, thou shalt giue her much, although thou giue her nothing but thy example. This solemne an endeuour will serue for a remedy, nothing can diuert a mind that is piously sorrowfull, but eyther reason or honest occupation. I should number thy Father likewise amongst thy great comforts, but that hee is absent: but now bethinke thy selfe by thine owne affection what concerneth him, and thou shalt vnderstand how far iuster a thing it is that thou art reserued for him, then bestowed vpon me. As often as immoderate force of sorrow shal inuade thee, and shall command thee to follow him, thinke vpon thy father; in giuing him so many Nephewes and Nephewes children, thou hast brought to passe that thou art not alone. Meanewhile thou enioyest this honour, that thou hast happily finished the course of thy life, and as long as hee liueth, it is vnlawfull for thee to complaine that thou liuest.

Secondly, her Father.

CHAP. XVII.

Thirdly, her sister whose vertues and constancy shee commendeth.

YEt had I almost concealed thy greatest solace, thy sister that hath alwayes been so faithfull vnto thee, in whose bosome thou hast familiarly discharged all thy sorrowes, and who hath shewed towards vs all an affection of a mother: thou hast mingled thy teares with hers, and thou first breathedst in her mouth. Shee alwayes followeth thine affections, and yet in my behalfe shee grieueth not so much for thee. By her hands was I brought into this City, by her pious and motherly nursing, I recouered after a long and dangerous sickneſſe, shee employed her credite to make me Quæstor. And whereas she blusht if any one should haue spoken to her, or saluted her with a lowder voyce, shee was not ashamed to go and speake with diuers seuerall men in my behalfe, neither could her retired course

course of life, neyther her modesty (in so great petulancy of Country women) neither her quiet, neither her secret and inclined manners, aymed at nothing more then to depose, restraine her from showing her selfe ambitious in my behalfe. This deare mother is a solace whereby thou must bee comforted, as much as in thee lyeth ioyne thy selfe to her, and tie thy selfe to her strict embraces. They that are in sorrow are wont to flie those things which most they loue, and to seeke a liberty for their sorrow: but see that thou both retire thy selfe, and whatsoeuer thou thinkest vnto her, whether thou wilt keepe this habite, or lay it aside, with her thou shalt finde, eyther a companion, or an end of thy sorrow. But if I be not deceiued in the wisdome of this most perfect woman, thee will not suffer thee to consume thy selfe in fruitlesse lament, and will propose thee her owne example, whereof I my selfe was a witnesse. Hauing beene married young, thee lost her husband, and our vncle vpon the sea, yet in the mean while, & at the same time she endured her sorrow and feare, and afterwardes escaping from the storme shee solemnized his funerals. O how many worthy actions of women are buried in obscurity, if this woman had liued in the time of our ancestors, who with a pure affection honoured their vertues; how many braue spirits should haue enforced themselues to extoll a woman, who without any apprehension of her weakenes, neither feared windes, neither letted by waues, exposed her selfe to all hazards to bury her husband, and thinking of his obsequies, had not any thought at all of her owne? The Poets haue enobled *Alcestis*, that hazarded her life to ransome her husband from death. But this is more, to search with the expence of her owne life a Tombe for her husband: the greater is the loue that redeemeth by eminent danger that which seemeth to be little. Furthermore, is not this a thing worthy of admiration that during the space of sixeteene yeeres, in which her husband was gouernour of *Aegypt*, she was neuer seene in the street, neither suffered shee any of that Prouince to enter her house, shee demanded nothing at her husbands hands, neither suffered any other to entreat ought else at her handes: by reason wherof this Prouince so talkative and ingenuous to defame their gouernours, wherein diuers hauing carried themselues honestly, haue notwithstanding beene accused of euill conuersation, reuerenced thy sister as the onely example of sanctity, and enforcing their owne natures which is to take pleasure in iesting whatsoeuer become of it, carefully contained their tongs, and although they hoped not euer to haue had such a Gouernesse, yet wished shee the like dayly. It was much for her to make her selfe knowne in *Aegypt* in sixeteene yeeres space; but it was farre more to conceale her selfe so long. I recount not these things to the end to rippe vp the prayses of this woman, for to represent them so briefly, is to diminish them, but to the end that thou mayest vnderstand that shee is a woman of a great mind: whom neither ambition, nor auarice (the companions and plagues of all humane greatnes) could ouercom, neither the apprehension of death, affrighted so much (although she saw the ship disarmed and ready to sinke) but that holding her dead husband embraced in her armes, shee sought out, not the meanes to escape, but how she might bury his body. The like resolution oughtest thou to show, and retire thy minde from sorrow, and behaue thy selfe so, that men may not thinke that thou repentest this that thou hast brought me into this world, but because it is needfull when as thou hast done all things, yet that they should now and then reflect vpon me, neither that any of thy children should be more frequent in thy memory, not because they are lesse deare vnto thee, but because it is a naturall thing

The Heroicke vertues of Heluias sister.

For conclusion, and for his last consolation, shee saith that Heluia hath no occasion to bee sad, because her sonne enioyeth a singular contentment in minde in his exile.

thing to lay thy hands more often on that which is aggrieued. Behold what thou oughtest to thinke that I am: I am ioyfull and merry, as if all my affaires were in the best estate of the world, and so they be, because my mind being discharged of all cares, imployeth it selfe in those actions that are proper vnto it, and sometimes delighteth himselfe in more pleasing studies, and sometimes being greedy to discouer the truth, disposeth and causeth himselfe to consider both mine owne nature, and the disposition of the whole world. First hee taketh a reuiew of all Countries, and searcheth out their situations. Afterwards he considereth the sea that circleth them round about, and the ebbes and floats of the same; then regardeth he all that which is maruellous; and dreadfull in the heauens and earth, that is to say, this great space, wherein the noyse resoundeth of so many thunders, of so many lightnings of contrary winds, of ouerflow of waters, of snowes and haile. And hauing trauelled through these low places, he ascendeth more high to enioy the sight of more diuine thinges, and remembring himselfe of eternity, he examineth all that which either hath beene, or shall bee in all ages.

The End of the Booke of Consolation.

OF

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS.

The first Booke.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

SEe handleth that part of naturall Philosophie in these books, which is called METEOROLOGIA, *that is the discourse of Meteors, because for the most part it intreateth of sublime matters, and those things that are betwixt heauen and earth; yet intreateth he of the motion of the earth, as also of flouds and waters; but in this respect, because they haue their beginning or cause from spirit or ayre, and in the regard thereof haue some relation to sublime nature likewise. These books are both excellent and learned; I will not say more better, yet more plentifull then* ARISTOTLES *are vpon this argument, and such as he wrote when he was very olde, about that time when he wrote his Epistles. They are therefore fitly annexed in this place. This appeareth by diuers places, where he maketh mention of his olde age, where he speaketh of* CAIVS BALBILLVS, *who was Prefect of Egypt vnder* NERO, *but most manifestly in the beginning of his fixt booke, where he speaketh of that earth-quake which shooke Campania, when as* VIRGINIVS *and* MEMMIVS *were Consuls. And these were some two yeares before* SENECAES *death.*

THE PREFACE.

The difference betwixt Philosophy and other sciences, and betwixt that which is naturall and the other that is morall.

AS much difference as there is (most vertuous *Lucillius*) betwixt Philosophie and other Arts, so much suppose I that there is betweene that part of Philosophie that concerneth men, as the other that concerneth the gods. This is more high and couragious; it giueth it selfe a larger scope, and not content with that which she discouereth by the eyes, suspecteth that there is somewhat more greater and and more fairer, which Nature hath locked from our sight. In briefe, there is as much difference betwixt the one and the other, as between God and man. The one teacheth what is to be done vpon earth, the other what is done in heauen.

The one discusseth our errours, and ministreth vs light, whereby we may discerne the doubtfull things in this life: the other raiseth vs aboue that gulfe of obscuritie wherein we were confounded, and hauing redeemed vs from thence, bringeth vs thither where this brightnesse shineth. Verily I then praise and giue thankes vnto nature when I behold her, not by this meanes which is publique, but when as I haue entred her secrets. When I learne what the matter of the world is, who is the author and conseruer thereof, what God is, whether he be wholly intended in the contemplation of himselfe, or whether sometimes he haue a care of vs, whether he doe any thing daily, or whether he hath done it at once, whether he be a part of the world, or the world, whether it be in his power to ordaine something to day, and to derogate somewhat from fatall destinie, whether it should be a diuination of his maiestie, and confession of his error, to haue made things that should be subiect to change: for it is necessary since that nothing can please him that is not perfectly good, that those things which please him should be alwayes the same; and yet for all this is he no lesse free and powerfull, for he is necessitie himselfe. If I were not admitted to the knowledge of these things, there was no necessity why I should be borne: for what cause had I why I should be glad that I am numbred and placed amongst the liuing? What to swallow downe and dis-iect meate and drinke? what to glut this fraile and decaying body that must perish, except it be interchangeably nourished? or to liue a slaue to infirmitie, or to feare death, whereunto we are all of vs borne? If thou take away from life this inestimable good, it is not so much worth as to be sweat or laboured for. O how contemptible a thing is man except he raise himselfe aboue humane things! As long as we struggle with affections, what doe we that deserueth praise? Although we get the vpper hand, yet ouercome we but monsters. What cause haue we to boast of our selues because we are vnlike the worst men of the world? I see not why hee should take pleasure in himselfe that is stronger then a sicke man. There is great difference betwixt strength and good health. Thou hast escaped from the vices of the minde; thou art no hypocrite, nor flatterer, nor double, nor soyled with auarice, which denieth her selfe that, which she hath taken from all men, nor grounded in dissolution, which spendeth his goods and mony basely, and getteth them likewise most villeinously; neyther trauailed with ambition, which will not leade thee to dignity but by indignities. Thou hast as yet gotten nothing, thou hast escaped many mens hands, but not thine owne. For that vertue which we affect is magnificent, not because it is a blessed thing of it selfe to haue wanted euill, but because it treeth the minde, and prepareth it to the knowledge of heauenly things, and maketh it worthy to come and accompanie God. Then enioyeth the minde the consummate and complete good of humane condition, when as (treading all euill vnder-foot) he flieth to heauen and nestleth in the secret bosome of nature. Then taketh he delight in wandering amidst the starres, to laugh at the pauements of the rich, and to deride the earth with all her golde, not onely that I meane which she hath deliuered out and giuen to make money of, but that also which she keepeth close hidden, to content the auarice of prosperitie. He cannot contemne the porches, nor the house beames that are burnished with Iuory, nor the groues planted vpon the tops of houses, nor the riuers drawne and conuayed thorow chambers before he hath circled the whole world, and beholding the globe thereof from aboue, small and for the most part couered with the Sea, and in that place where it discouereth it selfe, hugely desart, and eyther burnt or frozen, without saying to himselfe: Is this, that point that is diuided amongst so many Nations by lins and sword? O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men? Let not the Dane passe beyond the riuer of Ister, let Scythia include the Thracians, let Euphrates bound the Parthians: Danubia separate the Samartians and the Romanes, let Rhene border Germany, the Pyrenean mountaines raise their heads betwixt France and Spaine, let the desolate vastnesse of lands diuide Aegypt from the Ethiopians. If we should giue humane vnderstanding vnto Ants, would not they likewise diuide a little Mole-hill of earth into Prouinces? When as thou hast raised thy selfe to those things that are truly great, as often as thou shalt see whole armies marching with displayed engines, and as if there were some great matter in hand, the horse-men now scowting and discouering before, now flancking the battell, thou mayest freely say,

The flapper Squadron trotteth through the Plaines,

All this is but a businesse of Ants that labour in a Mole-hill. What difference is betwixt them and vs, except it be in the measure of their little bodies? It is but a point wherein you saile, wherein you goe on warfare, wherein you dispose Kingdomes, yea, and a very little one if a man consider the Ocean; that beareth it on euery side. Aboue those three are spacious extents, into the possession whereof the minde is admitted. If hee bring with him a very little of the bodie, if he be cleansed from all ordure, and being expedite and light, and contened with a little, he hath shined in these lower parts. When he attaineth these, he is nourished, he increaseth, and being as it were deliuered from bondage, returneth to his originall. And this argument hath hee of his diuinitie, that he is delighted in diuine things, not as strange vnto him, but as his owne. He seriously beholdeth the rising and setting of the Planets, and the different courses of so accordant creatures. He diligently obserueth where euery fixed star beginneth to rise, and lend her first light to the world, where her Zenith is, what way she shapeth her course, and how farre she descendeth: like a curious obseruer he examineth and debateth on euery point, why should he not enquire, he knoweth that they appertaine vnto him. Then encreaseth the sleight inclination of his former house; for how farre is it betwixt the vttermost shores of Spain and the Indies? It is sayled in a few dayes if the wind be in the poop and prosperous. But that celestiall Region fur all that hath a way long thirty yeares space to the swiftest Planet, that neuer stayeth but runneth on his course with equall swiftnesse. Therefore length learneth he that which he had long time sought. There beginneth he to know God: what is God? The mind of the Vniuerse. What is God? All that thou seest, and all that thou feelest not, so farre length hath attained his greatnesse, then which to grow not higher may be impossible, he alone beareth all, and holdeth his workes both without and within himselfe. What difference then is there betwixt the nature of God and Man? Onely such part as the minde (in him) hath part is without the limbes. He hath all reason and meane which men are so dull as to esteeme that to be reason, which hath nothing like vnto it but beautie, (in dissolution, or in continuance as a mouse) all things that turne by chance; for that is findeth in selfe-growth troubled, amidst lightnings, thunders, pestes, and other such noysesome strokes of the elements, and with the pain of a little is this folly onely pregnant among the diuine workes, lost in the professions of Philosophie like wise haue both natures [illegible] thinke that they haue attained vnto, [illegible] euery

Happy is contemplation if it be rightly gouerned. This is wrath and other passions of the mind.

What a vertuous man thought is that emuith the fruite of vertue.

The affaires of the world are trifles.

A worthy description of vanity.

The argument of diuinity is to contemplate diuine things.

euery thing, both his owne and others: but that this vniuerse wherein likewise we are, is void of counsaile, and either is transported with a certaine temeritie, or by Nature, that knoweth not what she doth. How profitable is it, thinkest thou, to know these things, and to prefixe limits vnto Science? To know how much God can, whether he formeth his owne matter, or vseth that which is giuen him, whether the Idea was before the matter, or the matter the Idea. If God maketh all that which he willeth, or if in diuers things there faileth him somewhat to worke vpon, or if diuers things are kindly formed by their great work-master, not because his art causeth, but because the matter wherein he is exercised, is not oftentimes conformable to his workmanship. To examine these things, to learne these things, to search the secrets of these things: is not this to exceed his mortality, and to be translated into a better estate? What saiest thou will these things profit thee, if they further mee in nothing else, of this I rest assured, that all things are too little. But of this hereafter.

The supernaturall Philosophie of the Stoickes.

The vse of this discourse.

CHAP. I.

Of the Meteors of fire.

BVt now let vs come to our intended purpose. Heare that which Philosophie teacheth, as touching those fires that the ayre driueth ouerthwartly. It is a signe that they are driuen by great force, because they are carried side-long, and by a violent swiftnesse. It appeareth that they goe not, but that they are forced. And of these fires there are diuers formes. *Aristotle* calleth a certaine kind of these Goats. If thou askest me why, thou must first of all giue me a reason, why they are called yong Kids. But if we be agreed vpon the name, as it is expedient, let none of vs examine one another, what this or that man saith. It shall be better to examine what the thing is, then to wonder at it, why *Aristotle* called a globe of fire that is in the aire a Goat. Such was that which appeared as great as the bodie of the Moone, when *Paulus Æmilius* made warre against *Perseus*. And we our selues haue oftentimes seene a flame in forme as great as a pillar, which notwithstanding in the verie course thereof was scattered. About the time that *Cæsar Augustus* died, wee saw the like Meteor, and prodigie: we saw the like, when *Sciamus* was adiudged to death; neither was *Germanicus* death vnaccompanied with the like presage. Thou wilt say vnto me, Art thou then so badly taught, as to thinke that the gods send some predictions of death, and that there is any thing so great on the earth, that the heauens should foresee the end? Wee shall finde another time for this matter: meane while we will see if all things be deduced by a certaine order, and the one so infoulded in the other, that that which goeth before, is either the cause of those things that follow, or the signe. We will see whether the gods haue care of humane affaires, or whether the order of things discouereth by certaine markes, that which ought to be done. Meane while, I think that these fires are assembled by a vehement agitation of the aire, when as the inclination thereof hath extended it selfe towards one part, and hath not giuen place, but sought within himselfe. From this encountrie and entershocke of the aire arise these pillars, these globes, these flashings. But when the ayre assembleth

Lib. 1. Meteor. cap. 4.

They were called Goats, by reason they had some resemblance of little beards hanging on them.

Whether extraordinarie Meteors are fore-tokens of things to come.

assembleth more mildely and remaineth shut, there issue diuers impressions of fire farre lesser, and these crinite and bearded comets haue their originall, then the fires that are lesse thicke marke out their way, which appeareth not very much, which they extend in the heauen, in such sort as there passed not a night, wherein a man may not see such impressions in the aire, because there needeth no great agitation to create them. To speake in a word, these impressions haue the same considerations, as lightnings, yet are they caused which lesse force. Euen as clouds being but indifferently broken one vpon another, cause flashes, and being impelled with greater force, breed lightnings. *Aristotle* yeeldeth this reason. The globe of the earth exhaleth diuers vapours, some moist, and some drie, some cold, and some other hot, and fit to be enflamed: neither is it to be wondered at, that so many different vapours issue from the earth, since in the heauens there appeare diuers colours, but some more fierce, as the fierie rednesse of the Dog-starre, some more remisse, as that of *Mars*; some none at all, as that of *Iupiter*, but a pure and cleare shinning. It must therefore needs be, that in this so great abundance of exhalations, that mount from the earth into the ayre, there must some aliments of fire be raised to the clouds, that might fall on fire by reason of their entershock, but also by the assistance of the beams of the Sunne. For with as like wise we see that strawes that are besprinkled with brimstone, draw vnto them fire that is distilled from them: It is likely therefore to be true, this matter gathered together within the clouds, is as easily kindled, and that the fires are great or little, according as the vapours haue beene feeble or strong. For this were a foolish things to imagine that the starres fall, or that they rise and mount againe, or that any thing is taken away or separated from them: because if this were so, by little and little there should be no more starres, they should faile. For there is no night whatsoeuer, during which a man seeth not diuers starres, that seeme to shoote forward or backward. But contrariwise, euery one of them is found in his accustomed place, and euery one constant in their proportion. It followeth therefore, that these fires ate engendred vnderneath these starres, & continue not long time, because they neither haue foundation nor certaine place. Why therefore likewise are they not transferred, by day? What if I say that the starres are not by day, because they appeare not? Euen as these remaine hidden, and obscured by the light of the Sun, so the Meteors of fire runne in the ayre, as well by day as by night, but the brightnesse of the day hindereth our eyes from beholding them. Notwithstanding, sometimes the matter whereof they are composed is so abundant and bright, that they are manifestly discouered euen in the day-time. In our age we haue oftentimes seene diuers fires in the day-time, the one gliding from the East to the West, the other from the West to the East. The Mariners thinke it to be a signe of a tempest, when as many starres shoot; but if there be a signe of winde, it is there where the windes are, that is, in the aire, which is in the middest betweene the Moone and the Earth. In a vehement tempest there appeare certaine fires or starres that sit vpon the sailes, and at that time those that are in danger doe suppose that they are assisted by the god-heads of *Castor* and *Pollux*. And their cause of better hope is, because already the tempest seemeth to be allayed and the windes calmed. Sometimes these fires are caried, sometimes they are setled. When as *Gilippus* trauelled towards Syracusa, hee saw a Star that setled it selfe vpon his lance. In the Roman Campe, in Tullus mens iudgment, there appeared certain darts, as if set on fire by reason of fire of the aire that fell on them, which oftentimes after the maner of lightnings, are wont to blast both men and trees.

The fires called Castor and Pollux. These were Iupiters sonnes by Leda, who for their great valour and counning by sea were reputed gods.

Of falling fires.

But if they descend with a lesser force, yet slippe they downe and settle themselues without doing any hurt, or inflicting any wound. Some of these breake thorow the clouds, some other in faire weather, if the ayre be fit to enkindle. For sometimes it thundereth in faire weather, vpon the same cause as it doth in close and troubled aire, which is by reason of the collision of the aire within it selfe, which although it be clearer and drier, yet can meet together, and make

Of thunders.

some bodies that are like vnto clouds, which by incountrie sound and make a noice: sometimes therfore there are diuers pillars made, and sometimes shields, and images of vast fire, when as the like, but greater cause falleth vpon such matter.

CHAP. II.

Of the circles and crowns that appeare about the Sunne and Moone. Albert. lib. Meteorolog. tract. 4. cap. 8.

LEt vs now see whence that light is made that enuironeth the Planets. It is reported that vpon the same day that *Augustus* returned from Apollonia and entered Rome, there was seene a certaine circle of diuers colours about the Sunne, after the manner of a Rain-bow. The Grecians call this *Halo*, and we may properly call it a Crowne. I will endeuour to expresse whence the cause hereof is. When as a stone is cast into a Fish-poole, we see that the water maketh diuers circles, whereof the first is small, the second more great, the others consequently greater, vntill the force of the stroake be vanished, and that the water be settled as it was before. Let vs suppose that some such matter is done in the ayre, which becomming more thicke may receiue an impression, by the meanes of the brightnesse of the Sunne, or of the Moone, or of some Star, the which enforcing it selfe against the Sunne, constraineth it to retire, and to fall in circles. For humiditie and ayre, and all that which taketh forme by reuerberation, is impelled into the habitude of that thing that impelleth the same. But all light is round, by meanes whereof it must needs be, that the aire beaten backe by this brightnesse, must shew it selfe in the same forme. And therefore it is that these shining circles are by the Grecians called *Areæ*, because that the places that are ordained to throsh corne in, are round for the most part. But we thinke not that these, either *Areæ*, or Crownes, are caused neere vnto the Moone, or the Sunne, or other celestiall bodies, for they are few of them, although they seeme to begirt and crowne them. This impression is made not farre off from the earth, but our eyes being deceiued by their ordinarie imbecilitie, thinketh that it is placed iust about the star. But no such thing may be done neere vnto the Sun or the stars, because the etheriall region is thin and transparent. It is in grosse and thicke bodies, that such impressions are accustomed to be made, neither can they take footing in subtile and thin bodies. We see I know not what such like as these impressions about our lamps in the stoue, by reason of the obscuritie.

In what region of the aire.

In what time.

They are made for the most part at such time as the Southerne winde blowe-th, when as the skie is couered and obscured. Sometime by little and little they are dispersed and vanish, sometimes they breake in some part, and from thence the Sailers expect the winde where the flame first appeareth. For if it faile to the Northward, a Northerly winde will follow, if to the Westward, a Westerly, which is an Argument that in that part of the Heauens these crownes are made, where ordinarily the windes are engendred: But the higher Region of the aire hath none of these circles, because the Windes are lodged vnder

vnder it. To these Arguments adde this likewise, that a crowne is neuer gathered there, but where the aire is setled and still. Otherwise it is neuer seene. For the aire that is setled may be pulshed, extended, and moulded into some forme, but that which is agitated cannot receiue impression of the light, for it is not formed, neither resisteth, because euery first part and portion thereof is scattered and hath no stay. And therefore neuer shall we see any Planet whatsoeuer crowned, except when the aire is thick, and calme; by meanes whereof it is capable to conserue the line which in appearance begirteth his round brightnesse; and not without cause. For call againe to thy remembrance the example I proposed thee a little before. The stone that is cast into a fish-poole or a lake or any setled water, maketh innumerable circles, and this it doth not in a Riuer. Why? Because the water that flieth thus quickly, giueth not any leisure or meanes to the stone to forme any figure. The same therefore falleth out in the aire: for that which is setled may receiue any impression, but that which heereth and runneth away swiftly, is incapable of forme, and disperseth euery figure that would approch it if it staied. These circles being scattered by litle and litle, and as it were confounded in themselues, expresse the stilnesse, repose, and tranquilitie of the aire, and if they scatter but on one side the winde commeth from thence: if they be opened in diuers places some storme will follow. How this commeth to passe, it may be vnderstood by those thinges which I haue declared alreadie. For if the whole face of the circle vanish, it appeareth that the aire is moderate, and consequently still and peaceable: if it be cut off but on one side, we see that the aire is shaken on that side that is opened, and that from the same the winde will blow. But when it is dispersed in euery part, it is a signe that it is assailed diuers waies, and that the aire stirreth it selfe from one side to an other. By meanes whereof it appeareth that a storme is at hand, and that there will be some combate of the windes by reason of this inconstancie of the aire, that whirleth and turneth it selfe thus from all parts. These crownes for the most part appeare about the Moone in the night time, and are noted about the other starrs, but seldome by day: so that some of the Grecians haue denied that they are at all, whereas Historics reproue and confute them. But the cause of this raritie is this in that the light of the Sunne is more strong, and the aire it selfe being agitated by the same, and being hot is lesse thick. But the power of the Moone is more feeble, and therefore is it more easily sustained by the aire that inuironeth the same, and because that the other celestiall fires being feeble cannot by their beames breake or scatter the aire, thence commeth it that these impressions are made at that time without any let, for they pierce and plant themselues very easily in a solid matter, and that scattereth not as it doth by day. The aire likewise ought not bee so thick, that it exclude and driue away from him the brightnesse that is lent him, neither so thin and attenuate that it giueth not any meanes to the beames that beat vpon it to stay with him. This temperature properly falleth out by night, when as the starres reflect vpon the same by their brightnesse, not violent or forcible, the aire gathereth together and formeth these circles, because it is more thicker then in the day time.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Raine-bow; the cause and forme therof, and why it appeareth not by night.

CONtrariwise, the Raine-bow is neuer made by night, except very seldome, because the Moone hath not so much force to trauerse and colour the clouds as the sunne hath. For thus make they the forme of the discoloured Raine-bow: Because some parts in the clouds are more swelling, other some more submisse, some thicker then that the sunne beames may be able to pierce them; other some so thin that they passe quite thorow them. This inequalitie mixeth together this shadow and this brightnesse, and maketh this wonderfull varietie in the Raine-bow. There is another reason giuen of this Raine-bow; We see that when a Pipe is broken in any place, that the water bubleth forth by a little cracke: and if the sunne beateth obliquely vpon this water, it representeth the diuers colours of the Raine-bow. The same shalt thou see fall out, if at any time thou wilt obserue a fuller, when as he hath lightly filled his mouth with water, and besprinkleth his cloth that is stretched on the Tenters. In this ayre besprinkled with water there appeareth diuers colours, such as we see in the Arke. Doubt thou not but the cause hereof is in the humour: for the Raine-bow is neuer seene except it be in rainie weather. But let vs examine how it is made: Some say that there are certaine drops of water, beaten backe by the sunne and the clouds, so thicke as the brightnesse cannot pierce them, in such sort that from these drops there proceedeth a shining, and from the thicke cloudes a shadow; by meanes whereof, and by this incountrie the Raine-bow is made; one part whereof, which receiueth the sunne, is shining, the other that repulseth the same, and hath made a shadow of it selfe to the neighbouring clouds, is more obscure. Others there are that are not of this opinion. For this might seeme true, if the Raine-bow had but onely two colours, and it consisted of light and shadow.

Examples to expresse this.

How the Raine-bow is caused.

This opinion is examined.

But we although that colours infinite
Shine in this Arch, yet notwithstanding there light
Is so conioyn'd, as it deceiues the sight,
Because their meetings are not knowne aright:
For that which toucheth is the same vnite,
And yet the brinkes are partie coloured quite.

Of the colours of the Arch.

We see in it I know not what yellownesse, rednesse, greene, blew, and other colours, drawne after the manner of subtill lines, as the Poet saith, that whether they be different colours thou canst not know, except thou conferre those of the one side with those of the other; for their coniunction and assemblance bleareth and dazeleth the eyes: and therein is shewed the admirable worke of Nature, because that that which began with things that were alike, endeth in different. To what purpose therefore serue these two colours of light and shadow, whereas a reason is to be yeelded of innumerable sorts. Som think that the Rain-bow is made thus: they say that in that part where it raineth, euery drop of the falling raine is a seuerall mirror that representeth the sunne, then that this great and infinite number of images long, large, and hollow, come and ioyne and mixe themselues together; so that the Raine-bow is an assembly of diuers mirrours or representations of the same. To proue this, beholde what

what they alleage: If in a faire and cleere day you set a thousand Basons in the Sunne, all of them seuerally represent his countenance. Put me a drop of water vpon euery leafe of a tree, each one of these drops will haue in it selfe the resemblance of the Sunne; but contrariwise a great standing poole representeth but one Sunne. Why? Because all this limited plainenesse that hath his brinks, cannot be but one mirror: but if thou makest partitions, and distinguishest by diuers walls a huge and mighty Fish-poole, so many images shalt thou haue of the Sunne as there are seuerall lakes. Leaue that Fish-poole intire and one as it was, thou shalt obserue but one sunne. It is no great matter whether the drop of water be small, or the Fish-poole narrow; if it hath brimmes it is a mirror of the sunne. So then these infinite drops of water, carried by the raine that falleth, are as many mirrors, and haue as many faces of the sunne. These appeare confused to him that looketh against them, and seeth not their distances, because the space suffereth him not to distinguish the same. Furthermore, in stead of so many faces there appeareth but one confused and composed of all. *Aristotle* is of the same opinion: From all that (saith he) that is light and thin, the sight repealeth vnto it selfe his beames, but there is nothing lighter then ayre or water; and therefore the radiations of our eyes returne from the thick ayre backe againe vnto vs. But if the sight be feeble and infirme, it faileth vpon the least shocke that the ayre yeeldeth it. Some are troubled with this infirmitie, that they themselues seeme to meet themselues, and euery where they behold their owne image. Why? Because the weakeneesse of their sight cannot penetrate the ayre that is neerest them, but stayeth short; so that what soeuer the fogges effect in others, euery ayre worketh in these. Euery ayre how thin soeuer it be, hath power enough to repulse a weake sight; yet more easily may a thicke ayre reflect backe again vnto vs our sight, because it cannot be pierced, but stayeth the beames of our eyes, and repelleth them back againe from whence they came. So then, since there are diuers drops of water, they are as many mirrors; but by reason of their smalenesse they represent onely the colour, and not the forme of the sunne. Moreouer, when as one and the same colour is impressed in the infinitie of drops, that fall without intermission, it beginneth to be a face, not of many different images, but of one that is long and continued. How commeth it to passe (saith some one) that thou telleſt me that there is so many thousand of images here, where I see not one? And since the sunne is all of one colour, why are these images thus diuers coloured? To answer thee hereunto, and to other such obiections, I must tell thee that there is nothing more incertaine then our sight, not onely in those things which she is hindered from seeing exactly, by reason of this diuersitie of colours, but also in those things which she discouereth hard at hand. A Water-mans Oare being plunged into a little cleere water, seemeth either broken or crooked, although it be straight. Apples seeme greater to those that looke vpon them thorow a glasse. The pillars in long Galleries seeme to be ioyned together, although there be a distance betwixt euery one of them. Returne againe to the sunne it selfe, he whom reason approueth to be greater then the whole world, our eye hath so contracted, that some wise men contend that it hath but a foote of Diameter. We knowe that he runneth with a swiftnesse surpassing all swiftnesse, yet none of vs perceiueth any motion; neyther would we beleeue that he had kept on his course except it were apparant that he moueth: There is none of vs that can obserue the course of the heauens, turning with a headlong and incredible swiftnesse, in such sort, that in the twinkling of an eye they cause th in diuers climats of the world,

The opinion of Aristotle as touching the colours in the Arke.

Of the diuers colours in the Arke.

world both day and night; why then wonderest thou that our eyes cannot discerne the droppes of water, or that the difference of those small images vanish from thy sight that is so farre distant? No man can doubt, but that the Rainebow is an image of the Sunne, conceiued in a moist and hollow cloud. The reason is, because the Rainebow is alwayes opposite against the Sunne, eyther higher or lower, according as the Sunne setteth or riseth, but by a contrary motion. For when the Sunne setteth, the Rainebow is more high, and if hee riseth aboue the Horizon, the Rainebow is more low. Oftentimes such a cloud appeareth on the side of the Sunne, which maketh not a Rainebow, because it draweth not an image by a right reflexion. But this variety is made for no other cause, but for that a part of the colour is in the Sunne, and an other part in the cloud it selfe: but this humidity formeth and draweth now blew lines, sometimes greene, other whiles purple, and sometimes dimme and fiery; in briefe, two sorts of colours, (of the one lively, the other pale, are those that cause all this diuersity, for so purple issueth not in the same sort from the shell, but it importeth much how long time it hath remained extinct, what sucke it hath drawne eyther subtile or thicke, or if it hath receiued tincture one time onely; it is not therefore to bee wondred at, considering that the Sunne and the cloud are two things, that is to say, the body and the mirror, if a man see so many different colours which may arise or fall in diuers sorts: for of one kind is the heat that proceedeth from a fierce light, an other that proceedeth from a brightnesse not so shining and sparkling. To search out other causes, it were extrauagant, considering that wee haue not any ground that may sustaine our discourse, except wee should build vpon coniectures, which haue no end. Here then it appeareth that there are two causes of the Rainbow, the Sunne and the Cloud, for the Rainebow is neuer made in faire weather, neither then when it is so close weather, that the Sunne appeareth not, so then it is made of both, without either of which it cannot be.

Why the Rainebow appeareth opposite against the Sunne.

Why there are diuers colours in it.

A comparison from purple.

Two causes of the Rainebow.

A confirmation of that which hath been taken from the Arke, as formed by opposition against the Sunne, by the comparison of Artemidorus.

LEt vs adde to that which is aboue said, another proofe no lesse euident. This image and representation which is made by reason of the mirror neuer appeareth except the mirror bee opposed in such sort, that a man may see both Sunne in one place, and the thing that is represented in an other that is opposite. There are certaine reasons alledged by the Geometricians which perswade not, but inforce, nay they haue any man cause to doubt, but that the Arke is an image of the Sunne, which is badly expressed by reason of the defect and figure of the mirror. But it is fitty in the meane time to produce other proofes. Amongst other arguments why the Arke is caused thus; I put this, that it is so daintely made, and not rather also so daintely. But there is nothing more readily represented then an image in a glasse, for the mirror doth nothing but onely represent the place. *Burrichus Artemidorus* addeth, what kinde of mould it should bee which represenceth such an image of the Sunne, if thou thinkest (saith he) a hollow mirror, that is as it were the halfe of a Bowle, if thou standest vpright behind this halfe, all those that are neere vnto thee shall appeare vnto thine eyes more neere vnto thee then the mirror. The Sunne (saith he) falleth out when wee beholde a round and hollow cloud on one side of vs, that the image of the Sunne, which is

A confirmation of that which hath been taken from the Arke, as formed by opposition against the Sunne, by the comparison of Artemidorus.

seuered from the Sunne, is more turned towardes vs; the yellow colour therefore commeth from the Sunne, the blew proceedeth from the cloud, the other colours grow by a mixture of them both.

CHAP. V.

AGainst these things, these succeeding Arguments are aimed. There are two opinions of mirrors; for some are of opinion that there resemblances are seene in these, that is the figures of our bodies, sent forth and separated from our bodies: some say that the images are not in the mirror, but that the bodies themselues are beheld; the sight of the eye being retorted and reflected, and returned againe into it selfe. Now it appertaineth nothing to the matter, how wee see, whatsoeuer wee behold, but how the like image should bee represented by the looking glasse. What is so vnlike as the Sunne and the Rainebow, wherein neither the Center, nor the figure, neither the greatnesse appeareth? for the Rainebow is longer and more ample, and in the brighter part thereof more red then the Sunne, but in the other colours diuers. Againe, when thou wilt compare a mirror with the aire, thou must giue mee the same leuity of body, and the same equality, and the same brightnesse. But there are no cloudes that haue the similitude of a looking glasse, wee oftentimes passe through them, and yet see not our selues in them. They that clime vp to the toppes of hils, behold the cloudes, and yet see not their image in the same. Euery droppe is a seuerall mirror. I grant it, but this I deny, that a cloud consisteth of droppes. For shee hath some things whereof shee may create such droppes, not herselfe, neither hath a cloud any water in it, but the matter of future water. I will likewise grant thee that there are innumerable droppes in cloudes, that yeelde some resemblance, yet all of them yeelde not one and the same, but euery one hath his apart. Againe, vnite thou mirrors together, they will represent more then one face; for euery one will retaine in himselfe the similitude of that hee representeth. There are many mirrors that are composed of diuers small peeces, to which if thou presentest but one man, yet there appeareth a multitude, euery part expressing and representing his owne face. These though coniuyned and placed together, doe notwithstanding reserue vnto themselues their images apart, and of one, they make a multitude, yet confound they not that multitude, but distinguish it into seuerall faces. But the Rainebow is made all at once, and hath but one onely face. What then? Is not the water that issueth from a broken pype, or is squirted or spit out of the mouth, wont to haue some such like colours as wee see in the Rainebow. Tis true: but not for the same cause, as thou thinkest, because that euery droppe of water receiueth the image of the Sunne: for these droppes fall too soone to be able to receiue any forme. They must needly stay to represent the same which they imitate. What is then done? They contract the colour and not the image of the Sunne. Otherwise as *Nero Cæsar* said most learnedly;

Faire Venus *Doue, bending her necke aside,*
In party coloured plumes, doth shew her pride:

And as often as the Peacocke turneth his head neuer so little, her party coloured

An obiection against the comparison preceident.

red plumes ſhine and ſparkle: ſhall wee therefore ſay, that theſe feathers are Mirrors, who vpon euery inclination of the head, preſent new colours; as much correſpondence haue the cloudes with mirrors as thoſe birdes I tolde you, and the Camelions and other kind of Creatures, who of themſelues change their colours, as often as either wrath or deſire of generation maketh them ſpread a humour which giueth a new tincture to the skin, or that they receiue this colour by reuerberation of the light according as it beateth vpon them directly, or obliquely. What reſemblance is there betwixt mirrors and cloudes? mirrors are not tranſparent, but thicke and of one peece, and matter: contrariwiſe brightneſſe trauerſeth the clouds, which are thin, compoſed of confuſed matter, by meanes whereof they cannot remaine long times tied together, but the one of them deſtroyeth the other. Beſides, wee ſee a part of the heauen that is red, when the Sunne riſeth, and ſometimes wee ſee cloudes that are coloured like fire. What letteth then but as they receiue this colour by the arriuall and encountry with the Sunne, ſo alſo they ſhould draw diuers colours, although they haue not the ſame efficacy as a mirror hath? Thou ſaidſt not long ſince, (will ſome man ſay) that the Rainebow is alwayes made by the oppoſition of the Sunne, becauſe a mirror could not repreſent a face, if it were not ſet oppoſite againſt the Sunne. Herein, ſaith he, wee are aggrieed. For euen as wee ought to ſet before the mirror the thing whoſe image wee would haue the glaſſe to repreſent: ſo is it needefull that the Sunne beames ſhould beate directly vpon the cloods, and that they ſhould bee neare him to contract colour. This is their allegation, who would pretend that a cloud is coloured. *Poſidonius* and they that thinke that a cloud is as a mirror, anſwer thus. If there were any colour in the Rainebow it would continue, and it ſhould be ſeene the more manifeſtly, the more neater wee were vnto it: But now the image of the Arch appeareth beſt when it is furtheſt of, the more it neereth vs, the ſooner it dieth. I cannot giue way to this contradiction, when as I approue the ſentence. Why? I will tell you; becauſe the cloud is coloured, but ſo that the colour thereof appeareth not euery wayes; for the cloud it ſelfe appeareth not euery where; for no man ſeeth the cloud wherein he is. What wonder then is it, that the colour thereof is not ſeene vnto him, by whom ſhee her ſelfe is not ſeene? yet although ſhee bee not ſeene, ſhee is; and conſequently ſhe hath colour. So it is not an argument of a falſe colour, becauſe that in drawing neere vnto the ſame, ſhee ceaſeth to appeare the ſame as ſhee was before, for the like falleth out in the cloudes themſelues, which are not therefore falſe, becauſe they are not ſeene. Furthermore, when it is tolde thee, that the cloud is ſtraked with the Sunne, it is not intended that this colour was mixed as in a hard, firme, and permanent body, but as in a fluid and flitting maſſe, which receiueth neyther forme nor colour but for a very little while. The better and deeper tincture the Tyrian ſcarlet is, the higher muſt you holde the ſame, to the end that the luſtre thereof may ſhew the better, yet looſeth not in beeing neere vs his perfect colour, but that tincture it hath, howſoeuer it be diſcouered, ſheweth it ſelfe. Of that opinion am I that *Poſidonius* was, that the Arch is made when as the cloud is formed after the manner of a mirror, hollow and round, like the halfe of a bowle. This cannot be approued by the aſſiſtance of the Geometricians, who by inuincible reaſons proue that the cloud is an image of the Sun, and yet reſembleth him not; as likewiſe mirrors are not anſwerable wholy vnto the truth of things. There are ſome thou wouldeſt be afraid to looke vpon, ſo deformed maketh it their face to appeare that beholde the ſame, by repreſenting

Seneca's opinion touching the faſhion of the Arch.

ſenting their ſimilitude quite contrary. Others of them are ſuch; that in beholding them, will make thee thinke thy ſelfe ſome worthy man, becauſe that both thine armes, and the other members of thy body will ſeeme to be more greater and mighty then they are. Some of them repreſent a true ſimilitude of the face; others halfe the face; ſome there are that leſſen and turne it vpwards. What is it therefore to wonder at, if the ſunne bee imperfectly repreſented in a cloud, as well as in theſe artificiall mirrors?

CHAP. VI.

AMongſt other reaſons, this ſhall be one, that the Arch neuer ſheweth more greater then the halfe of a Circle, and that the leſſe it is, the higher the Sunne is.

The Prognoſtiques touching the Rainebow.

The mighty Arch doth drinke.

As our *Virgil* ſaith, at ſuch time as the raine is ready to fall, but the Prognoſtiques of the Arch are diuers, according to his ſituations. If it appeareth in the ſouth, it bringeth with it much raine, becauſe that by their abundance they could not be ſurmounted by the ſunne. Contrariwiſe, if it appeareth in the weſt, there will follow but a dew and ſome little raine; and if it be in the eaſt, it is a ſigne of faire weather. But if the Arch bee the image of the ſunne, whence commeth it that the Arch appeareth to be more great then the ſunne? becauſe the nature of ſome mirror is ſuch, that it ſheweth things to bee more greater then they were preſented vnto it, and will make the body appeare of more prodigious biggeneſſe: contrariwiſe, there are ſome that make thinges ſeeme farre leſſer then they bee. Tell mee why the face ſheweth round in a ſquare mirror? happily thou mayeſt ſay, that it is thence whence this diuers colour proceedeth; but I cannot tell thee whence this forme commeth, except in thy hand thou haſt ſome patterne whereupon it is formed: But hee hath no other then that of the ſunne, from whence thou muſt needely confeſſe that the Arch borroweth his colour, and conſequently his forme. Finally, wee are agreede, that theſe colours which wee ſee in the Heauens proceede from the ſunne: but our difference is, becauſe thou maintaineſt that it is a colour, and I ſay that it ſeemeth to bee a colour, whether it bee the one or the other, thou canſt not tell mee why this colour vaniſheth ſodainely, whereas all other lightes are extinguiſhed by little and little. This apparition and diſparrition of the Raine-bow maketh for mee: for it is the nature and property of a mirror not to ſhow thinges in partes, but wholly and at once. Euery Image is made and vnmade equally. To repreſent the ſame or not repreſent the ſame, there needeth no more to ſhew it, or to take it away. There is no proper ſubſtance or body in the cloude; it is but a fiction and reſemblance without the thing. Wilt thou know that it is thus? the Raine-bow will vaniſh if thou hide the Sunne. I tell thee if thou oppoſe (I ſay) another Cloud vnto the Sunne, the varietie of the Rainebow will vaniſh; yet is the Sunne ſomewhat greater then the Arch. I haue already anſwered, that there are ſome mirrors which multiplie the whole body which is preſented vnto them: whereunto I adde that all

Why it appeareth greater then the Sunne.

Of the colour.

A proofe that the comparſon betweene the Rainebow and the mirror is proper.

Examples shewing how the Rain-bow seemeth more greater then the Sunne.

things seeme more great, if they be beheld thorow the water. Letters, although they be but small and obscure, appeare more greater and clearer, when they are read thorow a viol filled with water. Apples seeme more fairer then they be, if they swimme in a glasse. Behold the Starres thorow a cloud, and thou wilt iudge them more great, because our eye slippeth in the humiditie, and cannot faithfully apprehend that which it would. This appeareth clearely, if thou fillest a glasse with water, and castest into it some ring, for although the ring remaineth in the bottome, yet the resemblance thereof appeareth in the top of the water. All that which a man seeth thorow the water, is farre greater then the thing it selfe. What wonder is it then, if in a moist cloud the image of the sunne appeareth more greater then naturall. There are two reasons hereof: because in the cloud there is somewhat that is like vnto glasse, which can shine: the other that hath somewhat of water, which although not formed, yet the nature thereof appeareth, and finally, of a cloud wee see that there commeth raine.

CHAP. VII.

Of the triangles of glasse that represent the colours in the Rain-bow, and the difference betwixt them and it.

BEcause (sayest thou) thou hast made mention of a glasse, euen from the same will I produce an argument against thy selfe. Men are accustomed to make certain rods of glasse very narrow, wherein there are diuers angles, and knots or points. If these be shewed athwart the Sunne, they represent the same colours of the Rain-bow, so that thou seest that in it there is not the image of the Sunne, but an imitation of his colour by reuerberation. In this thine argument there are many things that make for me. First, this glasse ought to be thin, and as it were a mirror to reflect the Sunne. Afterwards it appeareth, that in stead of a right colour, it maketh a representation of a false colour, such as the necke of pigeons in turning themselues doth, and changeth diuers colours. The same is in a mirror wherein no man perceiueth any colour, but an appearance of strange colours. This onely remaineth to be resolued, why a man seeth not the Image and representation of the Sun in these rods? They are not capable to expresse the same well, the matter is polished and disposed thereunto, by means wherof they inforce themselues to represent the Sunne; but it is impossible, because both their forme and fashion repugneth the same. If they were made and fashioned with conuenient proportion, they would represent as many sunnes, as many infectures as they had: but because their diuisions are confused, they haue not so great brightnesse as a mirror, they only begin to make representations of the sunne, and finish them not, and for that they are neere, they confound all these representations and images together, whence the appearance of colour proceedeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Why the Arch is but halfe a circle.

BVt why doth not the Rain-bow, in stead of this great and halfe circle it maketh, become wholly round? Some thinke thus, that the sunne being far more higher then the clouds, beateth not, but vpon the vpper part, whence it followeth that the inferiour is not attainted with light. Entertaining the sunne therefore but in one part, they likewise represent but a part of the sunne, and this part is neuer more great then the halfe. This reason hath no great waight. Why? because that although the sunne inclineth towards the higher part, yet beateth he vpon the whole cloud. He hath coloured it then: why not? since it is his custome to dart his beames, and to penetrate thorow euery thicknesse. Moreouer, they contradict their owne intent; for if the sunne be aboue, and for this cause reflecteth only on the higher part of the clouds, neuer will the Arke descend vnto the earth; but we see that it extendeth it selfe euen vnto the ground. Furthermore, the Arch is alwayes opposite against the sun, neither appertaineth it any thing to the matter, whether it be aboue or beneath the same, because that euery place that is opposite against the sunne, cannot but be beaten with the beames thereof. Againe, sometimes a Westerly sunne causeth a Rain-bow, when as he reflecteth vpon the clouds beneath; and is neerest to the earth, which at that time hath but his halfe circle, although the clouds receiue the sunne, when he tendeth to his declination. The Stoickes that would haue the light appeare in the cloud, as a fire doth in the mirror, say, that the cloud is hollow, and as it were a halfe bowle, which cannot make an entire globe, because it is onely a part thereof. I approue their intention, but not their argument. For if in the cauitie of a mirror, all the face of the opposite orbe is expressed, then in an halfe orbe there is no cause why the whole globe may not be beheld, and if we haue said heretofore that a man seeth entire circles of the same colours as the Rain-bow, enuironing the Sun and the Moone: whence commeth it in the meane space, that these circles are entirely whole, and the Rain-bow is neuer but halfe a circle? Againe, why do hollow clouds, and such as are not flat and round, receiue and entertaine the sunne? *Aristotle* saith, That after the Æquinoctiall in Autumne the Rain-bow is made euery houre of the day, but that in Summer it is neuer seene, but vpon sun-rise, or sun-set. The cause is euident. First, because about noone-tide the sun is so strong that he disperseth the clouds, by meanes whereof he cannot impresse his image in them. But in the morning and euening he hath least force, and therefore the clouds may sustaine and repulse him. Moreouer, whereas he is not accustomed to forme the Arch, except at such time as he is opposite to those clouds where he causeth the same; when the dayes are shorter, then is he alwayes oblique. Therefore in euery part of the day, yea euen at mid-day there are certaine clouds, that he may oppositely beate vpon. But in Summer time he is caried aboue our heads, by meanes whereof, at noone-day he beholdeth the earth so directly, that there is not any cloud that can be opposed against him, for at that time they are all vnder him.

CHAP. IX.

Of rods that are imperfect Arkes.

NOw must I speake of rods or windgales, which are no lesse coloured and diuers then the Rain-bow, which notwithstanding cease not to foretell raine, we need not stand long vpon this mistery, for such rods or windgales are no other things, but vnperfect Rain-bowes. For these haue a discolloured face, yea haue they nothing crooked in them. For they appeare for the most part neere vnto the sunne in a moyst cloud, that beginneth but to spread, so that they haue the same colour that the Rain-bow hath, but not the forme, because the forme of the clouds, when they extend themselues, is different also.

CHAP. X.

THe like varietie is in Crownes, but in this they differ, because Crownes are made euery where whersoeuer the sunne is, the Rain-bow is not made, but in opposition against the sun, the rods but neere vnto the sunne. I can likewise this way deliuer a difference of all; if thou diuidest a crowne, it is a Rain-bow, if thou straightenest it, it is a rod? In all of them there is a multiplicitie of colours, of blew, red, and yellow. Onely the rods are neereſt to the sunne, the Rain-bowes all of them are either solare, or lunare, crownes are made about all the planets.

CHAP. XI.

Of Parelies.

THere appeareth likewise another sort of rods, when as small, scattered, and long beames addresse themselues together, and streme from out some streaks of the clouds. These are fore-tokens of vehement raines. But what shall I say heere? What name shall I giue vnto these rods? Are they the Images of the sunne? The Historians call them Sunnes, and write that two of them appeared, and sometimes three: the Grecians call them Parelia, because they are ordinarily seene neere vnto the sunne, or because they resemble the sunne somewhat, for they imitate not the whole, but his image and figure. Otherwise they haue no heat or vigor whatsoeuer, they are dull and imperfect. What name then shall wee giue them? Shall I doe as *Virgil* did, who in the beginning doubted of the name, and afterwards gaue that whereof he doubted.

What shall I call thee Rhetica diuine,
Contend not therefore with Falernian wine.

There is nothing that can hinder vs from calling them by the name of Parelia. These are images of the sun in a thicke and neighboring cloud, in the forme of a mirror. Some say that they are round clouds, shining, and like vnto the sunne. For they follow him, remaining alwaies with him, as long as they dure in equall distance from him: no man is afraid to behold the image of the sunne in any fountaine or still water, but the face hereof may appeare as well aboue as beneath, prouided that he finde proper matter to represent the same face.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the eclipses of the Sunne, and how they are discouered.

AS often times as we would discouer whether there were an eclipse of the sunne or no: We fill certaine basons with oyle or pitch, because a thicke humour is not troubled so easily, and therefore retaineth the images that are offered vnto it. But the images and representations cannot appeare, except it be in that which is liquid and still. At that time are wee wont to marke, how the Moone opposed her selfe against the Sunne, how she hideth him, being greater then her selfe, by the opposition of her bodie, now in part; if it happen that their encountrie be but oblique, sometimes she obscureth him, being right vnder him. This is called an entire defection and eclipse, during which we see the Starres, and the brightnes of the day is lost, that is to say, at such time as the Sunne hath the Moone right vnder him. Euen as therefore vpon the earth we may behold the image of them both; so may a man see them in the aire, when as it is so still and faire, as the face of the Sunne is imprinted therein, which other clouds receiue likewise, but let slip, if either they are too moueable, or too rare, or too sullen. For the moueable scatter him, the rare and cleere let him slip, the thicke and darksome feele him not, no more then on the earth spotted mirrors represent a perfect forme vnto vs.

CHAP. XIII.

Of double Parelies.

AFter the same manner likewise two Parelie are wont to be made. For what letteth it, but that there may be as many as there are clouds that are fit to represent the image of the Sunne? Some are of that opinion, that as often as they see two such representations, that they iudge the one to be of the Sunne, the other of the image if selfe. For amongst vs likewise, when as diuers mirrors are disposed so, that the one is in the sight of the other, all of them are filled, but yet there is but one image of the thing; the other are the resemblances of that image. For it is no matter what the thing is, which is shewed in a mirror, because it representeth all that which is set before it. So there likewise in the aire, if any casualtie dispose the clouds, so as they behold one another: the one cloud will represent the Sunne it selfe, and the other represent the image of the Sunne. But such clouds as these ought to be thicke, light, shining, and entirely of the nature of the Sunne; and therefore all these representations are white, and resemble the Crescent of the Moone, because their brightnesse proceedeth from an oblique reuerberation of the sunne. For if the cloud be beneath the sunne, and neerer vnto him, she is dissipared by him, and being set farre off, of him, she cannot sufficiently entertaine his beames, to make show of an impression, as mirrors represent not our faces which are farre off from them, because the sight of our eye hath not recourse vnto vs backe againe. Furthermore, the Parelie or Sunnes betoken raine (for I will vse the Historiographers name) especially if they show towards the Southward, where the clouds are especially gathered: when such impressions as these begirt the sunne on euery side, if wee beleeue *Aratus*, it foretokeneth a Tempest.

CHAP. XIIII.

Of other diuers sorts of fiery Meteors.

IT is time now to consider those other fires, which haue diuers appearances, sometimes there shineth a starre, sometimes the heauen is as it were inflamed, somtimes there are fixed and inherent fires, sometimes they stay not in one place. There are many kinds of these seene; somtimes there are fires that outwardly are begirt with a crown, and inwardly flame. Somtimes the heauens gather together, in such sort as if they seemed to be some round trench. There are some that are called *Pithyæ*, when as the greatnesse of a grosse and round fire, like vnto a towne runneth in the heauens, or else burneth it selfe to nothing in one place. Furthermore there are **Chasmata*, when as sometimes a space of the heauens openeth it selfe, and gaping wide seemeth as it were in the secret thereof to shew a burning flame: and all these Meteors are of different colors, some of intended rednesse, some of a slighter and fainter flame, some of a cleerer and whiter light, some sparkling, and some equally yellow, without irruptions or radiations: we see therefore

** Casma it when much vapour is inflamed in a watry cloud, or one that is very thin.*

The longest tract of starres growe white behinde.

These shoote and flie like starres, and seeme to shoote out long traines of fire, by reason of their immeasurable swiftnesse, when as our eye cannot discerne their passing by, but whersoeuer they ranne, beleeued that all that parte was on fire. For such is the swiftnesse of their motion, that we cannot apprehend their distances, but onely see their ends. We see better the place where the bodie of a fiery starre presenteth it selfe, then the way that it holdeth. He therefore designeth all his course, as it were with a continuall fire, because the slownesse of our sight followeth not the moments of his race, but seeth at once both from what place it issued, and whether it attaineth; which falleth out in lightning; for the fire thereof seemeth long vnto vs, because he ouerslippeth his space in the twinkling of an eye, and all that circuit encountreth with our eyes, whereby it is discharged; yet is it not an extended bodie, that it may occupie all the space of the way whereby it commeth: for things so long and extenuated haue no force to giue a violent assault. How therefore do these fires issue? When the fire is enkindled by the collision of the ayre, it is violently pushed downward by the winde; and yet is it not alwayes caused by winde or by collision. Sometimes it is bred by reason of some opportunitie of the ayre, because that in this higher region there are diuers things that are drie, hote, and terrestriall amongst which it is bred, and the matter that feedeth it faileth very suddenly, and therefore is it violently carried and vanished away. But why is it that his coulor is diuers? what importeth it, what that is which is enkindled, and how vehement it is, whereby it is set on fire? But this fall of this fire signifieth winde, from that part from whence it breaketh forth.

Whence this lightning and darting of them proceedeth.

Their signification.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

How lightnings are made.

HOw asketst me likewise how those lightnings are engendred which the Græcians call *Seld*, in diuers sortes as it is reported. It may be that the force of the winde breedeth them, or the heat of the highest heauen may produce them: for when as the elementary fire is spread euery where, sometimes it embraceth inferiour things if they be disposed to take fire. The motion of the starres may by his course enkindle this fire, and transmit it to inferiour bodies. What then? Can it not be that the ayre repulseth that vertue which it hath from fire, as far as the æthereall region, whence afterward there followeth a lightning or enkindling of a star, or some such like darting fire? Of these lightnings, some fall directly downwards, resembling shooting stars, some remaine in a certaine place, and shoot forth so much light as may disperse darkenesse, and represent the day, vntil such time as hauing consumed their nutriture, they first of all become obscure, and afterwards after the manner of a flame that is extinguished in it selfe by continuall diminution they are reduced to nothing. Of these some appeare in the clouds, some aboue the clouds, when as the thicke ayre hath drawne that fire as high as the stars, which it had long time nourished and entertained neere vnto the earth. Some of these suffer no delay, but runne here and there, and are extinguished in that place where they first appeared. These are truely called lightnings, because their appearance is short and of small continuance. Neyther fall they without some mischiefe; for oftentimes they doe as much mischiefe as tempestuous fire-breaks. By these haue we seene the tops of houses strooken, which the Gæcians call *Astropopletta*. But these continued lightnings which haue their fire more strong, and which follow the motion of the heauen, or that haue a particular tract, are called Comets, according to the opinion of the Stoicks, whereof I am to intreate. There are diuers sorts of these; some bearded, some like Torches or Lamps, some are called *Cyparissæ*, and others whose fire is scattered and long in their breaking forth. Some doubt whether they ought to put in the ranke of these Comets those beames and tombs of fire that are seldome seene. For they haue need of much matter, and conglobation of fire, considering that sometimes their body is so great that it surpasseth the thicknesse and roundnesse of the rising sunne. Amongst them thou mayest place these fires which are oftentimes mentioned in histories and whereof somtimes the brightnes is so heigh that such fierie boddies seeme to be placed amongst the stars, otherwhiles it is so lowe that it seemeth to be the burning of some howses, that are far from the place where we are. In the time of the Emperor *Therius* the horse-men galloped to succour the inhabitants of *Ostia*, supposing that their City was set on fire; but it was a heate of the heauens; and a brightnesse of fire, thick & foggy, which had shined for a great part of the night. Of these no man doubteth but that they haue a flame which they shew, and their substance is certaine. The question is of the former, I meane of the Raine-bow & crowne, whether they deceiue the sight and are but counterfeit, or whether they haue truly that in them which appeareth. Our opinion is, that neither the Rain-bow or Crowns haue any certain body. For in esteeme that there is not any thing but fallacious in mirrors, which doe but represent a body subsisting without them; otherwise it would remaine therin, and could not be hidden or defaced by any other Image, neither should a man in one instant see so many infi-

continued lightnings or Comets, and their diuers sorts

Whether the Raine-bow and crownes be but appearances.

infinite formes both appeare and vanish in one and the same mirrour. What is it then? They are Images and vaine representations of true bodies, nay which is more, there are some artificiall mirrors found, which may make some things appeare farre contrary to that they are; for, as I said, there are some mirrours that make their faces seeme crooked that look into the same, and some there are that make their shew infinitely more huge, and exceeding humane habite, and the measure of our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

A monster of intemperancy: a shame of Rome the villeinous Hostius.

IN this place I will tell thee a storie, to the end thou mayest vnderstand that lust forgetteth not any instrument to prouoke his desire, but is diligent and ingenuous to excite his owne furie. There was a man called *Hostius* so vncleanely and villeinous, that he was not ashamed to make shew of his sequrilitie and filthinesse in the publique Theater. This rich and couetous wretch was owner of two millions and fiue hundreth thousand crownes; yet *Diuus Cæsar* after that his slaues had murthered him, iudged that hee was vnworthy that any man should reuenge his death, & yet notwithstanding would he not declare that he was iustly slain. He was not only impure in respect of one sex, but he surfetted in his lust both towards men and women, & made certain mirrors of that fashion, wherof I late made mention, that shewed the images of men far greater then they were, wherein one finger exceeded the arme in measure, length, and thicknesse. These did he dispose in such sort that when he endured the company of men, he sawe in the mirrour all the execrable motions of him he had admitted, enioying by this meanes a false greatnesse of their members, as if it had beene true. In all bathes he made his choyse, and chose him men by the open measure of their length, yet notwithstanding delighted he his insatiable lusts with fained appearances also. Goe now and say that Looking-glasses were inuented for vncleanesse sake. It is shamefull to be spoken what this monster (worthy to be torne with his owne teeth) both spake and did; when as on euery side mirrors were opposed against him, to the end he might be a beholder of his owne hainous villeinies. And those things which a secret conscience would suppresse, and such as any one being accused thereof, would be ashamed to confesse: these thrust he not onely into his mouth, but into his eyes. But vndoubtedly haynous sinnes are afraid to behold themselues. The most desperateste villaines, and they that are disposed to all dishonour, feele that the tendernesse of shame easily seizeth their eyes. But this man, as it were a trifle to suffer things vnheard of, and vnknowne in his owne person, hath made them come before his sight, and was not onely contented to see the greatnesse of his sinne, but thought good to plant about himselfe his mirrors, whereby he diuided, and disposed his villeinies. And because he could not so diligently obserue and see, at such time as he was seized vpon, and his head hidden, and his body tyed to the shamefull part of some villeinous buggerer, he represented his monstrous action to himselfe by resemblances: he saw in his mirrors the furquedry of his mouth, he beheld the men whom he receiued vpon all the parts of his bodie. Sometimes diuiding himselfe betwixt a man and a woman, and abandoning his person to suffer both wayes, he beheld those villeinies which a man durst not either imagine or name. What hath this impure caitife left himselfe to doe in the darkenesse? Hee feared not the

Modestie in shame & chastitie in eies abhorre these extreame: shamelesse; readers with shame, for such like actions, O can there be such a breede confusion for euer.

the day, and durst shew himselfe those monsterous embracements, and approue them vnto himselfe. What? doest thou thinke that he would not be painted in that habit? There is some modestie in those that are prolitute and harlots, and they couer in some sort those bodies of theirs, which are the obiects of publike disgrace, whereby their vnhapple patience may lie hidden, so that in some sort the very brothel-house hath modestie in it. But that Monster made a publique spectacle of his vncleannesse, and shewed those thinges to himselfe, to couer and hide which no night were darke enough. I, saith hee, endure both a man and a woman at once, and notwithstanding in that part also which is left me to some disgrace, I exercise the part of a man. All my members are exercised in publike dice; it is therefore requisite that mine eyes should haue their part, and that they should be witnesses and controllers. Euen those things which by scituation are hidden from the sight of our bodies, are visited by art, least any man should thinke that I know not what I doe: nature did nothing when shee gaue a man so feeble instruments to execute his lusts, and when thee hath learned brute beasts a more perfect contentment in their encountries. I will finde a meanes how I may deceiue and satisfie my infirmitie; whereto should my iniquirie serue me, if I should not finde more then nature hath taught me? I will set these kinde of mirrors about me, that may present an incredible greatnesse of formes. If I might haue libertie I would make them truly as great, and because I may not, I will feede my selfe with the similitude; my villanie shall see more then it can conceiue, and shall admire at his owne patience. O detestable wickednesse. This man perchance was killed quickly, and before he saw these things. He deserued to be massacred before his mirror.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the vse of mirrors vpon the occasion of the former comparison.

LEt those Philosophers therefore be now derided who dispute thus of the nature of mirrors, enquiring whence it commeth that our face sheweth thus, and turneth towards vs what pretended the nature of things, that after shee had giuen vs true bodies, shee would likewise that a man should see these images? To what end was it to prepare this matter that was fit to entertaine formes? It was not to the end we should pluck our beards by a looking glasse, or to polish a mans face, nature hath not allowed dissolution any thing to exercise her folly in: but first of all, Because our eyes are to feeble to behold the sunne at hand, to the end that they might comprehend the forme of the same, shee discouereth it in a more duller light. For although we may behold him both at his rising & his setting, yet should we not know his true forme in his resplendent brightnesse, if his face were not shewed vs more easily to be obserued in some pure & polished thing. Secondly, we should not see the eclipses, neither might we know what it is if we did not more easily vpon the earth perceiue the images both of Sun and Moon. Thirdly, mirrors haue beene inuented to the end that a man might know himselfe. Of this inuention haue followed diuers benefits, first the knowledge of our selues, afterwards the resolution of some occurrents. The faire ought to learne herein how to auoide infamie: the foule, to redeeme by their vertuous behauiour, the imperfection of their countenance: The yong, to remember themselues that being in their flowring yeares, that it is time for them to learne, and attempts actions of value: The old, to shake off all misse-beseeming actions that

that are vnfitting for their white haires, and to meditate on death. For this cause nature ministred vs the meanes to see our selues. A cleare fountaine, and euery bright stone reflecteth our mindes.

Late did I see my selfe from of the shore,
When seas were calm'd and tempest stir'd no more.

What were these fellowes, thinkest thou, that combed themselues by this glasse? That age was more simple, the men contented themselues with that which next came to hand, as yet the benefits of Nature were not wrested vnto vice, neither was her inuention imployed and rauished to satisfie dissolution and excesse. At the first, as casualtie offered the oportunitie, so men discouered their faces: but afterwards, when as self-loue had insinuated it selfe amongst mortall men, and made euery man beleeue that he was faire and well pleasing, they oftentimes despised those things, wherein at the first they saw and beheld themselues. But when the world became euill, and began to puzzle themselues in the earth, the vse of Iron was first found out, which had not brought with it any incommoditie, had men contented themselues therewith. But other mischieues began to burgen out of the earth, which by their lustre began to appeare, and please those which otherwise thought not thereupon, so that the one conceiued a delight in beholding a goblet, another an instrument made of brasse, and fit for seruice, and not to be beheld. Anon after some part of the earth was ordained to this seruice, although in other respects: siluer shined not as yet, but some other matter more brittle and of lesse value. At that time also when as these old fathers liued temperately, yet cleanly enough, if they had washed away the sweate and dust, which they had gathered by their daily trauell in the fleeting streame; it was enough for them to stroake downe their haire, and to combe their long beards, and in this time euery one serued himselfe, and assisted others. That haire which in times past was vsually wont to be scattered by mens hands, was dressed and handled by women, but they that had a faire haire, contented themselues with the naturall growth thereof, as we see Horses and Lions doe. But afterwards, when as dissolution had gotten the better hand of the world, men made mirrors of gold and siluer as great as the bodie, and afterwards garnished them with precious stones, in so much as one of them cost a woman more siluer, then in times past would haue sufficed to endow the daughters of great Captains, that were married vpon the common purse. Thinkest thou that those daughters had a mirror enchased with gold, whereas they were enforced to borrow siluer to marrie them? O happie pouertie, the cause of so worthie a renowne. Had they been rich, the Senat had not allotted them their dowrie. But whosoeuer he was that had the Senate for his father in law, vnderstood that he had receiued a dower, which it was not lawfull to restore. At this day the summe of money that was furnished by the Senate for the daughters of *Scipio*, was not sufficient to buy a glasse for the daughters of enfranchised slaues. For dissolution inuited by little and little by her riches, is animated to much immodestie: and vices are growne to their full maturitie. In briefe, by such deuices all things haue beene so confused, that that which we call a womans cabinet, is an equipage of men, nay I will say lesse, euen souldiers baggage. But now the mirror which was onely admitted for ornament sake, is made a necessarie instrument to whatsoeuer vice.

Whence dissolution grew.

The end of the first Booke of Naturall Questions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILIVS.

The second Booke.

CHAP. I.

ALl that which a man may draw in question in respect of the Vniuerse, is diuided into celestiall, aeriall, or earthly things. The first part examineth the nature of the stars, and the greatnes and forme of those fires, wherein the world is included: whether the heauen be solid and of a firme and concreate matter, or compact of a subtill and thin substance: whether it driueth or is driuen: whether the stars are vnder it, or fixed in the contexture thereof: how the Sunne obserueth the annuall changes; or whether he obserueth an oblique course, and other such like questions. The second part intreateth of the impressions of the ayre, and such as conuerse betwixt heauen and earth. Of this sort are mists, raynes, snowes, and thunders that astonish mens mindes. In briefe, whatsoeuer the ayre doth or suffereth, these call we sublime, because they are higher then the lowest. The third part sufficiently debateth vpon fields, lands, trees, and plants, and (to vse the Lawyers phrase) all that which the earth containeth. Whence commeth it to passe (sayest thou) that thou hast put the question of the motion of the earth in that place, wherein thou art to discourse vpon thunder and lightning? Because that the trembling of the earth is caused by the violence of the wind, which is but agitated ayre, which although it plung it selfe vnder the earth, yet ought we not to consider it there, but in that place where nature hath lodged it. I will tell thee a thing that shall be more wonderfull, I must intreat of the earth amongst celestiall things. Why, sayest thou? Because that when we discusse in this place the properties of the earth, whether she be broad and vnequall, or immeasurably extended in length, whether it be compact wholly in the forme of a bowle, or assembleth her parts into an Orbe, whether she encloseth the waters, or the waters haue encloseth and couered her, whether she be a sluggish or a senselesse creature, or a body full of spirit, but comming from another place, and such other like things that properly haue a relation or dependance on the earth, and, if a man may so speake it, are placed in

A diuision of Philosophy into three parts, according to Seneca.

Why he intermixeth the questions of the Meteors.

in the ranke of those things that are most base. But in questioning what the situation of the earth is, in what part of the world it hath beene setled, how it is opposed against the heauen and the starres, this question exceedeth the precedent, and is more high.

CHAP. II.

Of the Elements or simple body, whereof one is the aire.

BEcause I haue made mention of those parts, into which all the matter of things created are deuided, I must speake some thing in generall, and first of all presuppose, that amongst the bodies that are simple, whence proceede those that are composed, some reckon the ayre. Thou shalt vnderstand what this is, and why I must speake thereof, if I ayme my discourse more higher, and if I say, that there is something continued, and wholy one, and some thing contrariwise, consisting of diuers parts. Continuation is a continuall coniunction of partes amongst themselues. Vnitie is a continuation without intermission, and a touch of two bodies vnited in themselues. Is it to bee doubted that amongst these bodies which both wee see and handle, which are eyther felt or seele, but that there are some compound? These are such by connexion or acernation, as for example, a rope, corne, or a shippe. Againe, some not compounded, as a tree or a stone. Therefore thou must needly grant, that amongst those things likewise which are separated from sense, but are apprehended by reason; there is in some of them a vnity of bodies. See how I spare thine eares, I could acquite my selfe, if I would vse the Philosophers termes, and say, vnite bodies, but since I forgiue thee this, see likewise that thou giue me thankes. Why so? If at any time I shall say one, remember thy selfe that I referre this not vnto number, but vnto the nature of the body not composed by externall helpe, but by his owne vnity: by this note, ayre is one of the simple bodies.

CHAP. III.

Of the parts, and of the matter of the world.

THe world comprehendeth all these things which can fall within our knowledge, of these some are parts, some are left in stead of matter: all nature wanteth matter, euen as euery art that is Manuel. What this is, I will make it more plaine. The hands, the bones, the nerues, the eyes are a part of vs, the sucke of that meat which wee retaine, and such as must bee distributed into partes, the matter: Againe, bloud is as it were a part of vs, which notwithstanding is a matter also: for it prepareth other thinges likewise, and notwithstanding it is of the number of these, by whose meanes the whole bodie is made.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The aire is a necessary part of the world.

AYre so is a part of the world, yea and a necessary part, for this is it that vniteth both heauen and earth, that so separateth the lowest from the highest, that notwithstanding they are ioyned by it. He separateth them because hee is in the middest of them, and vniteth them, because both of them by his meanes are agreede together. All that which is sent him from the earth, he communicateth with the heauens. Againe, hee impartеth to terrestriall things, the efficacy of celestiall bodies, which so call I a part of the world, as I doe beasts and plants, for both these kinds of beastes and plants are a part of the world, because they haue beene created as thiogs necessary to perfect the whole, and because the whole cannot consist without them, but one liuing creature and one plant is as it were a part, for although it should die, yet that which is cut off, is of the whole: but ayre as I haue said cleaueth both to heauen and earth, it is borne both and with the one and the other, but that hath vnity, whatsoeuer is a natiue part of any thing, for nothing is borne without vnity.

CHAP. V.

The earth is a part also, and the master of the world.

THe earth is both a part of the world and the matter. I thinke thou wilt not aske mee why it is a part, for as well mayest thou aske mee why the heauen is a part, for no more can the vniuers bee without this, then without that; but it is composed of these parts, by meanes whereof hee maintaineth all their stars in their being and vigor, all liuing creatures and all plants. It is the heauen and earth that furnisheth all creatures and the world (that requireth so many things) with all their vigor, that maintaine so many celestiall bodies in their being, turning so swiftly continually, and so greedily both in their motion, and in their nourishment. In briefe, by the meanes of heauen and earth, all the nature of things receyueth that which is needfull for it for his nourishment and conseruation. From them likewise hath the world drawne all that which shee needeth, as long as hee shall endure. I will propose vnto thee a little example to make thee comprehend so great a thing: Egges containe as much humour as is necessarie for the being of that creature which is to be hatched.

CHAP. VI.

Whereof the ayre is composed.

A refutation of the error of the Epicure, who composeth the aire of Atoms.

THe ayre is so continuate with the earth, and so vnited with it, that as soone as shee departeth from her place, hee supplieth it; It is a part of the whole world, and yet the same, and receiueth whatsoeuer nutriment the world sendeth him, in which respect wee must take it for matter and not for a part. Hence is all inconstancy and tumult, this doe some men compose of distant small bodies, as of dust, and depart very much from the truth; for neuer is there an accord of a body that is framed of parts, but by vnity when as the parts ought to consent to the intention, and to adde strength thereto. But the ayre if it bee diuided into A-

The force of the ayre expressed by effects.

toms, that is to say into small parts, is scattered. And such things as are so scattered, may not bee maintained. These things that are swolne and yeeld not to the stroke, will shew thee the intention and force of the ayre. Thou shalt perceiue it in waighty things, which are carried away by the wind for a great space. Thou shalt perceiue it by voyces, which are eyther more feeble or stronger, according as the ayre is moued: for what is a voyce, but an intention of the ayre, to the ende it may bee heard, formed by the repercussion of the tongue? What is euery course and motion, are they not the workes of agitated ayre? this is it that giueth force to the nerues, and swiftnesse to those that runne: This it is that when it is vehemently moued and troubled in it selfe, renteth vp trees and forrests, and bearing vp whole houses on hie, at last breaketh them in peeces. This it is that encreaseth the sea when it is calme & still. Let vs come to lesser matters; for what song is there without the intention of the spirite? Cornets and Trumpets, and those that by some pressure yeelde a greater sound then may bee deliuered by the voyce, doe they not enlarge their sounds by the intention of the ayre? Let vs consider the great efficacy of seedes so small, as scarsly a man may discerne them, if these fall into the clefts of stones, yet doe they push forth and waxe great in such sort, that they riue and cleaue hugh stones in sunder, and dissolue them in a moment, and smal and tender rootes in their beginning in succession of time skorne and breake both stones and rockes: what else is this but an intention of spirite, without which there is nothing strong, and against which nothing may resist? And by this, if by nothing else wee may conceiue that there is an vnity in the ayre, because our bodies are vnited in themselus; for what else is it that containeth them but spirit? by what other thing is it that our mind is agitated? What is his motion but an intention? What is intention, but out of vnity? what vnity except it were in the ayre? and what other thing produceth fruites and weake seedes, and rayseth flourishing trees, and extendeth their branches; and stretcheth them out on high, then the intention and vnity of the spirit.

Diuers comparisons to confirme this refutation.

CHAP. VII.

That the ayre is a full body, and not voide, neyther in whole nor in part.

Some teare and rent the ayre into small peeces, so as they intermixe *voyde* with it, and they thinke it to bee an Argument that the ayre is not a full body, but that it containeth much vacuity in it, because birdes haue so easie a motion therein, because both small and great may haue their passage thorow it: but they are deceiued; for the like facility likewise is in the waters, and yet may no man doubt of their vnity, which so entertaine bodies, that they alwayes ioyne themselues to them. This doe the Latines call *Circumstance*, and the Græcians *Perisstasis*, which is as well within the ayre, as in the water: For it enuironeth euery body by which it is impelled. There is no need therfore of any *voide* to intermixe therewith. But of this in an other place.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the agitation and power of the ayre.

But now it is to be gathered that there is a certaine vehemency in Nature, and that of great force: for nothing is vehement but by intention, and yet vndoubtedly nothing can be intended by any other thing, except it be intended by it selfe; for we say after the same maner, that nothing can be moued by another, except somthing were moueable of it selfe. But what is it that may be thought to haue more intention of it selfe then spirit? And who is he that will denie that this is intended, when he seeth the earth, the mountains, houses, and many wals, great Cities with the people, and all the Sea-shoares shaken? The swiftnesse & great extent of the ayre sheweth his intention. The eye presently intendeth his sight through many miles, one voyce at one time resoundeth through many Cities, the light creepeth not on by little and little, but in an instant spreadeth it selfe ouer all things.

CHAP. IX.

The efficacy of this agitation, and how the ayre is mixed amidst the earth and waters.

How can the water be intended except it be by the ayre? Doubtest thou but that that ouerflow of water that riseth and increaseth, from the foundation of the lowest sands and channell, & mounteth to the very top of the Amphitheater, is without the intention of water? Truely there is no Crane or any other engine that may more mount or driue the water then the spirit. She applyeth her selfe vnto it, she is raised, and indeuoureth many things contrary to her nature, and being created to fleet, ascendeth vpward when the ayre possesseth or impelleth her. Those Barks that are ouer-laden, shew they not that it is not the water but the winde that keepeth them from sinking? For the water would giue place, neyther could it sustaine any burthens, except she her selfe were sustained. A Trencher being cast out from a higher place into a Fish-poole descendeth not, but leapeth backe; how, I pray you, except it were by the benefite of spirit? How doth the voyce penetrate thick walls, but for this cause, because there is ayre in solid & massiue things, which both receiueth and sendeth back the sound that came from without, not onely intending by the spirit those things that are open, but those things likewise which are hidden, and included? which he may easily doe, because he is no wayes diuided, but by those very meanes whereby he seemeth separated, he gathereth vp himselfe into himselfe. Plant betwixt him and vs thicke walls, and mightie and high mountaines, this hindereth him from comming to vs, but not vnto himselfe, for that is onely intercluded wherby we may follow him. He himselfe passeth thorow that which is diuided, and not onely spreadeth himselfe not onely thorow the middest, but begirteth it on euery side.

CHAP. X.

Of the situation and diuers quarters of the ayre.

THe ayre passeth and spreadeth it selfe from the ætherial & cleere region, as farre as the earth, more swift, more subtile, and higher then the earth and waters, yet more thicke and waighty then that region, being of himselfe colde and obscure; his light and heate are borrowed from another place, yet in euery place he is not like himselfe, for he is changed by his neighbours. The higher part thereof is driest, hottest, and for this cause also the most thinnest, by reason of the vicinitie of eternall fires, and those so many motions of starres, and the continuall reuolution of the heauens. That lower part, which is neerest vnto the earth is thicke and obscure, by reason that it intertayneth the exhalations of the earth. The middle part is more temperate if thou compare it with the higher, and the lower, as much as concerneth dryenesse and tenuity, but colder then eyther part; for the higher parts thereof feele the heate of the neighbouring starres: the inferiour likewise are warmed, first by the exhalations of the earth, which bring with them very much heate; againe by reuerberation of the beames of the Sunne, which redoubling their heate, as farre as they may reflect, doe warme him gently: againe, by the warme vapour of liuing creatures, hearbes and plants; for none of all these can liue without heate. Adde hereunto now, not only those fires that are made by hand, and are certain, but such as are couered by the earth, wherof som haue broken forth innumerable, are alwayes burning in obscure and secret places. We may also well say, that being the cause of fertilitie in so many places they haue some heate, for colde is barren, and heate is fit for generation. So then the middle Region of the ayre being far distant from the higher & lower, remaines cold, because the nature of the ayre is such.

CHAP. XI.

Why the ayre is moueable and inconstant.

BEcause whereas it is thus deuided, in the lower part therof it is for the most part variable, inconstant, and mutable. About the earth it doth very much, it suffereth very much, it agitateth and is agitated, yet all of it is not affected in the same sort, but diuersly in diuers places, and in his parts as both vnquiet and troubled. But the causes of this his inconstancy and change, are in some sort ministred by the earth (whose positions being diuersly changed, are of great moment in respect of the temperature of the ayre) in some sort by the course of the Planets; amongst which thou mayest impute the most to the Sunne. The yeare followeth him, according to his motions, the Winters and Summers are changed. The Moone hath the next power. The rest of the starres likewise no lesse affect the earth then that aire which hath inconstancy vpon the earth, & by their contrary and crooked risings and settings now moue colde, now showers, and are the causes of other iniuries of the earth. Hauing to speake of thunder, lightning, and fulgurations, it concerned me to make this Preface; for since such impressions are caused in the ayre, it was necessary for me to discouer the nature thereof, to the end it might more easily appeare, what it might eyther doe or suffer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of three ordinarie meteors in the ayre, that is, fulgurations, lightnings and thunder.

THere are three things therefore that happen, flashing, lightning, and thunder, which are made together, and are not so soone heard the one as the other. Flashing show the fire that lightning sendeth: the one is, if I may so speak it, as it were a threatning and a thunder without noise. The other is the effect and stroake of the threat. There are some of these wherein all men consent, some wherein mens opinions are different. They accord in this, that all these are made either in the clouds or of the clouds. They likewise confesse that they are of fire, or of a hot and drie exhalation. Let vs now descend to those things that are in controuersie. Some thinke that fire is in the clouds, some hold that it is made for a time, and that it beginneth not to be, except then when it appeareth. Those that are of this opinion, are not agreed as touching this, from whence this fire proceedeth. For some gather it from the light: other some say that the beames of the Sunne, by force of their reuerberation and frequent reflection, enkindle the fire. *Anaxagoras* maintaineth that it distilleth from the etheriall region, and that from this so great heate of the heauens many doe fall, which were long time kept and enclosed in the clouds. *Aristotle* thinketh that this fire is not gathered long time before, but that it shooteth out at that very instant that it is formed: whose opinion is thus, Two parts of the world, earth and water, lie below, and euery one of these contributeth to himselfe something. The earthly vapour is drie and resembleth smoake, whence arise the windes, the thunders, and lightnings. That of the waters is moyst, and conuerteth it selfe into raines and snowes. But when this drie exhalation of the earth that produceth the windes, being thicke, commeth to ioyne it selfe, that are vehemently closed and locked one within another, it breaketh it selfe. And in this conflict the stroake yeeldeth a noise, such as we heare in our ouens, when the flame cracketh, if the fire be made of greene wood. And as the winde hauing some moysture intermixed with him, when as it is assembled and shut in one, bursteth out into a flame. In the same manner, that spirit which, as I said a little before, was expressed by the collision of clouds, and being impacted with others, neither can be broken nor presse forth in silence. And different the cracke is, by reason of the different dashing together of the clouds; whereof some yeeld a greater sound, some a lesser. But that force of the expressed spirit is fire, vvhich hath the name of flashing or fulguration enkindled easily, without any force and various; yet see we the fulguration before we heare the sound. Because the sense of the eye is more swifter and exceedeth the eare by farre.

Diuers opinions as touching the nature of them.

The summe of Aristotles opinion. Lib. de calo. cap. 3.

CHAP. XIII.

Whether there be fire reserued in the clouds, or whether it falleth from on high.

VT that their opinion is false: that containe the fire in clouds, may be gathered by diuers reasons. If it falleth from the heauens, why falleth it not daily, whereas so much thereof burneth continually there? Againe, they haue yeelded no reason why the fire which naturally mounteth vpward, should flow downwards. For the condition of our fire is otherwise, whose sparkles which haue some

ſome waight doe fall. So then the fire deſcendeth not, but is precipitated and drawne downwards. No ſuch matter befalleth the elementarie fire, which is moſt pure, and wherein there is nothing that may be depreſſed, or if any part thereof ſhould fall, the whole is in danger, becauſe that that which is comprehenſible may wholly periſh. Moreouer, if that whoſe leuitie daily hindereth him from falling, hould any thing that is waightie ſecretly hidden in himſelfe, how can he ſubliſt in a place, whence of neceſſitie he ought to fall? What then? Are not ſome fires wont to be carried into the inferiour parts, as theſe verie lightnings the which are now in queſtion? For they goe not, but they are caried by Fate. There is ſome power that depreſſeth them, which is not in the etheriall region. For nothing in this region is compelled by force, nothing is broken, nothing falleth out extraordinarily. All is gouerned, there is a repured fire that enuironeth the world, lodged in the higheſt extremities of this round machine, the which doth all that fittingly, which is requiſite for the entertainment of himſelfe: it cannot moue from thence, neither be abaſed by any other forren accident, becauſe in the etheriall region there is no place for any incertaine bodie. For thoſe things that are certaine and gouerned ſtriue not.

CHAP. XIIII.

If the aire draw fire from the etheriall region, or if it be enflamed.

SOu ſay (I tell you) when as you yeeld a reaſon why certaine ſtars flee from one place vnto another, that ſome parts of the aire may draw vnto themſelues the fire that falleth from the etheriall region, and that by it they are enflamed aboue. But there is a great difference in this, whether we ſay that fire falleth from the etheriall region (which Nature permitteth not) or that by reaſon of the fierie force it enkindleth thoſe things that are beneath, or that it is enkindled heere. For the fire falleth not from thence (for that cannot be) but is bred heere. We ſee amongſt our ſelues, that when as fire ſcattereth it ſelf abroad, that ſome Iſlands that haue beene long times hot, conceiue flame, and take fire of themſelues. It is therefore likely to be true, that in the higher region of the aire, the which hath this propertie to draw fire vnto it ſelfe: that fire is enkindled ſometimes by the heate of the etheriall region, which couereth and embraceth it on euery ſide. For it muſt needs be, that both the lower part of the etheriall region hath ſomewhat in it that reſembleth the aire, and that the higheſt aire be not vnlike to the lower part of the etheriall region, becauſe that one thing cannot readily paſſe or ioyne it ſelfe with that which is directly contrarie thereunto. For theſe by their neighbourhood by little and little intermixe their force in ſuch ſort, that thou mayeſt doubt whether of them both it is.

CHAP. XV.

The opinions of the Stoicks, as touching the inflammations of the aire, and the agitation of it ſelf

SOme of our Stoicks thinke that the aire (when as it is eaſily changed into fire and water) draweth not from other parts new cauſes of inflammations, but that in agitating himſelf, he enkindleth himſelfe, and that then when he ſcattereth the thick and compact concauitie of the clouds, that neceſſarily in the enterſhocke of thoſe

thoſe ſo vaſt bodies, there ſhould be formed a great noiſe. But this conflict of clouds (which hardly giue place the one vnto the other) is of no ſmall force to enkindle a flame, euen as in ſome ſort the hand aſſiſteth the Iron to cut, although that cutting be a thing proper vnto Iron.

CHAP. XVI.

The difference betweene fulguration and lightning.

WHat difference then is there betweene fulguration and lightning? I will tell thee: Fulguration is a fire that is ſpread at large: Lightning is a fire that is gathered and darted with violence, wee are wont in ioyning both our hands together to take vp water, and afterwards in ſhutting to force it out, as it were, out of a pipe. Suppoſe ſuch like things to be done there. The ſtraightneſſe of thoſe clouds that are compreſſed and ſhut together yeeld forth the winde that is ſhut in them, and by this meanes are they inflamed, and then vomit out fires as it were the ſtroke of ſome engine of warre. For wee ſee Arbeleſtres and Scorpions puſh forth their arrowes with ſome noiſe.

CHAP. XVII.

How thunders are cauſed after Anaximenes opinion.

SOme thinke that the ſpirit paſſing through cold and moiſt maketh a noiſe. For neither is hot iron extinguiſhed without ſome ſound. But euen as if a burning red hot peece thereof be put into water, it is not extinguiſhed without much hiſſing: So as *Anaximenes* ſaith, when as the winde encountreth with the clouds he cauſeth thunders; and whilſt it ſtriueth and wandreth through the reſiſting and open clouds, in his very flight he enkindleth fire.

CHAP. XVIII.

The opinion of Anaximander hereupon.

ANAXIMANDER referred all things to winde. Thunders, ſaith he, are the noiſe of a cloud that is ſtrooken: Why are they vnequall? Becauſe the ſhock it ſelfe is vnequall. Whence commeth it that it thundereth in faire weather? Becauſe at that time alſo the winde breaketh through the thick and drie aire. But why ſometimes doth it not lighten and thunder? becauſe the winde that was ouerfeeble to make fire, was ſtrong enough to make a noiſe: What then is fulguration? It is an agitation of the aire, that ſeparating it ſelfe and falling out of the clouds diſcouereth a fire that is feeble and retayned. What is lightning? It is the courſe and out-breaking of a winde more violent and thick.

CHAP. XIX.

And as touching, thundring and lightning.

THe opinion of *Anaximander* is, that theſe impreſſions are made by ſome influence of the Ætherial Region into theſe of the aire. So fire impacted in cold clouds maketh a noiſe. But when it deuideth them, fulguration followeth, and the leſſer force of fires, cauſeth fulguration; the greater, lightning.

Anaximanders opinion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

The examination of Diogenes Apollomates his opinion.

DIogenes Apolloniates saith, that som thunders proceede from fire, some are caused by winde. The fire produceth those which he foregoeth and foretelleth: the winde those that yeeld a clap without lightning. I confesse that the one is caused and is without the other sometimes: notwithstanding in such sort, that their power is not separated, but that the one may bee produced by the other. For who would denie that the violent winde in stirring vp a vehement noise, could not likewise make a fire? And who likewise will not confesse this, that the fire may sometimes breake the cloudes, and yet not enforce his passage, if after hee hath trauersed some, hee is stayed and extinct by a more greater assembly of other cloudes. It followeth then that the fire conuerteth it selfe into winde, and that it looseth his light and clearenesse when it burneth and enflameth that vpon the earth which shee hath followed: adde hereunto now, that it must needes bee, that the violence of lightning pusheth forth the winde, and sendeth it before him, and draweth it likewise after him when hee cleaueth the ayre by so waighty a stroke. And therefore it is that all things before they feele the stroke of the thunder, tremble being shaken by the assault of the winde which the fire driueth before him.

CHAP. XXI.

Senecaes opinion, as touching lightning and thunder.

IFmissing our Masters, for the present, let vs beginne to speake of our selues, & from those things that are confessed, let vs passe ouer to those thinges that are doubtfull: but what is that which is confessed? That lightning is a fire, and fulguration likewise, which is nought else but a flame, and should bee lightning if it had more force. That it is fire, the heate thereof testifieth, and the effect maketh proofe enough: for lightning oftimes is the cause of mighty fires: woods & parts of Cities are burned vp by it; yea those that are not strucken, yet are they seene to be blasted, and some are coloured as it were with soote. Furthermore, all things that are strucken with lightning, smell of sulphure. It followeth therefore that lightning and fulguration is fire, and that the one is intermixed with the other, in such sort, as fulguration that is not carried as farre as the earth, and againe, lightning is a fulguration that is carried as farreas the earth. It is not a desire I haue to speake much that lengthneth this discourse; but to the end I may proue that these things are of the same semblance, marke and nature: Lightning is somewhat more then fulguration; Let vs turne this, Fulguration, is almost as much as lightning.

CHAP. XXII.

A comparison taken from materiall fire, and that which is terrestriall, that serueth to expresse how lightnings and tempests grow.

AT being manifest that both of them are fires, let vs examine how fire is made amongst vs: for it is made in the same sort, as it is aboue vs, and that in two sorts; the one is when it is enforced out of a flint stone; the other is, if it be found out by attrition, as when as two woods are long times rubbed the one against the other: euery

uery matter will not yeelde thee fire, but onely that which is proper to produce it, as the leaues of Lawrell, Iuie, and which the shepheards (perfectly exercised therein) well know. It may therfore be that in the same sort the clouds are strucken, or beaten one against an other, and thereby yeelde fire. Let vs consider with what force stormes rush in vpon vs, with what violence whirlewindes are vented, whatsoeuer this stormie meeteth withall, is scattered, spred and rauished, and cast farre from the place where it was; what wonder is it therefore if so great a force driue forth the fire, eyther from an other thing or from himselfe? for thou seest what heate those bodies may feele that are blasted, burned and slaine by their passing: by them yet ought wee not to esteeme that these impressions haue as much heat as there is in the stars, whose power is both marualous and confessed.

CHAP. XXIII.

If lightning and thunder arise by meanes of the interstocke of cloudes.

BVt happily those clouds also that are enforced and driuen against other cloudes by an agitation of a murmuring wind, and that is not ouerstrong, will engender a fire that will shine without faling; for there needeth a lesse fire in fulguration then in lightning. By those things that are abouesaid, wee haue gathered to what heate they attaine which are rubbed one against an other. Since then the ayre which of his nature is easily changed into fire, by the violence of his forces being conuerted into fire is broken. It is both credible and likely that the fire which is fraile, and will sodainely perish, issueth from a matter that is not solide, wherein it may continue long time. It passeth therefore and staieth no longer then his way endureth, for it is pushed forth without any matter to maintaine and feed it selfe.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Why the lightning falleth downewards, when as it is the property of it to mount vpwards.

HOw commeth it then to passe (saist thou) that where thou sayest, that this is the nature of fire to mount vpwardes, yet that the lightning falleth downewardes; what is that false which thou hast spoken of fire? for he as wel mounteth vpwards as he falleth downwards: both of these may be true; for fire by nature mounteth like a Pyramis, and if nothing hindreth it, it ascendeth as water by nature is carried downwards; but if some force bee added thereunto to impell it to the contrary, yet returneth shee to the place from whence shee fell by meanes of the shower; but the lightning falleth by the same necessity whereby it is driuen out. In these fires that falleth, which doth amongst trees, whose toppes if they bee tender, may bee so drawne down that they may touch the earth, but when thou shalt let them goe, they will returne vnto their owne place. Thou art not therefore to respect the habite of euery thing as it is enforced. If thou wilt permit fire to goe whether it will, it will mount to heauen, that is, to the place where euery light thing should bee: but when hee meeteth with any thing that may repulse him, or alter his ascent, this is not naturall vnto him, but seruitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

How fire may issue from water, that is to say, from the cloudes.

YOu maintaine (sayest thou) that cloudes encountring vehemently one with an other engender fire, but if they bee moist and wet, how then can they engender fire, which in all likelyhoods is vnfitte to haue his beginning from a cloude, as from water.

CHAP. XXVI.

An answere to this question.

THat fire that is bred, is not water at the first in the cloudes, but thicke aire, prepared to turne into water, and yet not changed into the same, but now ready and enclined to bee changed. Thou art not to thinke that it is gathered then, but onely powred out. It is made and falleth at once: besides, if I should grant, that a cloud is moist, and full of entertained waters, yet is there nothing that hindereth, but that fire may be drawne out of moysture, nay, which thou wilt more wonder at out of humor it selfe. Some haue denied that any thing may bee changed into fire, before it were turned into water. A cloud therefore notwithstanding, the water that it containeth, in some part may render fire, as oftentimes one part of the wood burneth, the other sweateth. Neither doe I say that these are not contrarie amongst themselues, and that the one destroyeth not the other, but where the fire is more forcible then the water is, the water he obtaineth the mastery. Againe, whereas the abundance of humor exceedeth, then is fire without any effect. And therefore greene wood burneth not. It importeth therefore how much water there is. For a little resisteth not, neither hindereth the fire. Why not? In the memorie of our ancestors, as *Posidonius* testifieth, when as in the Ægean sea there appeared an Island the sea somed by day, and from the depth thereof there arose a smoake. Afterwards there issued a fire not continuall, but shining and sparkling at certaine times, after the manner of lightnings, as often as the heate that was beneath ouercame the waight that was aboue. After this, stones turned out of their places, and rockes partly whole which the winde had driuen forth before they were wholly burned, partly eaten and turned into the lightnesse of a Pumnice stone. At last there appeared the top of a mountaine, blacke and almost burned: afterwards there was somewhat added to the height thereof, and that rocke grew to the bignes of an Island. The same happened againe in our memorie, when *Valerius Asiaticus* was Consul. Why haue I related these things? to the end it might appeare, that neither the fire is extinguished when the sea ouerfloweth it, nor the force thereof is prohibited to issue by the waight of mightie waues. *Asclepiodotus*, the schollar of *Posidonius*, reported that the Island was of two hundred miles, where thorow the fire appeared where the waters were broken. And if the immeasurable force of waters ascending from the depth, could not restraine the force of the flames: how much lesse can it extinguish fire in the aire, where the humor is thinne, and but like a dew? So that this reason hath no difficultie in it, that may hinder the causes of these fires, which we see neuer sparkle, except at such time as there is an inclination to raine, for in faire weather commonly we see no lightnings. A faire and cleare day seareth none of these, neither the night also, except it be obscured by darke clouds. What then? Doth it not lighten

A notable example.

lighten sometimes when as the starres are cleere, and the night is calme? Yet art thou to know that clouds are there whence the brightnesse appeareth, although the mountaines hide them from our sight. Adde hereunto (which may be) that the moyst and low clouds yeelde fire, by beating one against another, which mounting into the higher parts, are seene in the cleerest and purest part of heauen, although they are bred in a blacke and obscure cloud.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the diuersitie of thunders.

SOme haue so distinguished Thunders, that they haue said that there is one kinde of them that make a grieuous murmure, such as is wont to forerun an earth-quake, when as the windes that are enclosed vnder the earth doe roare and make a noyse. I will tell you how these men suppose that this may be done. When as the cloudes haue locked the winde within themselues, the ayre that is tossed in the hollow parts therof, yeeldeth a sound like vnto roaring, hoarse, vnequall, and continuate; and therefore also where the Region of the ayre is moyst, it shutteth vp the Thunder from issuing forth; and therfore these kinde of thunders are the fore-tokeners of a shower that is at hand. There is another sort that a man may rather call crackes then Thunder, such as which wee are wont to heare when as a bladder is broken ouer a mans head. Such thunders breake forth when as a cloude that is gathered together is dissolued, and sendeth forth that winde wherewith it is distended. This sudden and vehement noyse is properly called a cracke, which where it burssteth forth, causeth men to fall and sound, and some liuing to waxe stupid and astonished, and wholly beside themselues, whom we call strooken or *Apoplectique*, whose mindes that celestiall sound hath driuen out of their place. This cracke likewise may be caused by this meanes, that is, when as the ayre that is inclosed in a hollow cloud, and being extenuated by his motion is scattered abroad, and afterwards striuing to haue a more larger place, and retained by the cloude that inclooseth him, he maketh a noyse. What therefore? May it not be likewise, that as in striking one hand vpon another we make a loud sound, so the clouds that are thick by beating one against another, should make a great noyse, because they are great things that concurre?

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why the cloudes thicken about the mountaine tops, and yet no thunder followeth.

WEe see (saith he) cloudes that hemme in the mountaine tops, and yet no sound is made; first of all they thunder not at euery time they encounter, but then when they are fitly composed to yeelde a sound: when the backe of our hands be beaten together they yeeld no clap, but one palme being strooken against another, there followeth a sound; yea, and it appertaineth much to the matter whether the hands that are clapped one against another hollow, or flat and extended. Furthermore, the clouds must not onely goe, but be driuen forward by a great and tempestuous force. The mountaine likewise doth not cut the cloud, but directeth it, and scattereth that which first commeth to meete with it. Neyther doth a bladder likewise, howsoeuer it let out the winde, alwayes cracke: if it be cut

cut in two, it issueth forth without any sense of the eare: if you will haue it sound it must be broken and not cut. The same say I of the cloudes, except they shocke together with great violence they cannot make a noise. Adde hereunto now that the clouds which are gathered together vpon a mountain break not, but are spread abroad into some parts of the mountain, as on the boughs of trees, on bushes, sharp stones, & eminent rocks. Behold how they are dissolued, and if they haue any breath in them they let it out in diuers sorts, which except it breake forth all at once, maketh no noyse, whereupon note that the winde that whistleth aboue a tree thundreth not, but singeth. To make thunder there needeth a great clap that may at one time disperse the whole globe of winde.

CHAP. XXIX.

How effectuall the ayre is in Thunders, and how.

Moreouer, the ayre is apt of it selfe to entertaine voyces: why not, when as a voyce is nought else but a repercussion of the aire? The cloudes therefore ought to be seuered hollow, and extended. For thou seest that emptie vessels send more then those that are full, and those strings that are wound vp more then they that are let slip; so Drummes and Cymballs yeeld a sound, because such instruments repell the ayre that resisteth them outwardly, and could not sound in the ayre, except they were hollow.

CHAP. XXX.

Asclepiodotus opinion confirmed by two rare examples.

There are som of the opinion, amongst whom *Asclepiodotus* is one, that lightning and thundring may breake forth, by reason of the encountrie of some bodies. Ætna in times past abounded with much fire, poured forth a mighty multitude of burning sand. The day was couered with dust, and sudden night terrified the people. At that time it is reported that there was much thunder and lightning, which were caused by the concourse of drie bodies, and not of clouds; for it is very likely, that in so great an inflammation of the ayre there were none. *Cambyses* in times past sent an Armie to the Temple of *Ammon*, which the sand being scattered by the Southerne winde, couered them like flakes of snow, and at length ouerwhelmed them. And then also it is very likely that there were thunders and lightnings, by the attrition of sands rubbing one against another. This opinion is not repugnant to our purposes; for we haue said that the earth breatheth forth bodies of both natures, and that thorow all the Regions of the ayre there wandereth some drinesse and humiditie: if therefore any such thing happen, it maketh a cloud more solid and thicke, then if it had beene couered by a simple winde; and this cloud may be broken, and yeeld forth a sound. As touching the aboue named accidents, whether it be that the ayre hath beene filled by such streaming fires, or whether it be by the winds ouerturning the sands, it must needs be that a cloude must be first formed, whence afterward there may issue thunder. But drie things engender cloudes as well as moist, and as we haue said a cloud is but the thicknesse of grosse and assembled ayre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the marueilous effects of lightnings.

If thou wilt obserue the same, thou shalt finde that the effects of Thunder are marualous; neyther is it to be doubted but that there is some extraordinary and diuine power intermixed with it. Siluer melteth in purses, and yet are they neyther rent nor spoyled. The sword is moulten and scabberd vntouched. The Iron runneth down from the Iauelin top, and yet the steele vnseared. The wine thickneth and remaineth three daies as if it were yce, when the Tunne is broken. This likewise mayest thou put amongst those things that are worthy note; That men and other creatures that are stroken with lightning, haue their heads turned towards that place from whence it parteth, and that all the tops of those trees that are blasted bend towards the lightning. Furthermore, Serpents and all other venemous beasts loose all their venome if they be touched with lightning. Whence, saith he, know you this? In envenomed bodies no worme breedeth; but those bodies that are strooken with lightning are filled with wormes within a few dayes.

CHAP. XXXII.

Lightnings are foretokeners of that which is to come.

Moreouer I say that lightnings presage things that are to come, not ministring onely a signe of one or two things, but oftentimes they foretell the whole order of succeeding Fates, yea, and that by euident decrees, and farre more manifest then if they were written. But this is the difference betwixt vs and the Tuscans, who exactly vnderstand this diuination by lightning. We holde opinion, that because the clouds entershock and scatter one another, therfore the lightning bursteth forth. They thinke that the clouds are rudely driuen the one against the other, to this end, that lightning should issue, and be darted on the earth. For whereas they referre all things vnto God, they are of this opinion that they signifie not because they are made, but that they are made, to the end they should signifie; yet are they ingendered by one and the same reason, be it that either they ought to signifie by a deliberate purpose, or by a consequence: how then signifie they except they be sent from God? How? In such sort as birds who take not their flight to meet vs, yet in flying eyther on the right or on the left hand they haue presaged somewhat. And these, sayest thou, God moueth. Thou makest him too idle, and a minister of small matters, if in some men hee dispose their dreames, in beasts their entrailes, yet are these things ordered by diuine assistance. But the feathers of birds are not gouerned by God, neyther formeth he the entrailes of beasts vnder the axe. The order of the destinies is expressed vnto vs by other more certaine meanes, who euery where publisheth signes of that which shall come to passe long before they happen, whereof some are familiar vnto vs, the rest are vnknowne. All whatsoeuer is done is a signe of something that is to come. Those things that are casuall, and incertaine without reason, admit not diuination. The thing that hath order hath prediction also. Why therefore is this honour giuen vnto the Eagle, that she should presage the matters of greatest importance, or to the Crow, or to a few other birds, and that the chattering of all others hath neyther signification or presage? Be-

Whether euery thing that is seene and vnderstood hath a signification.

cause there are many things that are not as yet reduced into Art, and other things which a man cannot reduce, because they are too farre estranged from our acquaintance. But there is no liuing creature that foretelleth not somewhat, eyther by his motion or encountrie. All things are not obserued, but some things are noted. Diuination serueth him that will obserue the same. It therfore appertaineth vnto him that hath addicted his mind thereunto. Those things which a man respecteth not, may notwithstanding containe some certitude. The Chaldeans in their obseruations respected nothing else but the influence of fiue Planets. What thinkest thou? Iudgest thou that so many thousand starres shine to no purpose? And what is that which deceiueth these Calculators of Natiuities, but they subiect themselues I know not how to some small number of starres, whereas all they that shine ouer our heads, haue some influence and power ouer vs? It may be that the more neerer Planets doe dart their beames more effectually vpon vs, and that they which haue a more swifter motion touch vs in one sort, and other liuing creatures in another. But the fixed stars, and those that for their swift course haue an answerable motion to that of the first mouer, and seeme not to stirre, are yet without force and effect in our respects. To speake of these things orderly, we must regard both the one and the other, and know that which is proper both to the one and to the other. But there is no lesse difficultie to know that which they can, as to doubt whether they haue any power or no.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The knowledge of lightnings hath relation to three considerations.

LEt vs now returne vnto lightnings, the power whereof is diuided into three considerations, namely, into their signification, their interpretation, and their remedie: the first part respecteth forme, the second diuination, the third expiation. For we must appease the gods, beseeching them to giue vs goods, to auert all euils, to maintaine their promises, and to remit their threatnings.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

What power the Tuscans attribute to lightnings in effect of diuination.

THe Tuscans thinke that lightnings haue a soueraigne power; for whatsoeuer other things doe portend, are taken away by the intercourse of lightning. Whatsoeuer lightning presageth is fixed; neyther is it changed by the signification of any other presage. A flash of lightning that portendeth some good, abolisheth all the sinister predictions of the entrailes of beasts, and whatsoeuer the flight of birds shall threaten. All that which lightning denounceth cannot be crossed by the presages of the entrailes of beasts or by birds: wherin me thinks they are much deceiued. Why? Because there is nothing truer then truth. If birds haue foretolde that which ought to come to passe, this augurie cannot be disanulled by lightning: If it may be; the birds haue foretolde nothing that shall come to passe. I doe not now make a comparison betwixt the bird and lightning, but of two true presages. If both of them foretell that which is to come to passe, they are alike. If therefore the lightning that commeth after aboliseth the iudgement of the entrailes, and of the augures, the entrailes were badly looked into, and

and the motion and cry of birdes worse obserued: for it importeth nothing to know whether of these two are more strong and puissant in their nature, or whether of both hath proposed more signes of truth, for the signe in this respect is equall, if thou say that the force of the flame is greater then that of the smoake, thou liest not; but to deuoure the fire, the flame and smoake are of the same value. Therefore if they say thus, that as often as the entrailes of beasts shall presage one thing, and the lightning an other, the authority of the lightning shall bee more great, happily I shall bee of their opinion: But if they maineraine that a flash of lightning disanulleth the truth which those other signes haue foretolde, and that wee ought not to build on any thing but on this flash of lightning: I say they abuse themselues; and the reason is, because it importeth not how many passages there be; It is but one thing that shall come to passe, which if it hath beene well comprised in the first prediction and diuination, the second will bee no preiudice vnto it. All comes to one: I therefore say, that it skilleth not, if one thing by meanes whereof wee would informe our selues be the same, or an other thing, because that whereof wee enquire is one and the same.

CHAP. XXXV.

DEstiny cannot bee changed by lightning; Why not? because that lightning is a part of Destiny: Whereto then serue so many expiations and ceremonies; to what purpose is all this, if the Destinies bee immutable? Permit mee to follow the austere opinion of those who entreat of these things, and maineraine that Destinies are no other thing but the solace of a peasiue thought. The Destinies maineraine their right precisely, there is neyther prayer that moueth them, nor misery or fauour that altereth them. They obserue their irreuocable course, they passe onward in an assured and vnaltered order. Euen as the water of violent streames neither turneth backe, nor stayeth, but euery waue is forcibly driuen one by an other that beateth at his backe: so the order of Destiny is gouerned by an eternall succession, the decree whereof is, not to change that which hath beene ordained and destinated.

CHAP. XXXVI.

What Destiny is according to the Stoicks.

BVt what meaneſt thou by this word Destiny, I thinke it to be an inuincible and immutable necessity of all things and actions: if thou thinkest that this necessity may bee pacified by sacrifices or by oblations of the head of a white Lambe, thou knowest not what diuine things are: you likewise say that the resolution of a wise man cannot be changed: how much lesse that of gods; considering that a wise man onely discouereth for the present that which is good; but all things are present to the diuine Essence; yet notwithstanding in this place will I plead their cause, who are of the opinion that a man may remedy lightnings, and affirme that expiations are availeable sometimes to remoue dangers, and sometimes to lessen them, or at least wise to differre them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

To what intent serue these meanes, if the doctrine of destiny be receiued.

I Will prosecute hereafter that which remaineth to bee intreated vpon as concerning this matter; meane while wee all of vs are agreede in this point, that weesuppose that vowes are profitable, (the force and power of the Fates alwayes reserued:) for some things are in such sort left in suspence by the immortall gods, that they turne vnto good, if vowes and prayers bee made vnto the immortall gods, This therefore repugneth not against destiny, but is inclosed in the same. Thou wilt say vnto mee, this thing shall happen, or shall not happen; if it must come to passe, if you vow and make your request, yet shall it take effect; if it shall not come to passe, vow and pray as much as you list, it shall not fall out, the consequence of this argument is false, because you haue forgot the exception that I haue put betweene both, that is to say: This shall happen, prouided that a man make vowes and prayers. It must necessarily follow that to vow, or not to vow are comprehended within Destiny.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The meanes are inclosed in destiny, and are the meanes to attain vnto the end that Destiny ordaineth.

THou presuppos'st that I confesse my selfe vanquished, and that I auow that this is comprehended also in Destiny, that a man should make vowes: so thus they shall bee made; It is destinated that such a one shall bee an eloquent man, but vnder this condition, it is destinated that hee bee instructed in good letters: the same Destiny therefore that addicteth him to study, will cause that hee shall become wise. An other man shall bee rich, but so as he traffique vpon the seas: but in that order of fate which promiseth him so great a patrimony, this destiny likewise is incloſed, that hee shall set sayle to the wind, and that by reason thereof without any feare or exception, he shall embarque and sayle. The same (say I) of expiations. Hee shall escape dangers, if hee hath appeased the fore-threatned wrath of the gods by sacrifice. And this likewise is in Destiny, that he must expiate, and therefore he shall doe it. These things haue beene oftentimes opposed against vs, to approue that nothing hath been left in our will, but that all power hath beene committed to Destiny. When as this matter shall bee handled, I will tell you how there remaineth somewhat in mans will, although the Destiny continueth. But now haue I explicated, that which was in question; how if the order of Fate be certaine, the expiations and remedies of prodigies preuent the dangers, because these remedies impugne not Destinies, but are comprehended in the law of the same. What then saiest thou, doth the Southsayer profite mee? for although hee counsell me nothing, yet must I necessarily make this expiation. It sufficeth, because he is a Minister of Destiny: so when as health seemeth to proceed from Fate, yet ought wee to thanke the Physitian, because the benefite of Fate, came vnto vs by his hands.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Diuers sorts of lightnings in regard of their significations, according to the Tuscans and Stoiques.

CÆCINNA saith, that there are three sorts of lightning, the one of counsell, the other of authority, the third of estate. The first precedeth the act, and commeth after the thought; that is, when the flash of lightning counselleth or discouereth that which the thought deuiseth: The second, when as a lightning commeth after a thing is executed, to signifie that eyther good or euill fortune shall succeed, The third, when as lightning happeneth, when men are at rest, without thinking or doing any thing. This sort of lightning menaseth, or promiseth, or admonisheth, by reason whereof *Cecinna* nameth it momentary: but I know not why it should not be the same with that of counsell. for hee that admonisheth giueth counsell, yet hath it some distinction, and therefore is it separated from that of counsell, because this first perswadeth and dissuadeth, but the third containeth but a simple aduice, to flie an imminent perill; as when wee feare that our neighbours will deceiue vs, or set fire on our houses, or that our slaues conspire against vs. Besides this I see an other distinction: The first concerneth him that thinketh, the other, him that thinketh nothing. Euery thing hath his property, wee counsell those that deliberate, wee admonish those that bethinke not themselues.

CHAP. XL.

Diuers names of lightnings according to their diuers effects.

FIrst of all the three sorts concerne not all lightnings, but are the significations thereof. For the sorts of lightning are that the one pierceth, the other scattereth, and the other burneth. The lightning that pierceth is subtle and flaming, taking his flight thorow narrow passages, by reason that his flame is so subtle and thinne, as nothing more: That which dissipateth is gathered together as it were into a ball, hauing intermixed in it selfe the force of a coacted and stormy winde, by meanes whereof this lightning entreth and issueth ordinarily by one and the same habite: his force that is spred at large pierceth not, but breaketh that which it toucheth: that which burneth hath very much terrestriall vapour in it, and is more fiery then flaming: by meanes whereof hee leaueth great marks of fire behinde him, that remaine on those things it hath strucken. No lightning falleth without fire, but wee properly call that a firie lightning, that leaueth manifest markes of fire behinde it: but this lightning that burneth or blacketh, burneth in three sorts; for either it attaineth and blasteth sleightly, or it burneth, or causeth the thing that is strucken to fall on fire: the fire is in all this, but there is a difference in the sort and in the meanes: for all that which is burned was blasted or scorched likewise; but all that which is blasted and scorched is not alwayes burned. It may bee that the fire hath giuen but some light attaint; wee know that there are many things that are consumed in the fire without making any flame: for nothing can burne except it be burned. I will adde this word more. One thing may bee burned, and yet not kindled, and something kindled which is not burned.

CHAP. XLI.

The effects of those lightnings that blacke those things which they touch. The Tuscans opinions as touching the falling of lightnings.

NOw passe I ouer to that kinde of lightning that blacketh those thinges it beateth vpon, this eyther discoloureth or coloureth. I will discouer the difference of them both. That is discoloured, whose colour is vitiated, not changed: that thing is coloured, whose appearance is otherwise then it was at the first, as blew, or blacke, or pale: The Tuscians and Stoikes accord herein, but they differ in this, that the Tuscans say, that *Iupiter* darteth his lightnings, and they giue him three different handfuls to cast. The first, say they, admonisheth and is peaceable, and is darted by the good will of *Iupiter* himselfe. The second likewise is darted from his hand, but by the aduice of counsell, whereunto hee calleth twelue other gods. This kind of lightning sometimes doth seem good, but not without harming those vpon whom it is sent. The third also is darted by the same *Iupiter*, but after hee hath consulted with the gods, whom they call superiours and infolded. This spoyleth and includeth, and ouerturneth all that which it meeteth withall in publike, and in particular; for fire consumeth whatsoeuer it meeteth with.

CHAP. XLII.

The explication of the Tuscans opinions according to Senacaes mind.

IF you obserue this well, you shall perceiue at the first sight that antiquity erreth herein. What a folly is it to beleiue that *Iupiter* darteth lightnings out of the cloudes, that sometimes catch hold of statues, pillars and trees, blasting sheepe, and other innocent beasts, burning vp the altars, and yet sparing sacrilegious persons, and as if hee had not sufficient counsell in himselfe, but that hee must call other Gods to assist him? Likewise that these lightnings which hee of himselfe darteth, are presages of ioy and peace; and that these lightninges which are darted by the plurality of voyces of many of the gods are dangerous: if you aske mee my opinion, I thinke that the Tuscans are besotted to beleiue that *Iupiter* hath beene in suspence, or ill addressed to execute. For I pray you when hee hath darted those fires which should fall on innocent beasts, and leaue the wicked vnpunished: shall wee say that hee would not vse his greatest iustice, or that it hath not succeeded according to his minde? what was their intention when they saide this? These Wisemen pretending to bridle in the mindes of the ignorant, made them beliene, that there was an inexitable feare, to the end wee should dread a diuinity, that is aboue vs. It was necessary in so great intemperance and corruption of manners, that there should bee some power, against which no man should thinke himselfe able to preuaile. To the end therefore that they who addict not themselues to doe well, but for feare of strokes should bee affrighted; they established a iust iudge ouer their heads with conuenient instruments in his hand to chastice them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLIII.

The continuation of Senecaes opinion, whereby he laboureth to excuse the opinion of the Tuscans, as touching lightning.

BVt why is that lightning, which *Iupiter* himselfe darteth, onely peaceable, and the other pernicious? Because a prince (which is signified by the name of *Iupiter*) ought of himselfe to doe good vnto his subiects without euer harming them, except his counsell be of a contrarie opinion. They that are mounted in authoritie aboue other men, learne heere, that the lightning is not darted out of heauen vpon the earth but by counsel, let them therfore call vnto themselues diuers, let them weigh their aduice, moderate their decrees, and haue this thought when they haue occasion to smite any thing: *Iupiter* contents not himselfe with his owne priuate counsaile.

CHAP. XLIIII.

IN this place neither haue they beene so vnaduised, as to thinke that *Iupiter* changed his lightnings. These are the trickes of Poeticall libertie.

There is another lightning farre more slight,
Forg'd by the CICLOPS *hands, wherin lesse fright,*
Lesse flame or wrath is put when they are framed,
And this the gods their second lightnings named.

Such an error entered not into the heads of so great learned men, as to thinke that *Iupiter* had sometimes more slighter and trifling lightnings. But they intended this to teach Princes that haue the charge to dart their lightnings against mens sinnes, that all crimes deserue not the same punishment, but that some are to be punished with extreame rigour, others suppressed by more sufferable chastisements, others by censures and aduertisements.

CHAP. XLV.

Why the Ancients attributed to Iupiter certaine lightnings of different effects, their opinion likewise as touching Iupiter, setting downe diuers names according to his different effects

NEither beleeued they this likewise, that *Iupiter* is such a one, as we see in the Capitoll, and in other Temples, darting lightnings out of his hand, but they imagine such a *Iupiter* as the Stoickes doe, who is the keeper and protector of the world, a spirit and minde, which is the work-master and Lord of this world, to whom all names are agreeable. Wilt thou call him Destinie? Thou shalt not erre. On him depend all things, and all the Causes of causes are of him. Wilt thou name him prouidence? Thou sayest well. For his wisdome it is that prouideth for this world, to the end it might be firme and immutable for euer; and that hee should continue his course and his effects. Wilt thou call him Nature? Thou shalt not sinne; for all things haue had their beginning by him, and we liue by his spirit. Wilt thou call him the World? Thou shalt not be deceiued, because he is all that which thou seest, wholly infused into his parts, and sustaining himselfe by his vertue. The *Hetruricus* haue beene of the same opinion, and therefore

fore said they that *Iupiter* darted his lightnings, by reason that nothing is done without him.

CHAP. XLVI.

Whether Iupiter darteth his lightnings himselfe.

WHy doth *Iupiter* passe by those things that are to bee stroken, or strike those which he should not strike? Thou drawest me into a higher discourse, to which I will assigne a better place, and a fitter time. In the meane while I say this, that *Iupiter* sendeth not down lightning: but that all things are so disposed, that euen those things which are not done by him, yet are not done without reason, which is onely his: Their force is his permission. For although now *Iupiter* doth them not, yet is he the cause that they were done. He assisteth not all things one after another, but he hath giuen all things their marke, their efficacie, and their cause.

CHAP. XLVII.

The Thirde diuision as touching lightnings, refuted.

NEither allow I their diuision, for they say that al lightnings are perpetuall or finite, or prolonged. The perpetuall are those whose signification appertaineth to the whole life, comprehending not only one thing, but a succession of all that should happen from the beginning of life vntill the end. Such are the lightnings which are made at such time as a man entereth into the possession of his patrimonie, or into some new condition of life; or when as a Citie changeth her gouernment. The finite haue a certaine day and terme assigned. The prolonged are those whose threats may bee deferred, but not wholly preuented or extinguished.

CHAP. XLVIII.

The reason why this diuision is refuted.

WHat the cause is (I will tell you) why I consent not in this diuision. For that lightning which we call perpetuall is finite, for it hath a certaine day prefixed as well as the rest. Neither therefore are they finite, because they signifie a long time. And that which is prolonged is limited also, for by their owne confession, such a menace is certaine vntill such time as a man hath obtained delay. For they auerre that priuate lightnings extend not aboue ten yeares, and that publike cannot be deferred aboue thirtie: and by this reckoning these likewise are finite, because there is a prefixed time, beyond which they may not be proroged. The terme then of all lightnings and their effects is certaine and determinate: for a man cannot comprehend in a certaine time a thing that is vncertaine. And as touching that which wee ought to consider most neerely in lightnings, they speake both generally and confusedly, and they will haue vs to distribute the effects in sort, as after them the Philosopher *Attalus* and their scholler hath done, which is that wee should regard where, when, to whom, and in what thing the lightning hath falne, what, and how great it hath beene: if I would distribute

distribute all these things by parts, what should I doe but enter into an infinite number of distinctions.

CHAP. XLIX.

Diuers attributes of lightning, as ridiculous as their prophane Authors, exceeding the bonds of Naturall Philosophie.

I Will now set downe the names of lightnings, according as *Cæcina* hath described them, and will discouer what my opinion is in these. Some (saith he) are postulatorie, whereby those sacrifices that either are intermitted, or not rightly performed are repeated. Some monitorie, whereby wee are taught what wee are to take heed of. Some pestiferous, which portend death or banishment. Some fallacious, which vnder an appearance of good, doe vs harme. They giue an vnhappie consulate to those that shall vndertake the charge, and an heritage, the purchase whereof will breed more losse then profit. Some threatning, that offer euill but in appearance only. Some murthering, which abolish the threats of precedent lightnings. Some *Atteſtata*, that accord with the precedent. Some vnder earthly, which are done in secret. Some ouerwhelmed, which beat vpon those things which before time were attainted and left. Some royall, that show their effects vpon a whole assemblie of people, or vpon the principall places of a free Citie, and whose signification threaten some tyrannicall inuasions into a Common-weale. The Lower, when the earth vomitteth flames of fire. The *Hoſpitals*, that by sacrifices draw, or (as they speake it in a more milder terme) inuite *Iupiter* vnto vs. But if he be displeased, if then he be inuited, he commeth to the great hazard of those that haue inuited him. The Auxiliarie which are likewise called *Summoned*, but that commeth for their good, that haue caused it to come.

CHAP. L.

A more moderat distinction of the Philosopher Attalus.

NOw farre more simple was that diuision, which *Attalus*, a man of great note, and a Philosopher of our sort, vsed, who had intermixed the discipline of the Tuscan with Grecian subtilties. Amongst lightnings, saith he, some there are that concerne vs, other some that signifie nothing, or if they signifie any thing, we know not what it is. As touching those that signifie, some of them are ioyfull, some are aduerse, and some neither aduerse nor ioyfull. Of those that are aduerse and contrarie, these are the kinds: either they portend some vnauoidable euils, or such as may be auoided, or such as may be lessened or prolonged. The ioyfull signifie either such as are permanent, or such as haue small continuance. Those that are mixed, either haue a part of good, or euill, or conuert the euill into good, or the good into euill. Those are neither fatall nor ioyfull, which signifie vnto vs some action, whereat wee ought neither to be terrified, nor reioyced: as for example, some long voyage, wherein there is neither feare, nor any thing to be hoped for.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Of those lightnings which haue signification, and concerne vs.

ANto those lightnings I will return which haue some signification, which notwithstanding concerneth vs nothing, as if in the same yeare the same lightning that fell before falleth once more. There are lightnings likewise that haue no signification in our respect, as those whereof we know nothing, witnesse the lightnings that fall in the spacious extent of the Ocean, or in the desarts: for they haue no signification, and if they haue, it commeth not to our knowledge.

CHAP. LII.

Of the diuers effects of lightning, according to the matter it meeteth with.

YEt there remaineth somewhat for me to declare as touching the force of lightnings, which effect not euery matter according to the same manner. She breaketh and dissipateth those things most vehemently which are hardest, and sometime passeth by those things that are yeelding without any iniurie: She conflicteth more rudely with stones and Iron, and those things that are hardest, because she is constrained to make her passage thorow them with violence. So then shee openeth the passage, sparing that which is tender and hollow, although it seem to be more proper to take fire, because that in finding a passage she sheweth her selfe lesse violent. Therefore is it, as I haue said, that a man findeth siluer melted in his purse because that fire that is the purest and thinnest passeth lightly thorow the pores of the leather: but what soeuer it findeth solid in building she breaketh in pieces as rebellious and resisting against her. But, as I said, it rageth not after one manner, but by the kinde of euill that happeneth you may see what it is, and by the effects you shall know what lightning is. Oft-times in the same matter one and the same flash of lightning causeth different effects, as in falling vpon a tree it burneth that which is drie in it, pierceth and breaketh that which is hardest, dissipateth the barke, cleaueth the trunke, pulleth vp the roots, smoldereth and partcheth the leaues. It congealeth wine and melteth Iron and brasse.

CHAP. LIII.

Of the particular efficacy of lightning in wine.

A Marueilous thing this is, that the wine which is congealed by lightning, and afterwards returneth into his former estate, killeth or maketh those men mad that drinke thereof. Bethinking my selfe of the cause hereof, I say that there is a mortall efficacy in this fire, wherof it is very likely that some spirit remaineth in the wine which hath beene congealed and frozen. For this liquid substance could not be congealed without some meanes. Moreouer, if lightning toucheth oyle or any fat liquor, it stinketh euer afterwards; whereby it appeareth, that in this fire, so subtile and inforced against the order of nature, there is so powerfull an efficacy, that it not onely killeth that which it toucheth rudely, but also that which it attainteth with the breath thereof. Furthermore, in what place soeuer the lightning falleth men vndoubtedly smell a sent of brimstone, which beeing waighty

waighty by nature, astonisheth those that smell it often. But hereafter we will intreate of this at leisure, and will haue (it may be) the meanes to show how all things haue beene deriued from Philosophie, the mother of Arts, which hath first of all sought out the causes of things, and hath obserued the effects, conferring the ends with their beginnings, what principally we ought to obserue in the inspection of lightnings.

CHAP. LIIII.

From the consideration of lightnings, he returneth to those of thunder.

IWill now returne to *Possidonius* opinion. The moister part of the earth and terrestiall things being on one side, the drier and lighter part flieth on the other. This serueth for a nutriment to lightnings; that vnto raines. All hot and drie exhalations ascending and attaining into the aire, cannot keepe themselues inclosed in clouds, but breake their prisons; whence followeth that which we call thunder. All that likewise which refineth it selfe in the aire, is dried and warmed by the same meanes. And this likewise, if it be enclosed, seeketh nothing else, but how to escape and breake thorow with noise. Sometime it escapeth all at once, whence proceedeth a very great thunder, sometimes by parts, and by little and little. This spirit therefore expresseth these thunders, whilest either it breaketh the clouds, or flieth by it. But this violent tumbling which the exhalation maketh in a cloud, is a most powerfull force to enkindle the same.

CHAP. LV.

What thunder is, and how it is caused.

THunders are nothing else but a sound of the drie aire, which cannot be done, but when it is either broken, or breaketh. And if the clouds, saith he, be beaten one against another, that noise is made which is now in question, but not vniuersally, because there is no generall conflict, but in certaine places only. Soft things yeeld no sound, except they be strucken against those things that are hard. As a waue of the sea maketh no noise, except it meet with some hard thing that stayeth it. The fire being cast into the water maketh a noise in the quenching. Be it so: All this maketh for me, for the fire at that time maketh not the noise, but the aire that flieth a thwart, that which extinguisheth the fire: and if I should grant thee that fire doth it, and is extinguished in the cloud, I say that it groweth from the exhalation and the shock. What then (saith he) may not one of these flitting starres fall into a cloud, and be extinguished therein? Let vs presuppose that it may, and that it happeneth sometimes. For the present we seeke for a naturall and continuall cause, not for a rare and casuall euent. Put case that I acknowledge all that to be true which thou speakest, that sometimes fires doe shine after it hath thundered, resembling shooting and falling starres, yet is not this the cause of thunder, but this hapneth, because it hath thundered. What is fulguration? *Clidemus* denieth that it is a fire, maintaining this that it is but an apparance: euen as by night, after the stroake of the oare we see some brightnesse. This example is not allowable, for this shining appeareth in the water, that which is made in the aire flasheth and issueth forth.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

The definition of thunder, and whence it is caused.

HERACLITVS thinketh that fulguration is but an effect of fire, that beginneth to enkindle it selfe, and a first flame as yet vncertaine, that now is extinguished, and then lighted againe: these did the Ancients call *Fulgetra*, that is to say, Fulgurations, but wee call them thunders in the plurall number, but the Ancients called it thunder, or a sound. This haue I found in *Cicynna*, a man very eloquent, who had had some reputation for his eloquence, except *Ciceroes* shadow had obscured him. The Ancients haue vsed this word, making it shorter by a syllable in the midst, which now we make long. For as we say, *Splendere*, that is, to shine, we say likewise *Fulgere*, that is, to lighten: but they were accustomed to pronounce the second syllable short, and to say, *Fulgere*, to signifie the sudden breaking out of light from the clouds.

CHAP. LVII.

Senecaes *opinion in this point.*

ASkest thou me what mine opinion is? for vntill this present I haue done nothing but discouer other mens opinions: I will tell it thee. Fulguration is made, when as a sudden brightnesse spreadeth it selfe at large, which happeneth at such time as the aire by subtiliation of the clouds is conuerted into fire, finding no fodder to raise it more higher. I thinke thou wilt not wonder, if either motion extenuate the aire, or extenuation enkindle it. In this sort a bullet of leade violently shot out of a pecce, mollifieth and melteth it selfe, and the shock of the aire serueth it in stead of fire. And therefore it is for the most part that lightnings are made during the Summer time, because the season is ordinarily hot, and fire is caused more easily by the attrition of hot things. Fulguration and lightning are caused after the same manner, the one shineth, the other is darted. But that hath a lighter force, and lesse nutriment. And to let you know mine opinion in a word, lightning is but an intended fulguration. What, as therefore a hot and smoakie vapour mounteth from the earth into the aire, and hath sometimes whirled it selfe amongst the clouds, it finally issueth forth with violence; if it be feeble, then followeth fulguration. But when as fulgurations haue more matter, and burne more violently, they are conuerted into lightnings, and fall vnto the earth.

CHAP. LVIII.

Why the lightning appeareth at once, and is not extended from high to low, in the forme of a colome of fire.

SOme there are that thinke that the lightning mounteth againe, some others say that it staieth after it hath consumed that which nourisheth it, and that the stroake is enfeebled. But why doth lightning appeare all at once, and extendeth not it selfe from high to low, in the forme of a pillar of fire? Because she is wonderfull light, and of a swift motion, so that at one time she breaketh thorow the clouds, enflameth the aire, and then when her motion ceaseth, the flame is extinguished. For the course of the exhalation is not continuall, so as the fire may extend it selfe,

selfe, but when as by violence he is enkindled the more, hee taketh his carier to escape. Being at libertie, and the combate finished: for the same cause sometimes it extendeth it selfe as farre as the earth: sometimes it is dissolued, if any the least resistance doe presse it. Why falleth this fire obliquely? By reason that it is composed of the aire, which is oblique and crooked, and because that nature draweth the fire on high, and violence forceth it downward, it beginneth to be crooked. Sometimes nature and force encounter, as it were, equally, in so much as the fire mounteth and is drawne downwards. Why for the most part are the tops of mountaines stricken? Because they are opposed against the clouds, and the fire falling from the heauens, must needs passe by them.

CHAP. LIX.

Of the true vse of this part of naturall philosophie which intreateth of lightnings, consisting on the contempt of death, wherof he entreateth amply, and sheweth that wee ought as little to feare lightning, as any other accidents that endanger life. Constancie maketh worldly casualties nothing.

IVnderstand now what long since thou hast desired, and what thou demandest. I had rather (sayest thou) not know lightnings, then feare them. Learne therefore, of whom thou wilt, how they are made. For mine owne part, I take more pleasure to know how I may not feare them, then how I may define them. I will follow thee whither thou callest me. For in all things, and in all speeches, we ought to intermix somewhat that is holesome and profitable. When as we sound into the secrets of Nature, when as we entreate of diuine things the mind must be freed from all passions, and setled likewise in some sort. The most learned men, (and they that are continually exercised in this studie) haue great need to doe: not onely to saue our heads from those stroakes which are on euery side aimed against vs. But to the end we may suffer them constantly and patiently. Inuincible we may be; vnassaulted we cannot be; although that in the meane while there is some hope that we may be vnshaken. How sayest thou? Contemne thou death, and all those things that lead vnto death, whether they be warres, or shipwracks, or biting of wilde beasts, or waight of raines, tumbling downe with a sudden fall: Can they doe any more then diuide the bodie and soule? no diligence can preuaile against these things, no felicitie tame them, no power auoid them, Fortune disposeth diuers things diuersly, but death adiourneth all persons indifferently; whether the gods be either pleased or displeased, we must die. And since there is no hope to escape, let vs gather the greater courage. Those creatures that are most cowardly, whom Nature hath framed vnto flight, endeuour with their weak bodies to worke forth a passage, when as none appeareth. There is no enemie more dangerous then he, who hemmed in on euery side, growes desperate and resolute: for necessitie maketh vs alwayes more violent then valour doth. He that despaireth of his life, performeth the noblest exploits, or at least-wise such as may equall the actions of the most resolute. Think that we haue bin (for indeed so we are) betrayed and deliuered vnto death. This is true (my *Lucillius*) we are all of vs reserued to death. For how long time, thinkest thou, shall all this people, that thou seest, endure? Nature will adiorne and burie this in a little time: we need not to dispute of the thing, but of the day; onely we must come thither, either sooner or later. What then? thinkest thou not that he is more fearefull then feare, more foolish then folly it selfe, that maketh long pursuits, and entreateth some delay of his death? Wouldest thou not iudge him a recreant (that being condemned to lose his head amongst diuers others, and alreadie within the executioners hands, that would

O that this Pagans thought were our nobler Christians meditation, they would not then so proudly ouerlooke the poore, who are one with them in the grave, and like to be greater then they in heauen.

onely entreate this fauour, that he might be beheaded the laſt? Thus doe we: we account it a great matter to die lateſt. All of vs are condemned, and moſt iuſtly condemned to a capitall puniſhment. For (which is greateſt comfort to thoſe that are to ſuffer the moſt extremities) all mens cauſe is one. If the Magiſtrate had pronounced a ſentence againſt vs, euery one ſhould ſee vs march forward and ſubmit our ſelues vnto the Hang-man. What matter is it, whether by commandement, or of our owne accord we march vnto death? O how little ſenſe haſt thou, and how ſmall conſideration of thy frailtie, if thou feareſt death when it thundereth? Doth thy life returne againe by thy feare? Shalt thou liue if the lightning touch thee not? The ſword will hit thee, the ſtone will ſtrike thee, the feuour will ſhake thee. Lightning is not the greateſt, but the faireſt of thy dangers. But truly thou ſhould be badly dealt withall, if that infinite celeritie ſhould preuent the ſence of thy death, if thy death ſhould afterwards be expiated with ſacrifice. If thou alſo at ſuch time as thou yeeldeſt vp the ghoſt, art a ſigne not of a vaine, but of ſome great thing. Truely it is a great iniurie for thee to be burned with lightning. But thou feareſt when the heauen thundreth, thou quakeſt when the clouds break, and expireſt as often as brightneſſe appeareth. What then? Thinkeſt thou it to be a matter more honeſt, to die for feare, then vpon lightning? Lift vp thy head, then I pray thee, more boldly againſt the menaces of heauen, and when the world ſhall be all on fire, thinke thou that thou haſt nothing to loſe in ſo generall and famous a death. If thou thinkeſt that this confuſion of clouds, this diſcord of tempeſts, this conflict in the aire is prepared againſt thee, and that this great colleCtion of fires conſpireth thy ruine: comfort thy ſelfe likewiſe by this thought, that thy death is of ſome great importance. But thou ſhalt not haue time or place to bethinke thee of this, the very caſualtie it ſelfe cauſeth feare. And amongſt the reſt, this is one commoditie thereof, that it preuenteth thine expectation. For neuer did any man feare lightning, except he that hath eſcaped it.

The End of the ſecond Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILIVS

The third Booke.

Which intreateth vpon the waters.

THE PREFACE.

Seneca in his Preface yeeldeth a noble reaſon why in theſe his retired yeares he addicteth himſelfe to the ſerious ſtudies, which it his care he hath to inſtruct poſteritie.

AS I am not ignorant, moſt vertuous *Lucilius*, that in my retyred yeares I lay the foundations of mighty matters, ſo haue I reſolued with my ſelfe to circuit the world, and to diſcouer the cauſes, and ſecrets of the ſame, and afterwards to publiſh them, and to inſtruct others in them. When ſhall I attaine ſo much? When ſhall I gather together things ſo diſſeuered? When ſhall I elberely conceiue thoſe things that are hidden? Olde age hangs vpon my backe, and reproacheth me with my loſt time that was ſpent in vaine occupations, ſo much the more therefore let vs preſſe forward, and let labour recompence the loſſes of a life ſo ill imployed. Let vs ioyne night with day. Let vs cut off our occupations in worldly affaires, and let the maſter take no more care of them, let the minde be wholly awakened in it ſelfe, and at leaſt wiſe in this later time ſettle himſelfe in contemplation and knowledge of himſelfe: which he ſhall doe if he draw himſelfe to account, and meaſure euery day, the ſhortneſſe of time, he ſhall recompence by diligent vſe of the remaindor of life, all that which is loſt of former time. It is a great contentment to the minde, when as being diſpleaſed and aſhamed of the time that is paſt, he addicteth himſelfe to the exerciſes of vertue. It pleaſeth me to crie out, and publiſh this verſe of the famous Poet,

We lend our hauocry minds more ſeruder wings,
And in ſmall time conſtrue moſt miſchiefes.

Thus would I ſay were I a childe, and thus were I a young man: for there is no

time that is not scant enough for so mightie things. But now we haue retired our selues to a matter both serious, graue, and almost infinite, and we debate therein on the afternoones. Let vs therefore doe as they are wont, who set forward on long iournies, who recompence their late rising with speedy footing. Let vs make haste, & without excusing our selues by age, let vs manage this price of busines, which though I know not whether I may compasse, yet am I assured that it is great; my mind increaseth as often as he intendeth and thinks on the greatnes of my attempt, and busieth not himselfe about the time, but vpon his deliberation. Som men haue spent themselues in dis-setting & setting down the acts of forraine Kings, and what the people eyther suffered or attempted together. How much better is it to reforme our owne infirmities, then to discouer other mens vnto posterity? How far better is it, to celebrate the workes of the gods, then the thefts of *Philip*, *Alexander*, & som others? who renowned for ouerthrowing diuers nations, were no lesse plagues amongst mortall men, then inundations that drown vp euery plaine, or fires which should confound and burn vp the greater part of men and beasts? They write how *Hanibal* passed the Alpes, in what manner he brought the war into Italie, that was fortified by the victories he had obtained in Spaine; how after the ruine of Carthage (his affairs and fortunes growing desperate) he obstinately solicited Kings, offering himselfe to make warre against the Romans, yea, though it were without an army: how he ceased not, being strooken with age, to seeke out warre in euery angle of the world, so well could he be without his countrey, and so little could he endure to be without an enemie. How farre better is it to enquire what is to be done, then what is done, and to teach those that haue submitted themselues to fortune, that she giueth nothing but incertainties, and that all, whatsoeuer shee hath sleeteth away like the winde? For she cannot stay in one place, she taketh pleasure to substitute sorrow in stead of ioy, and to confound them together. Let no man therefore be confident in prosperity, nor diffident in aduersitie. The affaires of the world haue their changes, why art thou proude? Thou knowest not where these set things that lift thee thus aloft intend to leaue thee: they shall haue theirs, but not thine end; why lyest thou on the ground? thou art falne to the lowest, it is now time for thee to stand vpright: aduersities are changed to the best, desires to the worst. In thinking vpon the resolution of things, it is good to cast our eye, not onely on particular houses (which a little winde ouerthroweth) but also on publique estates. There are Kingdoms that haue raised themselues from very slight beginnings, aboue those that were their commanders. The auncient Monarchies decayed when they were at their highest: innumerable haue those gouernements been that haue been broken by others. At this day as much as euer, God raiseth vp some estates, and humbleth others: neyther doth he it in a milder sort, but in such manner he disperseth them, that there remaineth no appearance of their re-establishment. We beleeue these things to be great, because we our selues are small. Many things haue their greatnesse, not according to their nature, but according to our humilitie: what thinke we to be the principall thing in humane life? It is not to haue couerd the back of the Ocean with our ships, nor to haue setled our confines on the shoares of the red sea, neyther for want of finding out land to haue sought the vnknown Isles, in forraging and spoyling the whole world: But it is to haue beheld all these things in thought, to haue conquered our vices (which is the greatest victorie of all others). Innumerable are those men that haue had Cities and Nations vnder their gouernment, but few there are that haue beene

For the one teacheth preuention, the other amongst good men remorse.

Lords

Lords of themselues: what is the principall matter? To raise a mans minde aboue the threats and promises of fortune; to thinke nothing worthy to be hoped for: for what is there that is worth the wilhing for? As oftentimes as thou shalt giue ouer the contemplation of diuine things, and haue recourse vnto humane, thou shalt see as little as they doe, who forsake the brightnesse of a cleere sunne, and enter into a thicke shadow and darkenesse. What is the chiefest matter? To be able to endure aduersities with a constant minde, to suffer whatsoeuer it be that happeneth, as if thou wert willing it should happen. For thou should doe no lesse if thou thoughtest that all things were done by Gods ordinance. To weepe, to complaine, and lament, is a kinde of reuolt. What is the chiefest? A minde that is confirmed and confident against calamities, not onely an aduersary but a mortall enemy of dissolution, a minde neyther greedie of anger, neither flying it, that knoweth how, not to expect but to make fortune, and to march forth against both of these both dreadlesse and vnconfused; a minde that is neyther shaken by her tumult, nor blasted with her brightnesse. What is the chiefest? Not to entertaine euill counsailes into our mindes, to lift cleane hands vnto heauen, to require no good that should be deriued vnto thee eyther by one mans gift, or another mans losse. To wish that which a man may do without any other mans preiudice, namely for a good conscience. And as touching those other things (which the children of this world prize so much) to respect them (although some misfortune should beare away both house and substance) as things that must issue by that place where they entered. What is the chiefest? To raise the minde farre aboue all casualties, to remember that thou art a man, that whether thou be happie, thou must know that this will not continue long, or vnhappy, thou mayest know that thou art not so, except thou thinke thy selfe so. What is the chiefest? Aboue all things to haue a free minde: it is not the lawe of the Quirites, but the libertie of nature that giueth this. But that man is free, that hath discharged himselfe from himselfe. To be subiect to a mans passions is a continuall seruitude, from which it is impossible to escape, a slauerie that presseth with an equall waight, as well by day as by night, without intermission and without relefe. To be slaue vnto a mans selfe is the seruitude of seruitudes; which is easily dismissed if thou desist from importuning thy selfe in many things, if thou ceasest to haue a wil to bribe thy selfe, if thou set before thy eyes thy weakenesse and age, and say vnto thy selfe, Why am I mad? Why puffe I? Why sweat I? Why change I places? Why haunt I the courts and places of conference? I haue neyther neede of much, nor of long time. Moreouer, it shall be good to consider the nature of things: this will first of all cause vs to retire our selues from shamefull matters, and afterwards will separate the bodie very far from the minde, which should begreat and sublime. Furthermore those subtile discourses which we haue made in our selues, shall not make vs worse in open assemblies. But there is nothing more open then these wholsome counsailes, by which we may learne to bridle our vices and furies, which we daily beleeue, but giue ouer neuer.

How true this is the greatest wise men haue testified, the wisest Philosophers, the greatest Kings haue confirmed to their disgrace.

Worthy contemplation, O had the light of grace accompanied these lights of nature.

CHAP. I.

Of the originall of waters, and their cauſes.

NOw let vs enter into the conſideration of waters, and examine after what meanes they are made; eyther as *Ouid* ſayth,

Cleare was the fountaine bubbling from the ſand,
Daining with ſiluer ſtreames the fruitfull land.

Or as *Virgil* ſayth,

Where by nine channels with a roaring noyſe,
The wrathfull ſea breakes through the mountain hie
And drownes the fruitfull paſtures that are nie.

Or as I finde in my deareſt *Iunior*.

And from Sicilian ſprings,
ELEVS *draweth his wings.*

How the ſea turneſteth them.

If any reaſon can diſcouer their courſe, how ſo many huge floudes fleete along both day and night; why the one ſwell and waxe proud through winter waters, other when as the reſt are at the loweſt, are at their higheſt. In the meane ſpace let vs ſeparate *Nilus* from the reſt, that hath a peculiar & ſingular nature; wee will reſerue a day for him, but now wee will onely intreat of common waters both cold and hote. In which wee are to enquire whether they ſpring ſo of their owne natures, or whether they haue other cauſes. Of the reſt like wiſe wee will diſcourſe, which are eyther famous for their ſauour, or for any other particular profite: for ſome helpe the eyes, ſome the nerues, ſome heale deſperate and inueterate ſickneſſes that are giuen ouer by the Phyſitions. Some there are that heale vlcers, ſome being drunke, fortifie the internall parts, and remedy the infirmities of the lungs and other inward veſſels. Some reſtrayne and ſtop bloud: in briefe, they are no leſſe different in their vſe, then in their ſauour.

Their diuers effects.

CHAP. II.

What their diuerſity and taſte is.

ALL waters are eyther ſtanding, or flow, or are collected, or haue diuers veines, ſome are ſweete, ſome are various in taſte, other ſome harſh or ſalt, or fitte for medicine: of which, wee ſay, ſome are of brimſtone, ſome of yron, and ſome of allome. Their ſauour ſheweth what their property is. They haue beſides theſe many other differences, firſt in reſpect of touch, being eyther colde or hote, then in regard of waight, being all either light or heauy. Againe, in reſpect of colour, ſome there are that are pure, ſome troubled, blew and ſhining. Likewiſe in regard of their effect and wholeſomneſſe, for ſome are healthſome and profitable, others are deadly, and ſome there are that conuert into ſtone. Some are ſubtill and thin, others, thicke, fatte, and oyly; ſome nouriſh, ſome paſſe by without helping him any wayes that drinketh of them, ſome being drunke cauſe fecundity.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of their ſituation.

THe poſition of the place is the cauſe why eyther the water ſtandeth or floweth; it runneth when it paſſeth by ſteepe and bending places, in the plaine it is ſtill and ſtanding: ſometimes by a contrary wind it is driuen and cauſed to mount. Sometimes it is gathered together, and runneth not: It is engroſſed by the meanes of ſhowres, and is naturall in reſpect of her ſourſe, yet is there no cauſe to the contrary but that the water may ſpring and bee multiplied in one place. Which we obſerue in the lake Fucine into which all thoſe waters are deriued that fall from the neigbouring mountaines: Beſides this, great and many hidden waters it containeth, which obſerue their colour, although the winter floudes flow into them.

CHAP. IIII.

Whence iſſue ſo many waters at weeſet.

FIrſt of all therefore let vs enquire, how the earth bee ſufficient to continue the courſe of riuers, from whence there iſſueth ſo much water; wee wonder that the ſeas receiue not any encreaſe, by reaſon of ſo many riuers that diſcharge themſelues into her. And no leſſe wonderfull is it, that the earth feeleth no alteration and damage by thoſe ſo many waters that iſſue from it. What is it that hath ſo filled it, that ſhee can diſcharge ſo much out of his ſecrets, to furniſh at all times? what reaſon ſoeuer wee haue deliuered of Riuers, the ſame will we propoſe as touching brookes and fountaines.

CHAP. V.

If the earth giueth and receiueth the waters.

DIuers thinke that the earth receiueth againe into her whatſoeuer waters ſhee hath ſent out, and that the ſeas encreaſe not hereby, becauſe they conuert not that which floweth into them to their vſe, but deliuer it out incontinently: for the ſea-water by an vnknowne way paſſeth thorow the earth, and diſcouereth it ſelfe againe, and then ſecretly returneth, and is ſtrained, and reprayed in his paſſages, & being beaten by the diuers ingates, and cauities of the earth, laies aſide her ſaltneſſe, and changeth the prauity of her ſauor, by paſſage through ſo many different channels, and at laſt becometh ſweet water.

CHAP. VI.

If raines be the efficient cauſe of waters.

SOme thinke, that whatſoeuer raine waters the earth, entertaineth, do afterwardes fall againe into the riuers. And to ſtrengthen their opinion, they ſay, that there are very few riuers in thoſe countries where it ſeldome rayneth. And therefore ſay they, the deſerts of *Æthiopia* are drie, and that there are few fountaines to bee found within the heart of *Africa*, becauſe the nature of the ayre is extreamely hote, and for

for the moſt part it is alwayes Summer. Theſe places then that haue neyther herbes nor trees, but are ſandy are very little, or neuer watered with raines, which if they fall they ſodainely drinke vp. But contrariwiſe it is well knowne that *Germany* and *France* and *Italie* their neighbour abound in ſprings and riuers, becauſe they haue a moiſt aire, and a ſummer, that is not without raine.

CHAP. VII.

The refutation of the former opinion.

THou ſeeſt that many thinges maybee vrged againſt this opinion: Firſt, I who am a very diligent digger of vineyeards, affirme this vnto thee, that there is no raine ſo great that wetteth the earth aboue tenne foot deepe. All the humidity conſumeth it ſelfe in the vpper cruſt thereof, and deſcendeth not to the lower parts: how then can the raine furniſh the riuers with water when as it doth but wette the vpper part of the earth. The greater part hereof is carried into the ſea by the channels of riuers. The earth drinketh vp a very little, and keepeth it not, for eyther ſhee is drie and conſumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refuſing that which the heauen too lauiſhly powreth vpon her. And therefore riuers increaſe not vpon the firſt raines, by reaſon that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreouer, are there not riuers that iſſue out of rockes and mountaines? What increaſe ſhould the raynes giue them that ſtreame along the rockes, and find not any earth to ſtay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in thoſe pits which are digged two or three hundreth foot deepe, there are found ſourees of liuing waters in a depth, whether the water cannot penetrate; ſo that you may know that there is no celeſtiall or reſerued humour there but onely pure and ſpringing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of thoſe that alleadge that ſome fountaines are ſeene to caſt out water on the toppes of mountaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, conſidering that all raine-water falleth downewards.

CHAP. VIII.

That the waters flow from ſome hidden places vnder the earth.

DIuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vaſt mariſhes extend themſelues, beſides great and nauigable lakes; and as the ſeas are ſtretched out thorow the huge ſpaces of earth, and are infuſed into the vallies, ſo the interior parts of the earth abound in ſweet waters, and that they flow no leſſe then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather ſo much the larger, the more the earth ſtretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the riuers proceede and are deriued, which why wondreſt thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no ſenſe of them when they are added to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

If aire being conuerted to water vnder earth be the efficient cauſe of waters.

SOme like of this cauſe: They ſay that the earth hath ſome ſecret cauities in her, and much ſpirits which neceſſarily waxe cold, being oppreſſed with a waighty obſcuritie, at length becomming ſlow and without motion, and finally changeth it ſelfe into water. Euen as the change of aire is the cauſe of ſhadow amongſt vs, ſo in the earth the aire produceth the water. It cannot long time continue aboue vs, becauſe it is waighty and ſtill. Sometimes it is attenuated by the Sunne, ſometimes it is diſſipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we ſee, that there are great ſpaces betweene raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwaies the ſame, perpetuall obſcuritie, continuall cold, vnexerciſed thickneſſe, alwayes therefore will theſe yeeld cauſes to fountaines and flouds: if wee agree that the earth is mutable, yet all that ſhee ſhall thruſt forth is thickned, becauſe it is not conceiued by a pure and free aire, and conſequently is ſodainly conuerted into water.

CHAP. X.

Whether water proceede from the earth.

YOu ſee now the firſt cauſes, how waters are bred vnder the earth: Adde hereunto alſo if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore ſhould not earth bee made of water, and water of earth? which if it bee changeable into any thing, may bee changed into water, nay moſt of all into it. Both of them reſemble one an other, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why ſhould not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers: But when thou ſeeſt how great they are, conſider againe from how great a thing they come. Againe, thou wondreſt that although ſome float inceſſantly, and others flie with a marualious ſwiftneſſe, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou ſay, that whereas the windes impell the aire, yet notwithſtanding it faileth in no part being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turning by a ſodaine and ſpacious motion through this vaſt extent of the heauens? Art thou not amaſed to ſee that there is not one drop of water left, after ſo many billowes that haue beaten againſt the rockes, and ſhores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it ſelfe. The elements doe nothing elſe but turne and returne. That which the one looſeth, the other getteth. And nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare leaſt if there were too little on the one ſide, and too much on the other, the world ſhould fall into ruine. All things are in all things, not only the aire paſſeth into the element of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will grow thick, and hard. The aire is changed into water, yet in ſuch ſort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is ſhee neuer leſſe without water then without aire. And therefore the paſſage through both the one and the other is more eaſie, becauſe ſhee is alreadie intermixed with thoſe elements through which ſhee muſt paſſe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this ſhee expreſſeth. Shee hath the aire likewiſe, which is thickned by the ſhadow of winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: Shee is changeable into humour, and vſeth her owne nature.

Of the tranſmutation of one element into an other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Why Riuers and fountaines are dried vp sometimes.

WHat, therefore saiest thou, if the causes be perpetuall whereby Riuers and fountaines rise, why are they sometimes dried and sometimes issue from those places where they were not? Oftimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut of these issues, and by restraynyng the waters enforce them to seeke new passages, yea and to enforce their way or else to breake forth their way in an other place by reason of some earthquake. It falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Riuers that haue lost their bed first spread themselues, and afterwards hauing lost their way do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called Corycus, in which, after an earthquake there brake forth diuers fountaines that were not discouered before. But some thinke that by diuers other intervenient accidents the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to bee found in the mountayne Hemus, but when as the French men being besieged by *Cassander* had retyred themselues into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to bee consumed in nourishing them beganne to spread it selfe. The like, saith he, hapned also about Magnesia. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed are fullest of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dryed vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neare: but the force of Riuers springeth from beneath and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped deserue more humour, not only to maintayne their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith that about Arcadia, which was a Citie in Creete, the Fountaines and Lakes dryed vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceased to be manured: but after it beganne to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this dryneſſe they thinke that the earth is hardned, and that remayning vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence commeth it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Desarts and those places that are no wayes put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in diuers Countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue beene found in them; and that other some haue not beginne to make shew of sources, because they haue not beene husbanded. For by this shalt thou vnderstand that it is not raine-water that presently deriueth from a fountayne those vast flouds, that are fit to beare great ships of burthen, because that both in winter and sommer these flouds haue their equall course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a Riuers that streameth and floteth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and bancks. The raines make not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Water is the true cause of Riuers.

LEt vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more nearly, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning if thou consider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the aboundance of perpetuall water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the cause of a Riuer. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you also to answere me how aire or earth is made: if there be foure elements a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wondrest thou that so great a portion of Nature may alwaies spread somthing out of it selfe; Euen as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the winde be a flowing aire, euery Riuer is a flowing water. I haue giuen him sufficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

CHAP. XIII.

The opinion of Thales as touching water.

WAter, as *Thales* saith, is the strongest of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the first, because that all things haue beene created of water. For we likewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into himselfe; which vanishing and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Doest thou wonder that Riuers may alwaies issue from this Element, which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and so placed, that it might suffer both to produce flouds, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for hee saith that the globe of the earth is sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctuateth in his mobilitie, and such time as he is said to tremble, it is not therfore to be wondred at: that there is sufficient water to make Riuers, considering that all the world is in water. But hisse away and contemne this old opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine crenises into this world, and worketh out a pompe.

CHAP. XIIII.

The opinion of the Egyptians at touching the number of the elements.

THe Egyptians made foure elements, and then of euery one of them two male and female. They suppose the aire to bee the male because it is winde, female because it is obscure and still. They call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flame; feminine, because it shineth without hurting by touching. The stronger earth they call male, as for example, stones, and rocks: they assigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

CHAP.

for the moſt part it is alwayes Summer. Theſe places then that haue neyther herbes nor trees, but are ſandy are very little, or neuer watered with raines, which if they ſall they ſodainely drinke vp. But contrariwiſe it is well knowne that *Germany* and *France* and *Italie* their neighbour abound in ſprings and riuers, becauſe they haue a moiſt aire, and a ſummer, that is not without raine.

CHAP. VII.

The refutation of the former opinion.

THou ſeeſt that many thinges maybee vrged againſt this opinion: Firſt, I who am a very diligent digger of vineyeards, affirme this vnto thee, that there is no raine ſo great that wetteth the earth aboue tenne foot deepe. All the humidity conſumeth it ſelfe in the vpper cruſt thereof, and deſcendeth not to the lower parts: how then can the raine furniſh the riuers with water when as it doth but wette the vpper part of the earth. The greater part hereof is carried into the ſea by the channels of riuers. The earth drinketh vp a very little, and keepeth it not, for eyther ſhee is drie and conſumeth that which falleth vpon her, or is wet, refuſing that which the heauen too lauiſhly powreth vpon her. And therefore riuers increaſe not vpon the firſt raines, by reaſon that the drie earth drinketh it all vp. Moreouer, are there not riuers that iſſue out of rockes and mountaines? What increaſe ſhould the raynes giue them that ſtreame along the rockes, and find not any earth to ſtay vpon? Adde hereunto, that in drie places in thoſe pits which are digged two or three hundreth foot deepe, there are found ſources of liuing waters in a depth, whether the water cannot penetrate; ſo that you may know that there is no celeſtiall or reſerued humour there but onely pure and ſpringing water. This very argument refuteth the opinion of thoſe that alleadge that ſome fountaines are ſeene to caſt out water on the toppes of mouutaines; whence it appeareth, that waters mount vp on high, or that they are produced there, conſidering that all raine-water falleth downewards.

CHAP. VIII.

That the waters flow from ſome hidden places vnder the earth.

RIuers thinke that as in the exterior part of the earth many vaſt miniſhes extend themſelues, beſides great and nauigable lakes; and as the ſeas are ſtretched out thorow the huge ſpaces of earth, and are infuſed into the vallies, ſo the interior parts of the earth abound in ſweet waters, and that they flow no leſſe then the Ocean, and the armes thereof doth with vs, nay rather ſo much the larger, the more the earth ſtretcheth out on high: and therefore from that deepe abundance the riuers proceede and are deriued, which why wondreſt thou that the earth feeleth them not when they are taken from her, when as the Ocean hath no ſenſe of them when they are added to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

If aire being conuerted to water vnder earth be the efficient cauſe of waters.

SOme like of this cauſe: They ſay that the earth hath ſome ſecret cauities in her, and much ſpirits which neceſſarily wax cold, being oppreſſed with a waighty obſcuritie, at length becomming ſlow and without motion, and finally changeth it ſelfe into water. Euen as the change of aire is the cauſe of ſhadow amongſt vs, ſo in the earth the aire produceth the water. It cannot long time continue aboue vs, becauſe it is waightie and ſtill. Sometimes it is attenuated by the Sunne, ſometimes it is diſſipated by the windes, by meanes whereof we ſee, that there are great ſpaces betweene raines. But all that which is vnder earth, to make the aire turne into water is alwaies the ſame, perpetuall obſcuritie, continuall cold, vnexerciſed thickneſſe, alwayes therefore will theſe yeeld cauſes to fountaines and floods: if wee agree that the earth is murable, yet all that ſhee ſhall thruſt forth is thickned, becauſe it is not conceiued by a pure and free aire, and conſequently is ſodainly conuerted into water.

CHAP. X.

Whether water proceede from the earth.

YOu ſee now the firſt cauſes, how waters are bred vnder the earth: Adde hereunto alſo if thou wilt, That all is made of all, aire of water, water of aire, fire of aire, aire of fire. Why therefore ſhould not earth bee made of water, and water of earth? which if it bee changeable into any thing, may bee changed into water, nay moſt of all into it. Both of them reſemble one an other, both of them are heauie and thick, and are lodged together in the Center of the world. Earth is made of water, and why ſhould not water be made of earth? But there are great Riuers! But when thou ſeeſt how great they are, conſider againe from how great a thing they come. Againe, thou wondreſt that although ſome float inceſſantly, and others flie with a marualous ſwiftneſſe, yet neuer haue they want of new water. And what wilt thou ſay, that whereas the windes impell the aire, yet notwithſtanding it faileth in no part being not carried in a certaine channell as Riuers, but turning by a ſodaine and ſpacious motion through this vaſt extent of the heauens? Art thou not amaſed to ſee that there is not one drop of water left, after ſo many billowes that haue beaten againſt the rocks, and ſhores. There is nothing deficient that returneth into it ſelfe. The elementes doe nothing elſe but turne and returne. That which the one looſeth, the other getteth. And nature examineth her parts as it were in a ballance, for feare leaſt if there were too little on the one ſide, and too much on the other, the world ſhould fall into ruine. All things are in all things, not only the aire paſſeth into the elemente of fire, but is neuer without fire. Take away heat from it, it will freeze, it will grow thick, and hard. The aire is changed into water, yet in ſuch ſort that before that time it was not without humour. Both aire and water are made by earth, yet is ſhee neuer leſſe without water then without aire. And therefore the paſſage through both the one and the other is more eaſie, becauſe ſhee is alreadie intermixed with thoſe elements through which ſhee muſt paſſe. The earth then hath humiditie, and this ſhee expreſſeth. Shee hath the aire likewiſe, which is thickned by the ſhadow of winters cold, to the intent to produce humiditie: Shee is changeable into humour, and vſeth her owne nature.

Of the tranſmutation of one element into an other.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Why Riuers and fountaines are dried vp sometimes.

WHat, therefore saiest thou, if the causes be perpetuall whereby Riuers and fountaines rise, why are they somtimes dried and somtimes issue from those places where they were not? Oftimes their passages are intercepted by the trembling and motion of the earth; and ruines cut of these issues, and by restrayning the waters enforce them to seeke new passages, yea and to enforce their way or else to breake forth their way in an other place by reason of some earthquake. It falleth out almost ordinarily amongst vs, that the Riuers that haue lost their bed first spread themselues, and afterwards hauing lost their way do that which *Theophrastus* saith, hapned in the Mountaine called Corycus, in which, after an earthquake there brake forth diuers fountaines that were not discouered before. But some thinke that by diuers other intervenient accidents the waters are deriued and drawne from their accustomed courses. The time hath been when there was no water to bee found in the mountayne Hemus, but when as the French men being besieged by *Cassander* had retyred themselues into those parts, and had cut downe the woods, there appeared a great quantitie of water which the trees had retayned for their aliment: which being cut downe, that humour that was wont to bee consumed in nourishing them beganne to spread it selfe. The like, saith he, hapned also about Magnesia. But if I may speake without any offence to *Theophrastus*, this matter is vnlikely. For the most part those places that are shadowed are fullest of water, which would not come to passe if the trees dryed vp the moisture, that haue their nourishment so neare: but the force of Riuers springeth from beneath and hath farre more extent and humour then the rootes can containe. Furthermore, the trees that are lopped deserue more humour, not only to maintayne their being, but also for their increase. The same man saith that about Arcadia, which was a Citie in Creete, the Fountaines and Lakes dryed vp, because the Citie was ruined, and the land ceased to be manured: but after it beganne to be husbanded, the waters returned againe. By reason of this dryenesse they thinke that the earth is hardned, and that remayning vnmanured, it could not yeeld forth water. Whence commeth it therefore that we see many fountaines in the Desarts and those places that are no wayes put in vse? In briefe, wee finde that there are many places in diuers Countries which haue been tilled vp by reason of those waters that haue beene found in them; and that other some haue not begunne to make shew of sources, because they haue not beene husbanded. For by this shalt thou vnderstand that it is not raine-water that presently deriueth from a fountayne those vast flouds, that are fit to beare great ships of burthen, because that both in winter and sommer these flouds haue their equall course from the beginning vnto the ending. Raine may make a torrent, but not a Riuer, that streameth and floweth with an equall tide betwixt his brincks and bancks. The raines make not the water, but excite the same.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

What is the true cause of Riuers.

SEe vs (if it seeme good vnto thee) examine this matter more nearly, and thou shalt see that thou art far from thy reckoning if thou consider the true originall of riuers: vndoubtedly it is the abundance of perpetuall water, and such as neuer drieth vp, that is the cause of a Riuer. If therefore you aske mee how water is made, I will intreat you also to answere me how aire or earth is made: if there be foure elements a man cannot aske of thee whence water is, for it is the fourth part of nature: why therefore wondrest thou that so great a portion of Nature may alwaies spread somthing out of it selfe; Euen as the aire which is the fourth part of the world moueth the winds, so the water moueth brookes and riuers: if the winde be a flowing aire, euery Riuer is a flowing water. I haue giuen him sufficient force, since I haue giuen him the name of an element: for thou knowest that that which proceedeth from it cannot faile.

CHAP. XIII.

The opinion of Thales as touching water.

WAter, as *Thales* saith, is the strongest of all the Elements, and in his opinion it is the first, because that all things haue beene created of water. For we likewise are either of the same opinion, or iumpe in the conclusion. For we say that it is the fire that occupieth the world, and conuerteth all things into him selfe, which vanishing and being gathered into it selfe, and afterwards being extinct, there remaineth nothing in the nature of things but water, and that in fire the hope of the future world is inclosed: so the fire is the beginning of the world, and water the ending. Doest thou wonder that Riuers may alwaies issue from this Element, which was in stead of all, and out of which all things were? This humour in the disposition of all things was reduced to the fourth, and so placed, that it might suffer both to produce flouds, riuers, and fountaines. That which followeth is a foolish opinion of *Thales*, for hee saith that the globe of the earth is sustained by water, and carried after the manner of a boat, and fluctuateth in his mobilitie, and such time as he is said to tremble, it is not therfore to be wondred at: that there is sufficient water to make Riuers, considering that all the world is in water. But hisse away and contemne this old opinion. For thou art not to thinke that water entereth by certaine creuises into this world, and worketh out a pompe.

CHAP. XIIII.

The opinion of the Egyptians as touching the number of the elements.

THe Egyptians made foure elements, and then of euery one of them two male and female. They suppose the aire to bee the male because it is winde, female because it is obscure and still. They call fire masculine, because it burneth with a flame; feminine, because it shineth without hurting by touching. The stronger earth they call male, as for example, stones, and rocks: they assigne the name of female, to that which is manuable and fit to be employed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

How and from whence the waters proceed.

WHence is the Sea? From the beginning it was so made, hee hath vaines whereby he is impelled, and floweth. As the way of the sea is vast and hidden, so is that of the milder waters, which no course of any riuer what soeuer may drie vp. The reason of the forces of the same is hidden. There issueth no more from it then there is superfluitie; we approue some of these opinions, but consider besides these, that which ensueth. I consent that the earth is gouerned by Nature, and that it hath some resemblance with our bodies, wherein there are vaines and arteries, the one to containe the bloud, the other the spirit. In the earth likewise there are such waies, whereby the water runneth, and others, whereby the winde whirleth, which Nature hath so formed according to the resemblance of our bodies, that our Ancestors haue called them vaines, which are the sources of waters. But as in vs, besides the vaines, there are diuers sorts of humors, either necessarie, or superfluous and stincking. The braines for the head, the marrow for the bones, the muskles, the excrements of the eyes, the nerues in the ioynts to procure a more easie motion: so are there diuers sorts of humiditie found in the earth. Some being ripened, are hardened as mettals, amongst which auarice hath digged vp gold and siluer. There are others likewise which are changed into stone. In some places the earth and water melt themselues, as we see in *Bitumen*, a clammie, limie, and pitchie substance, and in others. This is the cause of waters that are bred according to the ordinance of Nature. But as in our bodies, so oftentimes in the earth the humours are corrupted, either a stroake, or some shaking, or the age of the place, or cold, or heate offence Nature: so a sulphurous earth will draw a certaine humour, which sometimes will continue long, sometimes little. Euen as therefore in our bodies when a vaine is opened, the bloud floweth so long, vntill there be no more, or vntill the orifice of the pricke be shut, and hath a cicatrise; or in any other sort the bloud be stopped: in such sort in the earth, when the vaines of the same are open, the brooks or riuers spread themselues. That only is to be considered how great the orifice is, and how the water is consumed: sometimes it is dried vp by some impediment, sometimes it vniteth it selfe, as it were, in a cicatrise, and followeth that way which she hath made: sometimes this masse of earth, which, as wee said, is immutable, ceaseth to conuert the humiditie into nutriment: sometimes the conduits that are dried are filled againe, either in assembling their owne forces, or gathering it from others. For oft-times those things that are void, being set neere vnto those things that are full, draw the humor from them, which passeth easily into another thing. Oftentimes the earth drieth it selfe, and afterwards becommeth moist. The same falleth out vnder earth, which happeneth in the clouds, that the earth thickeneth her selfe, and engendereth an humidity so waightie, that she can no longer containe it. Oftentimes she gathereth a thin and dispersed liquor like vnto dew, which is gathered from diuers places into one. Those Masters that make fountaines, call it the sweat of the earth, because that certaine droppes are expressed thorow the straitnesse of the place, or are drawne by cunning. In this place there needeth much humiditie for a little source. But as touching the greater riuers, they proceed from very great causes and conceptions, sometimes they flow mildely, if the water hath onely carried her selfe by her owne waight: sometimes with vehemencie and great noise, if the aire be intermixed and push it forth.

Diuers humiditities in the earth, as in our bodies.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the flux and reflux of some fountaines, and the encrease and decrease of some riuers in certain seasons.

DOut why are some fountaines for sixe houres space full, and sixe houres drie. It were but labour lost to name all those riuers which swell for diuers monthes, and are small for certaine other. It is not now needfull to seeke out a reason for euery one in particular, since I may yeeld the same reason for all riuers in generall. Euen as the quartan ague commeth at an houre, the gout hath a certaine terme, and purgation, if nothing hinder it, keepeth his critique day, and female produceth her fruit in a prefixed time: so the waters haue their pauses both to ebbe and flow. But some spaces are lesse, and therefore more notable, some greater and no lesse certaine. Why should a man wonder hereat, when as thou seest the order of things disposed by degrees, according to assignations? The Winter hath alwaies kept his course. The Summer is warmed in due time. The changes of Autumne and Spring obserue their vsuall customes: both the Solstice and Æquinoctium haue reference to their dayes. Vnder earth the Lawes of Nature are lesse knowne vnto vs, yet are they not lesse certaine. Below, thou seest as much vnder earth as aboue. For there are there, most spacious dens, infinite and great retreates, and large spaces betweene the mountaines that are hanged heere and there. There are a number of hollowes and bottomlesse pits that haue swallowed vp whole Cities, and haue hidden strange ruines in their depthes. These caues are full of aire, (for there is nothing void in the vniuers) and in spacious and obscure pooles, likewise, there breed certaine creatures (although confused and deformed) as if engendred in a blind and fat aire, and in waters ouergrowne with mud, diuers of which are blinde as Moales, and Rats, that are bred vnder ground, who want light, because they haue no need thereof. From thence likewise, as *Theophrastus* thinketh, fishes are drawne forth in some places.

CHAP. XVII.

After some digression he tauntelh the vnbridled vanitie of dissolute men of his time, in respect of their fish.

THere are many things in this place which come vnto thy minde, which a man may terme after a merrie sort, both incredulous and fabulous, that a man should goe and fish with his pick-axe, and not with nets and hookes. I expect that some one should goe a fishing in the sea. But why may not fishes as well haunt vpon the earth, as we trauerse the seas? In the end wee will change our abode. Doest thou wonder at that which I haue spoken? How farre more incredible are the workes of excesse and dissolution, as often as she list to falsifie and surmount Nature? Fishes swimme in the chamber, and vnder the very table the fish is taken, that is dressed and serued in presently to the table. A Barbel newly taken is not delicate enough, if it dieth not in their hands that are inuited to dinne. They are shut vp, serued in, and shewed in pots of glasse, at which time men take pleasure in their colour, when they are readie to die, which is changed diuersly, when as the fish beginneth to waxe weake, and beateth her selfe to death by little and little. Some they kill in *Garum*, or pickle, and dresse them liuing. Whence are those then that thinke it impossible that a fish should liue vnder the earth, and be digged out, and not taken? How incredible would this seeme

vnto them, that a fish swimmes in pickle, and that it was not killed for supper, but in the middest of supper, and made much sport, and fed the eyes before it satisfied the belly.

CHAP. XVIII.

He continueth his reproofe against mens excesse.

LEt vs giue ouer this dispute, and suffer me to censure this excesse. There is nothing more faire, sayest thou, then to see a Barbel die. At such time as she struggleth for life, first there appeareth a redness, and afterwards she is couered all with paleness, which are equally varied, and the face of the colour is vncertaine betwixt life and death. O long idleness of sleepie and sluggish dissolution: too late hath she beene awakened, too late hath she knowne, that she was depriued and defrauded of so great a good. Yet fisher-men enioyed this so great and goodly spectacle, hauing the meanes to see such a fish dead and sodden for their table. We wondered to see them so daintie, that they would not touch the fish, except it were taken the same day, which as they said, should taste of the sea it selfe. Therefore were they carried in poste, and in euery streete whole companies made way for rippiers, that puffing and crying out as they ranne, to make way. But to what height is excesse growne vnto? That fish that is caught and killed to day is reputed rotten. I will not trust thee with a matter of so great importance, I will haue it brought me aliue, and I will see it die. The stomackes of the belly-gods are seazed with this loathing, that they cannot taste a fish, except they haue seene it swimming, and dying at their banquets. The more that excesse and furious desires of superfluities made them ingenious, the more also did their furie contemning all vsuall matters, inuent daily some new subtiltie and magnificence. We haue heard it spoken, that in times past, that the Barbel that was taken amongst rockes, and in stony places, was a daintie dish. But now we heare them say that there is nothing more pleasing, then to see a Barbel die. Giue mee the glasse-bodie into my hands, that I may see it leape and quiuer. When it hath been much and long time praised, it is suddenly taken out of that cleere fish-poole, then euery one as he is cunninger shewes his opinion. See how this rednes appeareth more tinctured then Vermelion. Behold what vains he discouereth on his sides, you would say his belly were of bloud? What cleare and blew colour hath he discouered at one time. Now he stretched out himselfe, and becommeth pale and of one colour. But amongst all these deuisers, you shall finde none of them that will sit by his friend that lies a dying, no man will haue the heart to see his father yeeld vp the ghost, although he hath wished his death heartily. Who is he amongst all these gourmands, that followeth a dead man of his family to the fire. He will abandon his parents and friends at the last houre, yet notwithstanding they assemble themselues together to see a dying fish? For in their opinion there is nothing more faire. I cannot chuse, but gird at them sometimes, and vse some tart and rude termes in respect of these men, who when there is any question of kitchin-worke, are not content with their teeth, throats, and bellies to feed their excesse, except they surfet with their eyes.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The difference of waters vnder the earth.

BVt to returne vnto my purpose, take this for a certaine argument, that in the hollow places of the earth, there is a great abundance of hidden waters that breed much corrupt and muddy fish, which if at any time they breake forth, bring with them an immeasurable troope of fishes horrible to sight, and filthy and vnwholsome in taste; truely at such time as a great quantity of this water is sued out of the earth in the country of *Caria*, neere to the City of *Lorina*: all they died whosoeuer did eate of those fishes that were drawne out of that Riuer which before time was vnknown. Neither is this to bee wondred at; for such fishes as these, because they had beene long time shut vp, were become great, fat and long, but slimy and fetured in the darkenesse, and had neuer seen the light, whence commeth the wholesomenes of all victuals. That fishes may breede in the hollow of the earth, it appeareth because that Eeles are taken in hidden places, in troubled waters and pits which yeeld a meate of hard digestion, by reason of their sluggishnesse, especially when they are taken in those places where there is so much mudde, as they may wholy bury themselues therin: so then the earth hath not onely vaines of water, which by their current may make riuers, but also floudes of great extent, whereof some runne alwayes vnderneath the earth, vntill such time as they discharge themselues in some gulfe, some appeare vnder some lake. And who knoweth not that there are certaine pooles which appeare without bottome? whereto tendeth this? to show that the great riuers haue a continuall matter to maintain them, whose extremities are not to be touched as they may be in springs & fountains.

CHAP. XX.

The causes of the diuers fauours of waters.

ANd why haue waters diuers tastes? for foure causes. The first is of the earth thorow which the waters are carried. The second, by reason of the agreement and conueniency of the same. The third, of ayre which is transformed into water. The fourth of corruption which hapneth vpon diuers occasions. These causes giue diuers fauors and properties vnto waters. These giue the vertue to heale infirmities, these yeelde a stinking dampe and a pestilent vapour, the lightnes or heauinesse, or too much heate or colde. It importeth also to know whether they passe by the vaines of sulphure, nitre or bitume: If they bee corrupted by some dangerous minerals, a man cannot drinke of them without the hazard of his life. Therefore it is that *Ouid* sayth:

Examples of marueilous waters.

The Citones haue such a flood that being drunke doth change,
Their bowle that do drinke to stone, all else to marble strange.

This is a medicine, and hath a mud of that nature, that it both agglutinateth and hardneth that whereupon it is applied. Euen as the dust of the territory of *Pruzzel* if it toucheth this water is turned into stone; so contrariwise this water if it toucheth any thing that is solide, it cleaueth, and is affixed thereunto. Thence is it that such things as are cast into this lake, are forthwith drawn

out as hard as ſtone. The like whereof falleth out in ſome places of *Italy*, whether you caſt a reed or the leaues of trees into the ſame, thou ſhalt draw them out in few dayes in the forme of ſtone: for the winde incloſeth the body on euery ſide, and by little and little taketh hold and hardneth it. This will ſeeme leſſe wonderfull and ſtrange vnto thee, if thou obſerue how theſe white and ſulphurous waters are hardned and congealed about their channels and pipes. Some ſuch cauſe haue theſe lakes whereof whoſoeuer drinketh as the Poet ſaith;

Growes furious, or elſe falls to Lethargie.

It hath the like force that wine hath, but more vehement: for euen as drunkenneſſe vntill it bee dried is madneſſe, and by the weight thereof driueth him that is drunke into ſleepe: ſo the ſulphurous vertue of this water hath ſome more powerfull venome in it by meanes of the corrupted ayre, whence followeth eyther fury or lethargie, the like euill hath the riuer *Lynceſtius*.

Which whoſo drinkes although his draught be ſmall,
Stumbles as if pure wine had made him fall.

CHAP. XXI.

Whence proceedeth theſe diuers effects in waters.

THey that haue looke downe into ſome deepe guſſes, doe die, ſo ſodaine is the venome which killeth thoſe birdes that doe but flie ouer it, ſuch is the ayre, and ſuch the place from whence this deadly water diſtilleth. But if the venome of that ayre and place, be leſſe vehement, the euill alſo is in ſome ſort lenified, it onely debilitateth the nerues, and ſtupifieth them, as it were with drunkenneſſe. Neither doe I wonder, that the place and ayre doe infect the waters, and maketh them like vnto thoſe regions, by which, and from which they come: The ſauor of the paſture appeareth in the milke, and the force of the wine is extant in the vineger; there is nothing that hath not ſome taſte of that from whence it was taken and bred.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the Ocean created in the beginning of the world.

AN other kind there is of water alſo, that as we thinke had his beginning with the world, which if it be eternall, ſo is this likewiſe, and if it hath any beginning, it likewiſe hath a beginning with him. Aske you me what this is? It is the Ocean with all thoſe other ſeas that eyther flow from it, or waſh the borders of it. Some are of opinion that certaine riuers, (whoſe nature cannot bee expreſſed) haue had their beginnings with the world, as *Iſter* and *Nilus*, and other ſpacious floudes, and ſuch as a man cannot reckon in the ranke of others, nor driue them from the ſame ſource.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Diuerſity of terreſtriall waters.

THis is therefore the diuiſion of waters, according to ſome mens opinions. After theſe there are celeſtiall waters, which the clouds powre downe from aboue. Amongſt the terreſtriall waters, there are ſome (if I may ſo ſpeake it) that ſwim and flow aboue the earth, other ſome there bee that are hidden, whereof wee haue yeelded a reaſon.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Why theſe are hote waters.

SOme there are that yeeld diuers reaſons why certaine waters are hote, and others ſo boyling, that they can bee of no vſe, except they be cooled by the ayre, or tempered by the mixture of colde water. *Empedocles* thinketh that the water is hote by thoſe fires which the earth couereth and concealeth in diuers places, eſpecially if they runne vnder that ſoyle by which they take their paſſage. Wee are wont to make certaine Dragons and Serpentines, and diuers other faſhions of veſſels, in which we faſten diuers little pypes of thin braſſe bending downwards, to the end that the water diſtilling and turning oftentimes before the fire, may get iſſue in ſuch ſpace of time wherein it may take heate. It therefore entreth colde, and floweth out hote. *Empedocles* is of this opinion, that the ſame is done vnder the earth, to whoſe opinion they condiſcend whoſe bathes are warmed without fire. A warme ayre is infuſed thereunto, which ſerueth in ſteade of fire. This running through the pypes warmeth the walles and veſſels of the bath, as iffire had beene ſet neere vnto it. In briefe, the colde water is by this meanes changed into hote, neither doth the euaporation draw any ſauour, becauſe it paſſeth thorow cloſed and couered places. Some thinke that theſe waters that eyther paſſe by or enter theſe places that are full of ſulphure, draw their heate by the benefite of the matter thorow which they paſſe, which appeareth by their ſmell and taſte; for they yeeld the quality of the matter which hath warmed them; and leaſt thou ſhouldeſt wonder at this accident, powre mee but water vpon quicklime, and it will burne.

CHAP. XXV.

Of venemous & deadly waters.

DIuers waters are deadly which neither offend in odour nor in taſte. About *Nonacris* in *Arcadia* there is a riuer which the inhabitants of the place call *Styx* which deceiueth ſtrangers, becauſe both in ſight, and in ſmell, it reſembleth others, ſuch as are the poyſons of moſt cunning poyſoners, which cannot bee diſcouered but by death: but this water whereof I haue ſpoken a little before corrupteth with incredible ſwiftneſſe, neither is there any remedy for it, becauſe that as ſoone as it is drunken, it thickneth and hardneth as plaſter doth in the water, and cloſeth vp the bowels. There is likewiſe a certaine venemous water in *Theſſaly* about *Tempe*, which both wilde beaſtes and all kind of cattell doe flie from, which pierceth both yron and braſſe, ſuch force it hath to mollifie

Notable examples.

thoſe things that are heard. There are no trees that grow about it, nor any hearbes but it killeth them. In ſome Riuers there is a wonderfull propertie. For ſome of theſe there are, which being drunke doe tincture and die the flocks of ſheepe, and within a very ſhort ſpace thoſe that were blacke carrie white wooll; and thoſe that came with white fleeces returne with blacke. The like effects likewiſe haue two Riuers in Beotia, whereof the one is called Melus, that is to ſay, blacke by reaſon of his operation, yet both of theſe iſſue from the ſame lake, though they haue different effects. In Macedonia likewiſe, as *Theophraſtus* ſaith, there is a floud, whitherto they that deſire to haue white ſheepe driue their flockes, which the longer they haue drunke, the more deeply are they dyed and turned into white: but if they haue neede of a browne colour, they haue a ready and free Dier, for they driue the ſame flocke to the floud Cerona. I haue moderne authors that write that there is a Riuer in Galatia, that blacketh all that which is ſteeped in it, that in Capadocia there is another that changeth the colour of horſes onely (and not other beaſts) cauſing their haires to be ſpotted with white. It is well knowne that there ſome lakes that beare them vp, who cannot ſwim. There was in Sicily, and at this day there is in Siria a pond, on the top whereof whole bricks doe ſwim, and although heauie things be caſt into the ſame, yet can they not ſinke vnto the bottome. And the cauſe hereof is very manifeſt. Weigh me a thing whatſoeuer it be, and counterpoiſe it with water, if the water be more waightie it will beare vp the thing that is lighter then it ſelfe, and will raiſe the ſame aboue her the more lighter it is, and that which is more waightie will diſcend. But if the waight of the water, and the thing thou counterpoiſeſt with it be equall, ſhe ſhall not draw it to the bottom, neyther ſhall it wholly ſwim aboue the water, but it ſhall be carried on euen with the water, but ſhall ſwim as it were halfe drowned, and eminent in no part. Thence commeth it that ſome pieces of tymber ſometimes floate wholly aboue the water, other ſome are halfe within the water, and others ſinke to the bottom. For when as the waight of the wood and water are equall, and that the one thing yeeldeth in no ſort to the other that which is more waighty diſcendeth, and that which is lighter is carried on the top of the water. But we eſteeme the heauie and light, not according to our owne eſtimate, but in compariſon of the thing that ſhould carrie and beare vp the ſame. When as therefore the water is heauier then the body of a man or a ſtone, ſhe ſuffereth not that which is more lighter to ſinke vnto the bottom. Whence it commeth to paſſe that the ſtones themſelues floate vpon the water, yea, euen thoſe that are hardeſt & moſt ſolid. For there are many Pummice ſtones & ſuch as are light, wherof certain Iſlands in Lydia are compoſed, the which for this cauſe ſwimme in the Sea, if a man will beleeue *Theophraſtus*. For mine owne part I my ſelfe haue ſeene an Iſland in the lake of Cutilias that floated, another in the lake of Vadimona, another in the lake of Station, ſwimming vpon the water. The Iſland of Cutilias hath trees and hearbes growing on it, although the water beareth it vp, and is driuen hither and thither, not onely by a ſtrong winde, but by euery gentle gale whatſoeuer. Neyther remaineth it eyther by day or night in one place, ſo moueable is it vpon euery breath of winde. There are two cauſes hereof: the waight of the medicinable water, & conſequently more heatie; and the matter of the Iſle which is apt to be carried, which hath no ſolid bodie, although it nouriſh trees. For happily the fat humor taketh hold of, and bindeth together the lighter trunkes, and thoſe leaues that are ſcattered in the lake. Therefore although there be ſome ſtones in the ſame, yet ſhalt thou finde

Pliny calleth it ceron in his ſecond booke.

The cauſe of ſuch effects.

Of ſtones and other ſuch things that floate aboue the water.

The reaſon of the marueilous iſle of Cutilias.

finde them ſpongie and hollow, ſuch as thoſe are which a thicke water collecteth and breedeth about the brinks of ſome medicinable fountaines, which are engendered of the ſome that is made by the excrements of the water, that gather themſelues together. That thing of neceſſitie muſt be light, which is made of another thing that is windie and voyde. There are ſome ſecrets wherof a man can yeeld no reaſon; as why the water of Nilus maketh women fruitfull, in ſuch ſort that it hath opened and diſpoſed to conception the matrice of ſome women, that hath been cloſed by long ſterrilitie; why likewiſe ſome waters in Lycia retaine the ſeede conceiued by women, who had their matrice euer open. For mine own part, I number theſe things amongſt thoſe that are vndiſcreetly and raſhly publiſhed. Some beleeue that there are certaine waters that breede the ſcab in mens bodies, or that poured on the skin or drunken, the leproſie, and other white and deformed ſpots, which vice they aſcribe to that water that is gathered of dew. Who would not thinke that thoſe waters that are turned into cryſtall are moſt waightie? yet is it farre otherwiſe; for this falleth out in the lightеſt waters, which the colde very eaſily congealeth, by reaſon that they are no wayes thicke. But whence this ſtone is made, it appeareth very plainly by the name which the Græcians giue the ſame, for they call it κρύσταλλον, as well the tranſparant ſtone as the Ice, whereof it is ſuppoſed that the cryſtall is made. For the celeſtiall water, hauing very little earthly ſubſtance in it, when it is growen hard by the continencie and vehemency of the longer cold is thickened more and more, vntill ſuch time as (all aire being excluded) it ſhutteth in it ſelfe, and that humour which was is made a ſtone.

There are infinite ſecrets in nature, whereof a man cannot giue a reaſon.

How cryſtall is made.

CHAP. XXVI.

IN ſummer ſome flouds are increaſed, as Nilus (whereof we will render another reaſon, in a more conuenient place) *Theophraſtus* writeth, that in Pontus there are certaine riuers that increaſe in the ſummer time, whereof he iudgeth that there are three cauſes; firſt, becauſe at that time moſt of all the earth is apt to be changed into winter; next, becauſe there are ſome huge ſhowers that fall in a more remote place, whoſe waters ſtreaming along by ſecret paſſages, are ſilently diſcharged into the ſame; thirdly, if the entrie be beaten with continuall windes, and the floud be beaten, and the water mounteth backe againe, which ſeemeth to increaſe becauſe it is not poured out into the Sea; the fourth reaſon is from the Planets, for thoſe in ſome moneths vrge more then in other ſome, and dry vp the flouds; in other places being farther off, they draw and conſume leſſe, in ſuch ſort, that that which is leſſened in one ſeaſon is increaſed in another. There are ſome flouds that manifeſtly fall into ſome bottomleſſe pit, and ſo are ſwallowed vp from our ſight: ſome are conſumed by little and little, and after ſome intermiſſion return again and reaſſume both their name and courſe: the cauſe is manifeſt, there is ſome vacuitie vnder the earth. But all water by nature diſcendeth downeward, and is carried into a voyde place. The Riuers therefore that are receiued thither make their ſecret courſe, but as ſoone as any thing that is ſolid meeteth with them, and ſtayeth them, by working a paſſage that reſiſteth them, leſt they renue and purſue their former courſe.

Why ſome Riuers increaſe in Summer.

Other diuers accidents in Riuers and Fountaines.

So

So when as Lieus is drunke vp and drayned
By yawning earth, at last he mounts againe
Far from the place where first it was contayned,
And springs and floats with in another maine,
And now drunke vp, straight with a silent course
Sliding along, he spends his flouds vntamed
Amidst the Grecksh Ocean, and his source
Is in that place proude Erasinus named.

The floud Tygris doth the like in the East; it is swallowed vp, and after hauing made a long iourney vnderneath the earth, at last in a farre remote place it riseth againe vndoubtedly the same. Some fountaines at a certaine time cast out their excrement, as Arethusa in Sicilia doth from fiue to fiue yeares, in Summer during the Olympian games: from thence springs that common report, that the riuer Alphæus passeth from Achaia thither, and running vnder the sea, without discouering her selfe, or breaking forth vntill such time as she hath attained the Sicilian shore. Therfore in those dayes when the Olympique games are solemnized, the excrements of those beasts that are sacrificed, being cast downe the streame, found their issue and appeare there. This, my deerest *Lucillius*, hast thou expressed in thy Poeme: the like hath *Virgil* done, speaking to the fountaine Arethusa;

So grant the gods, that whilst thy milder waue
The swift Sicanian streame doth vndermine,
That bitter tasted Doris neuer haue
The meanes to intermix his waue with thine.

There is a fountaine in Cheronese of Rhodes, that after a great space of time poureth out from her bottome certaine ordures, vntill such time as it is wholly and intirely purified. The like to this doe diuers other fountaines in other places, which vomit out not onely their mud and the leaues of trees, but also all other things that are cast thereinto. The like doth the Sea in euery place, whose nature is this; to discharge what soeuer carkasses or vncleane peese it hath in it vpon the shores. Some parts of the Sea doe the like in some seasons of the yeare, as about Messina and Milas, at which time she casteth vp vpon the sands, I know not what excrement, like vnto doung, and boyleth and ripleth, exhaling a stinking odor; whence the fable riseth, That the horses of the Sun are stabled there. But there are some things whereof it is a hard matter to yeeld a reason: and as touching this, which is now in question, although some haue diligently obserued when this purgation is made, yet is there no certainty thereof; so that the neerest cause can hardly be found out but onely the generall, which is, that all still and inclosed waters purge themselues ordinarily, for excrements cannot stay in those which haue a current, that carrieth and rauisheth all things with it. Those that push not to their shores that which is falne into them, haue a streame that is lesse or more violent. But the Sea draweth from her bottome, and casteth vpon her shores the bodies of the dead, the wrecks of ships, and those small things that she receiueth, purging her selfe as well in faire weather as in stormie.

The causes of the purgation of these Riuers.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The description of a deluge that vnwateth the whole world.

But this place moueth me to demand when the destinated day for the deluge shall come, how the greater part of the earth shall be couered with waters? whether it shall be done by the vertue of the Ocean? whether the water that appeareth shall raise her selfe against vs? whether the violent raines shall fall without intermission, or if the winter hauing driuen away the former shall breake the clouds, and power downe abundant waters; or if the earth shall more largely extend all her waters, and shall discouer new fountaines, or whether there shall be diuers concurrent causes to one so great a desolation, so, as the raines shall fall in great abundance, the Riuers shall exceede their bounds, the Seas forsaking their ordinary limits shall couer the earth, and all waters gathered together, shall run in one company, with a deliberation to extinguish mankinde. Thus it is; nothing is difficult vnto nature, especially when she hasteth to her end: in the creation and beginning of things she vseth her forces sparingly, and dispenseth her selfe by fallacious increases; but when she entendeth ruine, she suddenly employeth all her forces. How long time is there required from the day of the conception of a childe, vntill the time he forsaketh his mothers wombe? with how great labours is he brought vp from his cradle? and what care must there be had in breeding and bringing vp this little bodie? But how suddenly and without labour is he brought to nothing? An age buildeth Cities, but an hower destroyeth them. The wood that hath flourished long is made ashes in a moment. All things stand and flourish vnder a prouident care, and are dissolued quickly and suddenly. All that which nature would alter in the estate of things that are created, sufficeth to ruinate mankinde. Whon as therefore this necessitie of time shall come, the destinies moue many causes at once, and without a great concussion of the world so great a change cannot be made, as some think, amongst whom is *Fabianus*. First of all the immeasurable raines fall, and the heauen is wholly couered, without any appearance of the Sunne: a thicke, moyst, darke and continuall fogge inuironeth the earth, and ceaseth not to distill, neyther Vines or corne attaine vnto their maturitie: all seeds are lost in the earth, the fields are couered with such herbes as grow in Marishes and Plashes, expecting as yet some greater desolation; for the roots are loosened, the trees fall, the Vine and euery other plant hath no more hold of the earth that is soft and fluid. It sustaineth no more by the meanes of the waters, eyther hearbe or grasse: famine presseth all men, and they enforced, to seeke their sustenance after the manner of the auncients beate downe and shake downe the Burgens and Acornes of the Holme and Oake, and all such that in such necessities a tree may furnish, being shaken or beaten with stones. The rotten houses fall vnto the ground, the foundations sinke being mouldred and loosened by moysture, the whole earth is glutted with water, and in vaine doe men labour to vnderprop that which falleth to ruine. For euery foundation is in a slippery place, and in a muddie ground there is nothing stable. After that the showers increase more and more, and those snowes that were gathered in ages begin to melt. A headlong torrent, falling from the highest mountaines carrieth and hurleth away whole woods that haue no setled roote, and tumbleth these stones that are washed away from the earth with the rest. It drowneth villages, carrieth away troopes of beasts, and those little cabbans that it meeteth withall; and then assaulteth

faulteth the greater houſes. Afterwards it ouerturneth Cities and draweth away with it the inhabitants, incloſed in their owne walls, who know whether they ſhall ſinke vnder their houſes, or periſh in the water; ſo ſudden is the accident that eyther ſhould oppreſſe or drowne them. Afterwards, being increaſed by ſome other torrents that ioyne themſelues with her, they ouerflow all the Champaine. Finally, being ſwolne and ouercharged by the ruine of diuers nations, it layeth holde on all things. As touching the Riuers that are ſpacious in themſelues, and are rauiſhed by the torrents, they forſake their channels, what think you wil become of Danubius, the Rhine, and Rhoſne, who in their channels haue a torrent that runneth marueilous ſwiftly? What can they doe, when after they haue ouerflowed their bounds they are made new Riuers, and hauing broken the earth haue got themſelues a new paſſage? With what violence ſloweth the Riuer of Rhine when it falleth into the Champaine countries, and finding an extent ſufficient to weaken his waues, filleth himſelfe euery way with water, as if he were incloſed in ſome ſtraight channell? And Danubius likewiſe at ſuch time as he not onely beateth the foote, but alſo the midſt of the mountaines, yea, approacheth the very tops of the ſame, bearing with it not onely the moiſtened ſides of the mountaines, but the rockes that are hurried downe, and the Promontories of great Regions, which by reaſon of the weakeneſſe of their foundation are ſeparated from the continent. At length, finding no paſſage becauſe it hath included it ſelfe it ſwelleth on euery ſide, and ſwalloweth vp at once a whole extent of countries and Cities. Meane while the raines continue, the heauen thickneth more and more; and thus by courſe of time the euill is augmented. The precedent obſcuritie becommeth blacke, fearefull and terrible, night inceſſantly beaten with dreadfull lightnings, which the heauen darteth one after another: the Sea ſeemeth to be enraged being increaſed by the acceſſe of ſo many flouds, and too much reſtrained at ſuch time as ſhe was within her bounds. The ſhores ſtand no longer, they exceed their limits, the torrents permit them not to enlarge themſelues, and puſh backe the flouds, wherof the moſt part as it were arreſted by a barre that is not ſufficiently large, get paſſage from the one ſide vnto the other, and make a new Sea, and make the Champains reſemble a ſtanding poole. At that time as farre as the cie may aime there is nothing that can be diſcouered but water. All the noiſe commeth from the bottom, and the waters are the higheſt aboue all things, onely in the tops of mountaines there are certaine ſhallow places, where men ſaw themſelues, with their wiues and children, driuing their cattell before them: all traffique and entercourſe betweene Nations ceaſeth becauſe the water hath filled all the vallies. In ſome the higheſt place, the remainder of mankind maintained themſelues, who being reduced to this extremitie had this ſollace, that their feare was tranſlated into ſtupiditie, being ſo aſtoniſhed that feare could not hurt them In briefe, they were touched with no ſenſe of griefe which looſeth his force in him that is miſerable aboue the ſenſe of euill. So then the mountaines reſemble Iſles, and increaſe the number of the Ciclades, as the moſt ingenious Poet moſt wittily ſpecifieth, ſaying as the greatneſſe of the thing required him,

All things were Sea, nor had the Sea a ſhore.

Except he had reduced ſo much vigour of wit and plentie of matter to triuiall toyes, ſaying,

The

The Wolfe his head amongſt the ſheepe did reare,
And waltering waues did furious Lions beare.

This is to exceed meaſure to jeſt and wanton it, in the ruine of the world. He ſpake mightie things, and began to ſet downe the image of ſo great a confuſion, when he ſaid,

Th'vnbridled flouds run through the Champaine plaines,
And mightie Towers lie buried vnder flouds.

It was magnificently ſpoken if he had taken no care what ſheepe and wolues did. But can any one ſwim in ſuch a deluge and ouerflow? And were not the beaſts drowned as ſoone as the waters had layde holde of them and carried them away? Thou haſt conceiued the image and deſcription of this diſorder, as great as it ſhould be: if the heauen it ſelfe fall, endure it. Thou ſhalt know that, which becommeth thee, if thou ſet before thine eyes the whole world floating in water. Let vs now returne vnto our purpoſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

If the earth may be drowned with waters.

Whence proceedeth a deluge, according to Senecaes and the Stoicke opinion.

THere are ſome that thinke that the earth may well be beaten with exceſſiue raines, but not drowned. Thoſe things that are the greateſt muſt be violently ſtrooken: the raine will ſpoyle the corne, the haile will beate downe the fruit, the Riuers will ouerflow their bounds, and yet will not forſake their channels. Some there are that attribute this ruine to the ouerflow of the Sea. It cannot be that a deluge ſhould proceede from the violence of torrents; or raines, or riuers. When the end of the earth is neere, and that it pleaſeth nature that all mankind ſhould periſh, I grant that continuall and immeaſurable raines fall from the heauens: that the Northerly winds are ſuppreſſed, that the Southerly blow: that the clouds, the tempeſts, and riuers increaſe:

Yet harmes doe more increaſe,
The corne is waſht away vpon the plaine,
The Plowman ſpends his vowes, and toyles in vaine;
All what the yeare could yeelde for paine or coſt,
Is drownd in water, and the labour loſt.

It was not neceſſary that the earth ſhould be offended, but only hidden. After theſe beginnings the Seas increaſe, but beyond meaſure, they ſpread their waues more largely then euer the greateſt tempeſt did. The windes themſelues that raiſe them at their backes, entangle themſelues with the waues of the Sea, which breake themſelues vpon the ſhores that are farre eſtranged from ſight. Afterwards when they had enlarged themſelues, made a new Sea, from the depth of the greateſt Sea there ariſeth a new floud, which bringeth with it a miſchiefe farre greater then the former; for euen as the matter of the ayre and the ætheriall Region is very ample, ſo is that of the water, which aboundeth marueilouſly in her ſecret places, ſhee being ſufficiently moued (for the flouds are the miniſters of deſtinie) makes the waues ſwell won-

wonderously, and animateth her selfe violently. Then riseth she to an incredible highnesse, and mounteth aboue the highest and most assured retreates of men. It is no difficult matter for the element of water to raise it selfe aboue the highest toppes and Promontories of the earth. For if a man measure by the eye the crest of the highest mountaines, hee shall finde that the sea, swalleth them in heighth; for the globe of the earth is equally round. These cauities and plaines are such, that on euery part they make an orbe, wherein are comprehended the seas which make a part thereof, and fulfill the round. But euen as hee that casteth his eyes a long way, deceiueth himselfe and cannot deprehend the places, which by little and little bow downward, so can we not comprehend the bowings of the sea, and all that which we see seemeth to be a plain, yet is it round and like vnto the land. Therefore also is it that the sea swelleth not much, but incontinently slideth away, because it is enough for her to rise a little, eyther to equall or surmount the rest, neyther slippeth shee away from the bankes where shee is lowest, but from the middest, where the great assembly of Waters is. But euen as the flux and reflux of the sea is accustomed to bee the greatest, during the Equinoctiall in the time of the coniunction of the Sunne and Moone; so the deluge that is sent to couer all the earth, and which shalbe the greatest and most violent that men are accustomed to see, draweth a more infinite abundance of water with it, and neuer abateth vntill it hath surpassed and couered the toppes of the highest mountaines. The fluxe and refluxe of the sea increaseth and decreaseth in some place more then a hundreth miles, and neuer fayleth but keepeth alwayes the same order; for it increaseth and decreaseth by measure. But in the time of deluge, it neyther keepeth measure nor rule. How commeth this to passe sayest thou? in such sort as the end of the world shall bee by an vniuersall fire. Both the one and the other shall come to passe at such time as it shall please God to giue a beginning to better things, and giue an end to the olde. Fire and water haue the dominion ouer terrestriall things. From them proceede the beginning and end of all things, as oft then, as it pleaseth the heauens that things shall be renued, the sea shall ouerflow vs, in such sort as the fire from aboue shall lay hold on all things, when by an other end he would bring all things to nothing.

In what season the flux and reflux of the sea is greatest.

God speaketh oftentimes by Pagans mouthes that which is assured in christian beliefe.

CHAP. XXIX.

He continueth to speake of the causes of deluge in his sense, and according to other mens opinions, but by the light of nature the transcendent knowledge is ying in the balance of true Christians.

SOme thinke that the earth is shaken also, and that the ground being broken open, there appeare new heads of riuers, which cast forth more abundance of waters, as from a place that is as yet full. *Berosus* that hath interpreted *Belus* saith, that this is caused by the motion of the starres, and maintaineth it so assuredly, that hee sticketh not to set downe the time of the end of the world, as well by fire as by water, affirming that the earth shall be burned at such time as all the stars which now holde diuers courses shall meete in the signe of *Cancer*, so setled and placed in the same point, that a man may draw a direct line thorow all their centres and circles, that the deluge shall couer the earth, when as the same stars shall assemble and meete together in *Capricorne*. In order, the one is the longest day in Summer, and the shortest day of the winter vnder the other. The signes are of great efficacy and power, which vpon the changes of the yeare cause such moments: for mine owne part I reiect not any of the causes (for one alone cannot

cannot cause so much mischiefe) annexing vnto them that which the Stoikes thinke. Whether it be that the world be a spirit or body, by the disposition of nature, it containeth in it trees, plants, and all that which it ought to bde and suffer, from the beginning of the world vnto the end thereof, no otherwise then in the seed are inclosed all the parts of the body of a man which should be formed. The Infant that is borne in his mothers wombe, hath the rootes of the beard and haire hee shall weare one day. In this little Masse likewise are all the lineaments of the body, and all that which austerity shall discouer in him. So the originall of the world hath no lesse contayned the Sunne, the Moone, the reuolutions of the Starres, the birth of liuing creatures, as the causes of the change of terrestriall things. In them hath beene the deluge which commeth by the order of heauen, euen as Winter and Summer doe. It shall not therefore bee done by raine, neyther by inundation of the sea, neither by quaking of the earth, but with all these accideuts which shall assist Nature, to the end that her determinations should be accomplished and executed: yet as touching the principall cause, it shall proceede from the earth it selfe, which as we haue said is changeable, and must resolue her selfe into water. Whereas therefore the end of all things shall bee come: at such time as the parts of the world must perish and bee disanulled, in such sort as they may bee moulded a new, and made better then before, there shall more water bee made then euer there was: for now the aliments are distributed to euery one according as it is behouefull. There must something at that time ioyne it selfe with an other, to the end that such things that subsist in counterwaight should be troubled and confused by the inequality that should happen. The most shall bee found in the water, that hath nothing more for the present, then that which is necessarie to enuiron the earth, and not to drowne it: if you will adde any thing thereunto, it must needly discharge the same in an other place. How shall it then be, that the earth as being least powerfull, shall sinke vnder that which is more strong? Shee shall beginne at that time to rot her selfe, and after wardes being moistned to melt it selfe into humour, and to fall to mudde. At that time the riuers shall mount aboue the mountaines, and shall shake them with a mighty force, and after wards shall swallow them without noyse. All the earth shall vomit out waters, the toppes of the mountaines shall breake forth in fountaines. Euen as the wholesomest parts of the body become sicke, and these that are neerest to an vlcer wax vlcerated: so the mightiest regions of the earth conuerted into water shall melt themselues likewise, and shall distill from all parts. The rockes shall cleaue in sunder to giue passage to the waters that shall assemble themselues to make a sea. The Straights of Venetian and Sicilian seas shall bee no more *Charibdis* and *Scilla* shall not bee spoken of. The new Sea shall swallow vp all these fictions, and the Ocean that at this day beguirteth the remotest partes of the earth, shall then bee in the midst of the waters. What shall then bee? The Winter shall dominere ouer all other seasons, the Summer shall bee no more, and euery starre that before time dried vp the earth shall haue no more heate or effect. All the names of particuler seas, as that of *Cáspium*, *Erithræ* the red, The Mediteranean, the greater seas, and others shall perish; being all of them intermixed together, and all that which nature had disposed in parts, confused in one: neyther Rampiers nor high Towers shall warrant any man. The temples shall no wayes profite the suppliants, nor the high plabes of Cities; because the water shall ouertake those that flie, and beare them away out of their strongest Towers. It shall from East to West, and one day shall bury all mankind, ouer-

The Paradoxe of the Stoikes as touching the vniuersall deluge, and the end of the world, refuted by the celestiall veritie contained in Moses, where a promise was made to the Patriarch Noe, that there should be no more any vniuersall deluge.

This prediction is wholy false.

turning all that which fortunes fauour hath cherished so long time, all that which is so much rayſed aboue the common, the great pallaces, riches, magnificence, and mighty Monarchies.

CHAP. XXX.

Another error that the earth is made to bee drowned because in sam vniuerſall deluge, where as God by Moſes ſpeaketh expreſly to the contrary.

ALL things as I haue ſaid are easie vnto nature eſpecially, thoſe things which ſhee hath reſolued to doe from the beginning, whereunto ſhe commeth not ſodainely but determinately. But from the firſt day of the world, as from his informed vnity, ſhee came to take this habitude which wee ſee ſhee hath, ſhee prefixed the day wherein the earth ſhould bee drowned, and to the end it might not bee an enterpriſe of difficult execution as if it were a new worke: the ſeas long ſince haue exerciſed and faſhioned themſelues thereunto. Seeſt thou not how the floudes of the Ocean runne towardes their bankes, as if they ſought liberty: Haſt thou not obſerued how the floud hath aduanced it ſelfe, and put the ſea in poſſeſſion of the earth? Doeſt thou not perceiue how the ſea doth nothing but ſome, and tempeſts againſt the bounds which reſtraine her? What danger is there in that part where thou heareſt ſuch a tumult, and from whence iſſue ſo many riuers with ſo great noyſe, where Nature hath lodged ſo much water to aſſaile vs on euery ſide, when ſhee thinketh fitte? Is it not true, that in digging the earth wee finde water, and when as eyther vndermined by auarice, or puſhed forward by an other cauſe, wee haue digged and ſearched a little deeper, ſometimes a bloudy death enſueth. Furthermore, there are certaine Lakes vnder the earth that are marualious great, and much hidden ſea; beſides a great number of riuers that ſtreames thorow certaine paſſages vnder earth. There ſhall bee therefore on euerie ſide certaine courſes of this deluge, ſome part of the waters floating thorow the earth, others about the ſame; theſe being long times brideled and reſtrained ſhall finally gette the vpper hand, and ſhall ioyne their floudes with the riuers, and the pooles with the mariſhes. The ſeas ſhall fill the brims and mouthes of all fountaines, and ſhall enlarge them. Euen as the belly in emptying it ſelfe waſteth our bodies as the forces are diſſipated by ſwet; in like ſort, the earth ſhall melt it ſelfe, and other cauſes ceaſing ſhall finde a meanes to plunge and drown it ſelfe in it ſelfe, ſo thinke I that ſo many great things ſhall confound themſelues together, neyther ſhall there bee any long delay in the ruine. When as once the world ſhall remitte any thing of his courſe and diligence, and the accord which is betwixt the partes thereof ſhall bee ſhaken, incontinently the cloudes ſhall breake forth, the waters beneath ſhall iſſue from their bottomleſſe caues to couer the earth. There is nothing more violent, more hard to bee ſtayed, more rebellious, or more pernicious to thoſe that would reſtraine the ſame then a violent water. Shee ſhall vſe the liberty which was granted her, and by the commandement of nature ſhee ſhall fill all that which ſhee reuerſeth and enuironeth. Euen as the fire iſſuing from diuers places ſodainely ſetteth all on fire, the flames conſpiring and aſſembling together to make one body; ſo in a moment the ſeas that are vented and powred forth, ſhall come and ioyne in one; but the waues ſhall not rage alwayes thus: but after that, mankind ſhall bee ruined, and beaſts likewiſe be brought to confuſion, whoſe natures men had taken vpon them; the earth

Vnderſtanding this of time to come, it is a meer fable, it was once in Noahs time, and ſhall bee no more.

earth ſhall ſucke vp the waters, and conſtraine the ſea to returne within his bounds, and to tempeſt in her channell. The ocean being driuen farre from our limits, ſhall be chaſed into her caues, and the ancient order ſhall bee reeſtabliſhed. Euery liuing Creature ſhall bee engendred anew, and the earth ſhall bee inhabited with innocent men, and borne to better hap. But mankind ſhall not perſeuer long in this integrity; it ſhall onely bee for as long time, as men ſhall bee new wicked-neſſe ſhall incontinently flie into the middeſt of them. Vertue is hard to bee found, ſhee requireth a guide and gouernour: but as touching vices, men learne them without a Maſter.

The End of the third Booke of the Naturall Queſtions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS.

The fourth Booke.

THE PREFACE.

What contentment a vertuous man receiueth by himselfe.

THou art much delighted (my *Lucillius*, the best of me) in Sicily and in the gouernment of the same: because as thou writest vnto me, it is full of repose and without trouble. But it will please thee farre more, if thou wilt containe thy selfe within thy limits, and makest not that an Empire, which is but a Procuration and Gouernment. I doubt not but thou wilt carrie thy selfe in this sort, I know how farre thou art estranged from ambition, and how familiarly thou art addicted and delighted in honest retirément and the studie of good letters. They, that cannot support and containe themselues, haue need of the conuersation of men, and multiplicitie of affaires. But thou accordest very well with thy selfe: neither wonder I that few men are partakers of this so great good: wee are all of vs too imperious and troublesome to our selues. Sometimes we cherish our selues too much, otherwhiles too little. To day our hearts are puffed vp with pride, to morrow couetousnesse tormenteth vs: now are we prostrated by vaine pleasures, anone after burned with cares and trauaile, and that which is worst of all, we are neuer alone and retired to our selues. We must needs therefore be in continuall debate, being accompanied by so many enormious vices. Doe therefore, my *Lucillius*, that which thou wert accustomed to doe: seperate thy selfe as much as thou canst from the communitie, neither permit thy selfe to be accosted by flatterers, for these are their craft-masters in bewitching the greater and richer sort. Thou shalt hardly escape them, although thou take heed of them. Beleeue me, they will entrap thee, if thou betray thy selfe to their treasons. Flatteries haue naturally this force, that they are pleasing, although they be reiected; and being oftentimes excluded, at last they are entertained. Re-

The poyson of flattery a taste for great men.

pulse

pulse maketh them encrease, neither is there any disgrace or outrage that can tame them. That, which I shall speake is incredible, and yet very true. A man is hit most of all in that place where he is most open, and happily he is therefore hit because he lieth open. Dispose thy selfe therefore in such sort, that thou mayest be assured that thou canst not be touched, that thou mayest be impenitrable: when thou hast caried the chariest eye, he will strike thee thorow those armes, that thou iudgest the most assured. Some one will vse his flatterie secretly and sparingly, another openly counterfeiting the foole in all mens sight, as if that his simplicitie were not cunning. *Plancus*, who had been one of the cunningest Sicophants before *Vellius* time, said that we ought not to flatter secretly, nor with dissimulation. In vaine, saith he, is flattery, if it be obscured. The flatterer getteth very much when he is discouered, and more likewise if he blush after he hath beene taunted. Thinke that thou shalt meete with a great number of such as *Plancus* was, and that it is not a sufficient remedie against flatterie, to refuse to be praised. *Crispus Passienus*, whose equall I neuer know in subtill discouerie of all things; especially in distinguishing and curing vices, oftentimes said that wee onely put too the dore against flatteries, but shut them not out, in such sort as we are wont to put it too against our familiar friend, which if she thrust it backe it contenteth vs, and more gratefull is it, if she breake it open. I remember that I haue heard the great Philosopher *Demetrius* say to a certaine slaue that was enfranchised, and was become very rich, that the shortest way for him to heape vp great wealth, was that day wherein he had repented himselfe that he had a good conscience. I will neuer, saith he, enuie your practises, but will teach them, that haue need, the meanes how to escape shipwrack, how to flie from those contentions that happen betweene buyers and sellers, not to trust to the incertaintie of a countrie life, to retire themselues from the exercise of lesse certaine pleading; lesse, in what manner likewise they may not only easily, but ioyfully enrich themselues, and impouerish those that are at their ease and quiet. I will sweare (saith he) that thou art higher then *Fidus Annæus*, and *Apollonius Pitta*, although thou hast but a meane and crooked stature, as *Fracas* had. If I say that thou art the most liberall man amongst all others, I shall not lie: when as it may seeme that thou hast giuen all men that which thou hast left. So is it, my *Iunior*, the more that flatterie discouereth it selfe, the more wicked, impudent, and outragious it is, the sooner deceiueth it. For we are how growne vnto that madnesse, that he that flattereth vs little, seemeth to be a man of no honestie. I was wont to tell thee that my brother *Gallio* (whom no man loued but heartily, neither loued he any man but entirely) knew not other vices, and likewise hated this. Thou hast tied him every wayes. Thou hast begun to admire his great and excellent spirit aboue all others, which rather wished to bee cursed, then to doe any thing worthy shame. But he suddenly retired his foot. Thou beganst to praise his frugalitie, he cut thee off in the beginning. Thou beganst to admire his humanitie, and vnaffected affabilitie which rauisheth those that heare them in passing by, and greatly oblige those to whom they are addressed. For there is no man liuing more agreeable vnto another man, then this man vnto all men, whilest in the meane space the power of a naturall goodnesse is such, that it fauoureth no wayes of art or simulation. There is no man but will suffer that a publike good should be imputed to him. And in this place likewise he resisted thy flatteries, in such sort as thou exclaimedst that thou hadst found a man that was armed against all attempts, whom euery man would entertaine into his bosome. Thou didst confesse that thou didst so much the more admire

A godly touch against a fool so rich man, and a comedie against auarice.

The praise of Gallio, Senecaes brother.

his prudence and pertinacie in auoiding ineuitable euils, becauſe thou wert in hope that thy words ſhould be entertained with an open eare, although thou flatteredſt, becauſe thou ſpakeſt the truth. But ſo much the rather learned he to reſiſt them the more. For the truth is alwayes aſſailed by thoſe things that haue a reſemblance of truth. Yet will I not haue thee diſpleaſed with thy ſelfe, as if thou haddeſt done amiſſe, or as if my brother preſumed that thou pretendedſt to ieſt with him, or to circumuent him. He diſcouered thee not, but repulſed thee. Conforme thy ſelfe to this example: when as any flatterer commeth vnto thee; ſay vnto him, Go I pray thee, and carie theſe flattering ſpeeches (which are accuſtomed to leape from one Magiſtrate to another, that haue theſe Apes and Sargeants marching before them) to ſome one that will pay thee with the like, and taketh pleaſure to heare all that which thou wouldeſt ſpeake vnto him. I will deceiue no man, neither can I be deceiued. I would be praiſed by you, if you were not accuſtomed to praiſe the wicked. But what needeſt thou to bring thy ſelfe into that ſtrait, that flatterers ſhould touch thee ſo neerly? Let them be farre eſtranged from thee, when thou deſireſt to be praiſed well. Why ſhouldeſt thou be indebted to any for it? Prayſe thy ſelfe, and ſay: I haue addicted my ſelfe to the ſtudie of the Liberall Sciences, although pouertie perſwaded me to the contrarie, and withdrew my thoughts thither, where my ſtudie might returne me preſent gaine. I aimed my thoughts at little profit breeding poeſie, and addicted my ſelfe to the holeſome ſtudie of Philoſophy. I haue ſhewed that euery man is capable of vertue, and ſtrugling thorow the obſcuritie of my birth, and meaſuring my ſelfe not by my condition, but my minde; I haue equalled my ſelfe with the greateſt. The enmitie of barbarous *Caius* could not driue me from my ſincere intention, *Meſſalus* and *Narciſſus* vnhappie conſpirators againſt euery man, enemies a long time of the publike weale, before they were foes to their priuate fortune, could not croſſe my reſolution. I haue hazarded my necke to maintaine mine honor, I haue not ſpoken that word, that was againſt my conſcience. The care I alwayes had, was for my friends and not for my ſelfe, and the feare, that I was not ſo true a friend as I ſhould be. I neuer wept womaniſh teares, neither after the manner of a ſuppliant haue I lifted vp my hands to any man. I haue done nothing that either was vnworthy a man, or a good man. Being greater then mine owne perils, and ready to encounter with thoſe that threatned me, I gaue thanks vnto Fortune that would ſound me, how highly I priſed faith. So great a thing ſhould not coſt me ſo little. She kept me not long in ſuſpence, for the things that were in ballance were not equall, that is, whether it were better that faith ſhould periſh for me, or I ſhould periſh for it. I haue not violently thruſt my ſelfe into a deſperate reſolution of death, whereby I might diſcharge my ſelfe from the furie of mightie men, I ſaw with *Caius* torments, I ſaw fires. I knew in times paſt, vnder him, that humane affaires were brought to that eſtate, that it was recounted amongſt the workes of mercie to be ſimply ſlaine. Yet thruſt I not my ſelfe thorow with my ſword, neither caſt I my ſelfe head-long into the ſea, to the end that the world might ſee that I would not die, except it were to remaine faithfull. Conſider moreouer my courage, that could not be corrupted with bribes, and that in this rude conflict of auarice, I haue neuer ſoyled my hands with foule lucre: Moreouer, my ſobrietie, my modeſtie in words, my affabilitie towards my inferiours, the reuerence I haue borne my ſuperiours. Hauing ſaid all this, aske counſell of thy ſelfe if thou haſt ſpoken truth, or told a lie: if truth, Then art thou praiſed before a great witneſſe: if a lie, without witneſſe thou haſt expoſed thy

How we ought to entertaine a flatterer.

How a man ought to priſe himſelfe.

The meanes to reproue hypocriſie, and to fortifie vertue.

thy ſelfe to laughter. But ſome one might thinke, that either I would ſurpriſe thee or proue thee: beleeue which thou wilt, and beginne by me to feare all others. Caſt by that verſe in *Virgil*.

Faith is feour'd in no place.

And that which *Ouid* ſaith.

Throughout the world Erynnis *changeth round,*
At if addreſt and ſworne with felon rage,
To leaue no ſinne vnſought for in this age.

Or that of *Menanders* (for who hath not whetted the greatneſſe of his wit againſt this, deteſting the concent of mankind that tendeth vnto vice?) All, ſaith he, liue otherwiſe then they ſhould, and the Poet hath leaped into the Sceane as if he were a Clowne: he excepteth neither old nor yong, nor woman, nor man, and addeth that euery one without exception doth euill, and that wickednes is growne to the full. We ought therefore to flie, and to returne into our ſelues, nay more, we are to depart from our ſelues. Although the ſea ſeparateth vs, I will aſſay to make thee partner of this good, that is, in lending thee my hand at ſuch time as thou knoweſt not what way to take, and making thee to attaine to a place more ſecured: and leſt thou ſhouldeſt haue a ſenſe of thy ſolitude, I will deuiſe with thee from this place as often as I may. We will be one in that part wherein we are beſt: we will counſaile one another, not depending vpon the preſence of him that heareth. I will lead thee farre from Sicily, to the end thou ſhalt not yeeld too much credit to Hiſtories, beginning to pleaſe thy ſelfe as often as thou ſhalt ſay in thy ſelfe, I haue this prouince vnder my gouernment, which hath ſuſtained and broken the armies of the mightieſt Common-weales of the world, when the honor of a long war hath remained for many yeares in ſuſpence, at ſuch time as ſhe ſaw the forces of foure Princes gathered together in one place, namely, of all the Empire, hauing taken away the proſperity of *Pompey*, wearied that of *Cæſars*, tranſlated that of *Lepidus*, and ſurpriſed all the reſt, that was preſent at the ſtrangeſt ſpectacle that may poſſibly be thought, whereby all mortall men may learne how ſudden the fall is from high to low, and by how many diuers wayes Fortune cauſeth the power of this world to decline. For at one time ſhe hath ſeene *Pompey* and *Lepidus* caſt from their high degree to a lower, but by different meanes, conſidering that *Pompey* fled before *Cæſars* armie, and *Lepidus* his owne.

The ſincere loue betwixt Seneca *and* Lucillius.

CHAP. I.

He entereth into diſcourſe of the increaſe of Nilus in Summer.

But to the end I may wholly draw thee from thy ſelfe, although Sicily hath in it and about it many wonders, yet will I not for the preſent entermeddle with any queſtions concerning thy Prouince, but will draw thy thoughts another way. For wee will now deuiſe together vpon that which we haue touched in the former Booke, whence it is that Nilus floweth and encreaſeth in the Summer monethes. The Philoſophers haue left in writing, that Nilus and Danubius reſemble one another, alledging that the ſource of Danubius is vnknowne, and that it is more great in Summer then in Winter. Both

Both the one and the other appeared to be falſe: for wee finde that the head-ſpring thereof is in Germany, and it beginneth likewiſe to increaſe in Summer, (yet Nilus alwayes remaineth in his accuſtomed meaſure) that is to ſay, about the firſt heates, at ſuch time as the Sunne growing more hot about the end of the ſpring time, cauſeth the ſnowes to melt, which Danubius hath conſumed, before that Nilus beginneth to increaſe: Danubius decreaſeth during the reſt of the Summer, and returneth to his greatneſſe in Winter, according to which it is meaſured.

CHAP. II.

In what time of the Summer this increaſe is made.

BVt Nilus increaſeth in the heart of the Summer time after the Æquinoctiall, before the riſing of the Dog-ſtarre. Nature hath ſet this famous ſtoud before the eyes of all mankinde, and hath diſpoſed it in ſuch ſort that it ſhould ouerflow Egypt, eſpecially at ſuch time as the earth, being parched by the moſt burning heats, ſhould draine out the water from the depth, and ſhould draw as much as the drineſſe of the whole yeare required. For in that part which inclineth towards Æthiopia, it raineth not, or if ſometimes certaine raines doe fall, yet recomfort they not the earth which is vnaccuſtomed to raine water. Thou knoweſt that Egypt hath no other hope but in the water of Nilus, by meanes whereof the yeare is either fruitfull or barren, according as Nilus hath exceeded her bounds eyther more or leſſe. There is no labourer in that countrey that liſteth vp his eyes vnto heauen; wherefore then may I not ſport my ſelfe with my Poet, and alleage vnto him his *Ouid*, ſaying,

The herbs to IVPITER *make no requeſt*
To ſend them raine from heauen to wet their creſt.

The paſſages and courſes of Nilus.

If a man could comprehend from whence Nilus beginneth to encreaſe, hee ſhould finde likewiſe the cauſes of the increaſe thereof: but hauing run thorow the great deſarts, it ſpreadeth it ſelfe into Mariſhes, whence comming to diſgorge himſelfe into diuers currents that run here and there; firſt he beginneth to aſſemble them all together about Philus, which is a ſtony Iſland, ful of mountaines and hard to be landed at in any part, begirt with two Riuers, which mixe themſelues in one, and fall into Nilus, whence they take their name. Nilus more large then violent, round about this place being diſcharged from Æthiopia, and running thorow the ſands, that make a way vnto thoſe which traffique in the Indian Seas, is receiued into Cataractes a famous place, by reaſon of the marvailes that are ſeene therein. In this place Nilus rayſeth it ſelfe amidſt high rockes and ſuch as are hollowed and diuided in diuers parts, employing in this place all her forces. For the ſtones he meeteth withall breake him, in ſuch ſort as he attempteth to eſcape by the ſtraights. In euery place where it findeth any breach or reſiſtance it floateth and gathereth together his waters, which he had carried along without any noyſe, and paſſeth with violence and vehement ouerflow thorow the moſt difficult paſſages, being no more like vnto himſelfe, becauſe in theſe ſtraights it rouleth wholly troubled and muddie. But comming to beate vpon the rockes, it fometh, and at that time the iniurie of the place, and not his nature, maketh him change colour. Afterwards, hauing ſurmounted

The Cataracts of Nilus.

mounted all that which hindereth him, he falleth ſuddenly and plainely into a marueilous depth, with ſuch a noiſe as aſtoniſheth the inhabitants of the countrey round about, who hauing been planted in thoſe places by the Perſians, and being vnable to endure the continuall thunder that deafened their eares, went and encamped themſelues in places more remote, and better for their reſt. Amongſt the wonders of this riuer, I haue heard more tell of the incredible boldneſſe of thoſe who abide in thoſe quarters. Two men ſhippe themſelues in a little boate, which the one of them guideth, and the other emptieth. Hauing long times balanced amidſt the troubled waues of violent *Nilus*, they goe and retire themſelues into ſome narrow channels, by which they eſcape the dangerous paſſages of the rockes, where leaping into the middeſt of the ſtreame, they gouerne the boate that is turned ouer them with their hand, and diuing their heads downeward to the great amaze of all the inhabitants that behold and bewaile them with bitter teares, thinking that they are ſwallowed vp in this gulfe of waters, they ſhow themſelues againe, and appeare very farre off from the place where they diuided ſo ſwiftly, as if they had beene puſhed forward by ſome engines, receiuing no other harme by the violent fall of this furious ſtreame, but that it bringeth them to ſtill water. The firſt increaſe of *Nilus* is obſerued about the Iſle aboue mentioned. A little further off it is ſeparated by the meanes of a rocke, which the Grecians cal *Abator*, on which no men ſet foot except it bee the Prieſtes of that place. Theſe ſtones firſt of all feele the encreaſe of *Nilus*. Farre off from this there appeare two rockes, which thoſe of the Country name the veines of *Nilus*, from whence there iſſueth a great abundance of water, but not ſufficient to couer *Ægypt*. When any feſtiuall day commeth, the Prieſts caſt in their mohy, and the gouernours their iewels of gold in that part of *Nilus*. The which becomming more mighty in all mens ſight, runneth by a deepe and large channell, yet not ſo great as hee might well haue, if it were not reſtrained by the mountaines that hem it in on euery ſide. Finally he getteth liberty about *Memphis*, and hauing the Champion at his command, hee maketh diuers riuers, and entreth into channels made by hand running thorow all Egypt, in ſuch meaſure as they could wiſh, who diuert the ſtreame. From the beginning hee deuideth himſelfe into two armes, and then reioyning his waters, hee iſſueth foorth after the manner of a Lake or troubled ſea. His violent courſe relenteth by reaſon of the extent of the prouinces, ouer which hee is ſpred, embracing both on the right and the left hand all Egypt. As much as Nilus encreaſeth, ſo much is there hope of fertility, neyther doth the computation deceiue the husbandman, it is ſo anſwerable to the meaſure of the ſloud, which ſeemeth to fatten the ſandy and altered earth, vpon which hee powreth his ſtreame, and diſchargeth his mud al at once: for hauing his waters troubled, hee leaueth the thickeſt in drie places, and ſuch as are expoſed to heate, afterwards hee manureth all the deſert field with all the fat which hee hath brought with him, aiding the territorie by his inundation, & by this glewing and clammy fatneſſe, in ſuch ſort as all that which is not watered, remaineth barren and deſert. Encreaſing beyond meaſure he hurteth. By this reckoning behold a matuailous ſloud, which whereas many other ſmall riuers doe but waſh and waſte the lands, diminiſheth them nothing, but contrariwiſe fortifieth them: for by the meanes of his muddie hee fatneth and bindeth the ſands: ſo that Egypt aſcribeth not onely her fertility, but her good territory alſo to the ſame. It is a goodly thing to behold Nilus when it hath couered the champion. The fields are hidden, the vallies are couered, or appeare not

A rocke whence firſt encreaſe of Nilus is perceyued.

In what place hee getteth his freedome.

not but in forme of Iſles. There is no traffique in the Midland places, except by boats, and the leſſe the people ſee of theſe fields, the more reioyce they. But when as Nilus containeth himſelfe within his bounds, hee floweth by ſeuen mouthes or chanels into the Mediterranean ſeas, and which of theſe mouthes thou wilt conſider it is but a ſea. True it is that it ſpreadeth ſome other little armes in other ſhores which haue no name. Beſides there are foũd in this riuer diuers monſters as huge & cruel as thoſe in the ſea, which may ſuffice to make it knowne that it is Nilus. Since he containeth ſuch creatures and feedeth them abundantly, and hath place large enough to containe. *Balbillus* an excellent man, and one of the learnedeſt in this world, writeth, that at ſuch time as he gouerned Ægypt, with the greateſt mouth of Nilus, called Hercaclioteca, hee had this paſtime to behold a great troope of Dolphines comming from the ſea, and another troope of Crocodiles comming out of Nilus, as if arranged in battell to encounter one another, and that the Crocodiles were ouercome by the Dolphins, which are peaceable fiſh and bite not. The Crocodiles haue a maruellous hard and impenetrable backe, ſo that other creatures that are more great and dreadfull cannot hurt them, but their bellies are ſoft and tender. It was in this place that the Dolphins pierced them with the fins, and briſtles they had on their backes, in ſuch ſort as they cut out their bowels, and made them ſinke: many were diſpatched in this ſort, the reſt as being put to flight, returned themſelues ſwiftly againſt the ſtreame of Nilus. The Crocodile hath this propertie, that he flieth before theſe that run after him, and runneth after thoſe that flie him. The Tontentes get the better of them, not for any priuiledge of generoſitie they haue aboue the other Egyptians, but for their contempt and temeritie. For they willingly hunt the Crocodile, and caſt a ſnare ouer them as they flie, by meanes whereof they draw them to them: but diuers of theſe Tontentes that haue not ſufficient courage to purſue the Crocodile, reſolutely are deuoured by them. *Theophraſtus* ſaith, that the water of Nilus was ſomewhat ſalt. For the ſpace of two yeares vnder the raigne of *Cleopatra*, that is to ſay, in the tenth and the eleuenth yeare Nilus flowed not, which ſignified according to the report of the Diuines, the change of the State vnder the gouernment of two, vvhich vvere *Anthonie* and *Cleopatra*, vnder vvhom the Kingdome vvas reduced into the forme of a Prouince. *Calimachus* is the Author that in times paſt the Nile vvas nine yeares vvithout vvatering Egypt. But now let vs conſider the cauſes of the encreaſe of Nilus in Summer, and let vs beginne with the moſt ancient. *Anaxagorus* ſaith, That the ſnowes that are moulten vpon the mountaines of Æthiopia, runne and diſcharge themſelues in Nilus. All antiquitie followeth the ſame opinion. *Æſchilus*, *Sophocles* and *Euripides* haue taught no leſſe. But that this is falſe it appeareth by many arguments. Firſt of all, That Æthiopia is a countrey extreamely hot, it appeareth by the tawnie colour of the inhabitants, and by the teſtimonie of the Troglodites, who haue their houſes vnder earth: the rockes and ſtones are as they were on fire, not only at mid-day, but alſo in the euening: the ſand is ſo hot, that a man cannot walke vpon it, the ſiluer waxeth lead, the ſoder or ioyning of the images diſſolues, there is no couerture of any enriched matter that can endure. The Southerly wind that cõmeth from that countrey is extreamely hot. Thoſe beaſts that hide themſelues in the winter, liue continually abroad. In the time of leaſt heat, the Serpents creepe abroad. In Alexandria likewiſe, farre diſtant from theſe exceſſiue heats, it ſnoweth not, neither falleth there any raine on the higheſt places. How can it then be, that a countrie that is expoſed to ſo great heats

The mouthes or chanels of Nilus.

The Marmailes contained in the ſame.

A combate betweene the Dolphins of the ſea, and Crocodiles of Nilus.

The properties of the Crocodiles.

The cauſes of the encreaſe of Nilus in ſummer according to the opinion of the Antients, which is falſe.

heats of the Sunne, there ſhould any ſnowes fall all the Winter time? Truely there ſhould ſome other mountaines be couered therewith, and namely thoſe of Thrace and Caucaſus. But thoſe Riuers that ſtreame along from the mountaines, ſwell about the ſpring time, and vpon the beginning of Summer, and afterwards decreaſe in Winter. For in the Spring time the ſnowes are melted, and about the firſt dayes of the ſummer the Sunne diſſipateth the reſt. The Rhine, the Rhoſne, Danubius and Cayſtre, are ſmall in winter, but great in ſummer: The Northerne mountaines are charged with very much ſnow. The Riuer Phaſis that runneth in thoſe quarters ſhould encreaſe then, if, towards the ſummer time the ſnowes could make the Riuers ſwell. Furthermore, if ſuch were the cauſe of the encreaſe of Nile, it ſhould be very great in the beginning of ſummer, becauſe at that time, the ſnowes are at that time entire in great heapes. But Nilus floweth as proudly for foure monthes ſpace, alwayes in the ſame eſtate, if thou wilt beleeue *Thales*, the Eteſian windes reſiſt Nilus in his diſcent, and bridle his courſes, thruſting the ſea againſt the entrances of his chanels, by meanes of which repulſe he floweth backe againe and encreaſeth not, but becauſe he cannot haue further paſſage, he ſwelleth and ouerfloweth in euery place where he may make his way. *Euthymenes* of *Marſeillus* accordeth hereunto, ſaying, I haue ſailed in the Atlantique ſea, thence floweth Nilus more greater, as long as the Eteſians blow, for then the ſea being preſſed by theſe winds repulſeth them againſt their ſtreame. When ſuch windes ceaſe the ſea waxeth calme, and Nilus that returneth backe hath leſſe force. Then is the ſea-water ſweete, and the monſters in the ſame reſemble thoſe of Nilus. Why therefore? If the Eteſians make Nilus to ſwell, why doth the encreaſe thereof begin, before theſe winds riſe, and continue after they are laid? Whence likewiſe commeth it to paſſe, that it is not more great at ſuch time as they blow more rudely. For he neither riſeth nor falleth, whether they blow more or leſſe, which would come to paſſe if he encreaſed by their forces. Furthermore, the Eteſian windes beat vpon the ſhoares of Egypt, and Nilus ſtreameth againſt them, contrariwiſe he would iſſue from the places whence they came, if he tooke his originall from them. Beſides, he would flow from the ſea pure and blew, not troubled and dirtie, as he doth at that preſent. Beſides infinite teſtimonies ſpeake wholly to the contrarie of this opinion. Then was there place for falſehood to preuaile, when the coaſts were vnknowne. It was lawfull for them that ſpake to publiſh their fables. But at this day all the coaſt of the ſea is frequented by their ſhips who traffique; none of which ſay, that the water of Nilus is blew, or that the ſea hath any other taſte then it hath vſually, which likewiſe Nature forbiddeth to be beleeued. For the Sunne draweth that which is moſt light, and ſweet. Beſides, why encreaſeth it not in winter? Since at that time the windes being more violent then they were accuſtomed might moue the ſea? For the Eteſians are moderate. Furthermore, if he were deriued from the Atlantique ſea, hee would at one time fill all Egypt. But he encreaſeth by degrees. The Philoſopher *Oenopides* of Chios ſaith, that in winter the heate is hidden vnder earth, by meanes whereof the dens are hot, and the fountaine water is warme, by meanes whereof the vaines of the earth are dried by internall heate. But in other countries the flouds encreaſe by the meanes of raine. But the Nile, becauſe he is not aſſiſted by any other raine he waxeth the leſſe, and then encreaſeth in ſummer, at ſuch time as the inward parts of the earth are cold, and the fountaines are freſh and coole. But if this were true, the riuers ſhould encreaſe, and all the fountaines ſhould be full in ſummer. I ſay likewiſe that in ſummer time the heate is not

The opinion of Thales, as touching the incurſe of Nilus.

Euthymenes opinion.

The examination of theſe opinions.

An anſwere to Oenopides opinion.

not greater vnder earth. The water, the lower caues, and the fountaines are warme, becauſe they receiue not the aire that is cold without, ſo then they haue no heate, but they driue out cold. From the ſame cauſe proceedeth this, that they are freſh in ſummer, becauſe the aire being remote and ſeuered from the ſame, and afterwards warmed, attaineth not ſo farre. *The examination of* Diogenes Apollomates *his opinion.* *Diogenes Apollinaris* is of that opinion, that the Sunne draweth humiditie vnto him, which is ſucked vp from the ſea, and other waters by the drie land, that it cannot be that one earth ſhould be drie, and another moiſt, becauſe all is perforated and full of paſſages. Thoſe things that are drier doe ſometimes borrow from the moiſter, and if the earth receiued not from other parts, long ſince had it fallen to duſt. So when the Sunne draweth the waues, but the meridianall regions are thoſe that haue moſt need: when the earth is dried, ſhe draweth more humiditie vnto her. Euen as in lamps, the oyle runneth thither where it conſumeth, ſo the water runneth into that part, where the vehemencie of heat and of the parched earth calleth it. Whence then is ſhe drawne? From thoſe parts that are alwayes cold, that is, from the Northerne parts whence ſhe floweth. For this cauſe the Pontique ſea powreth her ſtreame continually into that which is the lower, not by ebbes and flouds after the manner of other ſeas, but tending and running alwayes violently towards that part. If this were not, if that which euery one wanteth were not ſupplied, and that which were exceſſiue were not ſent backe againe by the ſame wayes, the earth ſhould peece-meale be brought to duſt, or drowned in the water. I would willingly demand of *Diogenes*, ſince that this ſea and the riuers ioyne themſelues together: Whence it commeth to paſſe, that the riuers in all countries are not more big in ſummer time: The Sunne ſcorcheth Egypt more then all other regions, and therefore Nilus encreaſeth the more: But in other countries likewiſe there is ſome encreaſe of riuers? Furthermore, how commeth it to paſſe that ſome places are wholly drie, ſince that all the earth draweth vnto her the humiditie of other countries, and ſo the more the drie earth ſhall be expoſed to the Sunne. Finally, whence commeth it that Nilus is ſweete, if his water floweth from the ſea? For there is no riuer more ſweet in taſte then Nilus is. *An inſtance that wrappeth* Diogenes *in new abſurdities.*

CHAP. III.

How the haile is made. IF I ſhould maintaine that haile is made as yce is, the whole cloud being frozen, I ſhould vndertake a thing that were ouer-headie. Therfore number me amongſt thoſe witneſſes of the ſecond note, who deny that they haue ſeene, but auow that they haue heard it. Or at leaſtwiſe I will doe that which the Hiſtorians doe. For they when they haue fained many things according to their owne fancie, will not maintaine any one thing of conſequence, but adde theſe words, I refer my ſelfe to the credit of the Authors. *Poſidonius* wil anſwere for me, as wel in that which I haue alreadie entreated of, as in that which followeth. For he will affirme that the haile is made of a rainy cloud conuerted into water, as boldly as if he had beene preſent at the making. But why haile is round, thou thy ſelfe mayeſt know without a maſter, when as thou ſhalt obſerue, that euery thing that droppeth gathereth it ſelfe into a round, which likewiſe appeareth in glaſſes, which gather a kind of dew from our breath, and in pots that are powred out, and in euery other light thing, as in the leaues of herbes and trees, if any drop cleaue vnto them, they are alwayes round. Poſidonius *opinion.*

What

What is more hard then ſtone? more ſoft then water,
Yet hardeſt ſtones by ſofteſt drops are pierced.

Or as another Poet ſaith:

The drops that fall doe pierce the ſtone.

And this hollowneſſe is round alſo, whence it appeareth that the water hath ſome reſemblance with the ſtone that it holloweth, for it maketh a hole in the ſame, that is anſwerable to her forme and habitude. Furthermore, although the haile were not ſuch, yet in falling it might grow round, and tumbling ſo long thorow a thicke aire, take an equall forme on euery ſide, which the ſnow cannot do; becauſe it is not ſo ſolide, but is rather ſpread abroad, and falleth not from any great height, but taketh his originall from the lower region of the aire, ſo that it commeth not from an aire farre diſtant, but falleth from a place neere at hand. Why may not I giue my ſelfe as much libertie as *Anaxagoras* did, wherein free libertie ſhould be amongſt no men more then amongſt Philoſophers? Haile is nought elſe but ſuſpended yce. The ſnow is a ſort of congelation hanging in the froſt. There is ſuch a difference betwixt froſt and yce, and ſnow and yce, as betweene water and dew. *The difference betweene ſnow and haile.*

CHAP. IIII.

Why it ſnoweth, but haileth not in winter. AND hauing reſolued this queſtion, I might diſmiſſe and repoſe my ſelfe, but I will giue thee full meaſure, ſince I haue begun to be troubleſome vnto thee, I will relate whatſoeuer it be, that may grow in queſtion vpon this matter. The queſtion is then why it ſnoweth in winter, and haileth not, and after that the cold hath beene broken by a milder weather, the haile falleth? Although thou thinkeſt that I am deceiued, yet account I it for true, which I apprehend in my minde, which permitteth it ſelfe to beleeue theſe trifling tales, wherein men are accuſtomed to nip our tongues, and not to pull out our eyes. In winter the aire freeſeth, by meanes whereof it reſolueth not himſelfe into water, but into ſnow, to which the aire is more neerer. In the beginning of the Spring there followeth a great change of weather, and the aire being become more warme, there ſucceed more greater raine. Vpon which occaſion our Poet *Virgil* ſaith,

When as ſhowre-bearing ſpring,

Diſcouereth it ſelfe, the change of the ayre being opened, and reſolued euery wayes by the aſſiſtance of the ſeaſon, is farre more vehement. For this cauſe the raynes fall more waighty and thicke, but they continue not. The Winter hath lent, and thick ſhowers, which we ſee oftentimes happen when the ſnow falleth amidſt a rare and thin raine. We ſay that it is a ſnowie day, when it is colde and the heauen is couered: contrariwiſe, when the Northeaſt winde bloweth and gouerneth in the ayre, the raines are more ſmall; but when the Southern winde rayneth the raine is more ſtrong, and the drops greater.

CHAP. V.

The opinion of the Poet vpon this point.

THat which is resolued by our Stoiques, neyther dare I speake because it is but weakely grounded, neyther must I let it passe. For what euill is it to write any thing that is presented vnto vs? For if we will exactly examine, and make a diligent scrutiny of all things, it were better to be silent, since there is scarcely any thing that is maintayned by the one, that is not impugned by the other. For there are very few things without contradiction. They say therefore that all that which is frozen about Scithia and Pontus, and to the Northward, dissolueth in the spring time: that at that time the Rivers thaw, and that the snowes wherewith the mountaines are couered, melt; by meanes wherof it is very like, that the colder windes engender such a change, and intermixe themselues with the ayre of the spring time. They further adde that which I haue not yet tryed, nor haue the will to do the same; and I counsaile thee that if thou wilt know the truth thereof, not to make triall in this sort if the snow be colde. Mark what they say, that they that treade vpon the firme and hard snow haue not so much colde in their feet, as those that treade vpon the snow that is newly falne. If they speake true, all that which commeth from the Northerly places (when as the snow is distributed, and the yce is broken) tieth and constraineth the warm and moyst ayre of the Southerne parts: and therefore when it should raine the vehemencie of the colde will make it fall into haile.

CHAP. VI.

Of those that foretell when it shall haile.

I Cannot temper my selfe, but that I must needes discouer all the follies of our Stoickes, who affirme that there are some men so well experienced in the obseruations of clouds, that they can foretell when it shall haile, hauing the meanes to comprehend the same, by long vse, by obseruing the colour of the clouds, after which haile hath followed so many times. It is an incredible matter that in the Citie of Cleone there were certaine men chosen to this end vpon the common purse, which were named χαλαζοφύλακες, that is to say, obseruers of the haile. When these had giuen the signe that haile would suddenly follow, what expectest thou, that men should run to their clokes, or their letherne peltches? Nay rather, euery one sacrificed for himselfe a Lambe or a Pullet; and forthwith those clouds declined another way, after he had tasted some little of the bloud: Dost thou laugh at this? Beholde cause of more laughter; if there were any that had neyther Lambe nor Pullet, he drew his owne bloud, wherein hee neyther hurt himselfe nor any other man. And to the end that thou shouldest not thinke that the clouds are cruell and desirous of bloude, one of them with a sharpe pen-knife pricked one of his fingers, and offered his bloud: at that the haile fled away from his field that had sacrificed thus, as from those pastures whose Master had the meanes by more greater offerings to preuent the eminent euill.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Whether there be any reason in this prediction.

SOme seeke a reason hereof. Other some that are more wise say, that it is impossible to couenant with the haile, and to redeeme the tempests by their diminutiue presents, although the gods are pacified by such meanes. Some there are, that holde that they of Cleones thought, that there was some secret vertue in bloud, to turne away and repulse the cloude. But how may so great power be inclosed in so little bloud as to mount so high, and to cause a resentment in the clouds. The shortest way, was to say that all that was no other thing but a fable, & a lie: yet they of Cleones punished those that had not the care to foresee and prouide against tempests, because by their negligence their Vineyards were beaten, or their corne layed. And amongst vs, in the law of the twelue tables it was forbidden, that no man should enchant another mans fruite. The auncient Ideots and those of little iudgement, beleeued that the inchanters caused the raines either to faile or fall; but it is a thing most euident, that they cannot doe it, yea, and so manifest, that the cause hereof is not to be examined in any Philosophers Schoole.

CHAP. VIII.

In what region of the ayre the snow is made.

YEt one thing will I adde more, and it will content thee to fauour and applaude it. They say that snow is made in that Region of the ayre that is neerest vnto the earth, and that hath most heat, for three causes: the first is, that euery exhalation of the earth, whereas it hath much heate and drie within, it is so much the more hotter the neerer it is: the second, that the beams of the Sun reflect vpon the earth, and reuerberate backe to themselues; the which redoubling warms all that which is neerest to the earth, the which hath more warmth, because they feele the Sun twice: the third cause is, that the higher parts are more beaten by the windes, but what soeuer are lowest are lesse beaten by the windes.

CHAP. IX.

Democritus reason annexed to the precedent.

TO these may a man adde the reason of *Democritus*: the more solid a body is, the more suddenly receiueth it heate, and keepeth it the longer. Therefore if you set a vessell of brasse, or glasse, or siluer, in the Sunne, that of brasse is warmed soonest, and keepeth the heate longest. He expresseth the reason in this sort: It must needs be that the pores and passages of those bodies that are closed, solid and thicke should be more lesse then the rest, and that the ayre that entereth should be farre more subtile. It followeth then, that as the Stoues that are lesse spatious, and the smallest Ouens are soonest hot; so the pores and passages that are hidden, and cannot be obserued by the eye, doe more speedily entertaine the heate, and because they are so narrow, deliuer ouer this heate more slowly then they haue receiued it.

CHAP. X.

The lowest Region of the ayre is more darkesome and lesse pure.

THese long Prefaces bring vs to the point that is now in question. All aire is more thick, according as it is more neere vnto the earth. As in the water, and in all humiditie, the lees are found in the bottome; so in the ayre, those things that are most thicke are alwaies lowest. But we haue already proued that all things, the more their matter is thicke and solid, the more long time and more effectually keepe they the heate they haue receiued: but the more the ayre is raised and estranged from the ordures of the earth, the more pure and neate it is; by meanes whereof it retaineth not the Sunne, but letteth it passe as thorow a voyd place, and therefore is it that it warmeth lesse.

CHAP. XI.

Why the tops of the highest mountaines haue lesse sense of the heat of the Sun then the vallies.

COntrariwise, some say that the tops of the mountaines, being neere vnto the Sunne, should be also more hot. But in my opinion they deceiue themselues in this, that they thinke that the Apenine, the Alpes, and other renowned mountaines, by reason of their height haue their heads so high, that their tops may feele the neighbourhood of the Sunne: vndoubtedly these mountaines are high, if a man compare them with vs that are men; but when thou shalt consider the whole Vniuerse, euery one may perceiue that both mountaines and men are things very base. The one compared with the other haue the vpper hand, and together they are nothing. Neyther is there any thing, how high soeuer it be raised, that in comparison with the whole should be esteemed any thing, & if it were otherwise, we would not say, that all this circuit of the earth is but a bowl. The properties of a bowle is to be round in all equalitie. Consider this equalitie in a ball; the flitches, the corners and little holes that appeare therein, hinder not a man from saying that all the parts are round. But as these spaces hinder not this ball to haue a round figure, so in all the globe of the earth in the highest mountaines (whose tops are nothing if they be compared with the whole round) the same ought to be considered. He that saith that the highest mountaine, because it is neerest to the Sunne, should be more warmed, may say also that a great man should haue more heate then a little man, and that heate ought to be rather in the head then in the feete. But whosoeuer hath considered the world according to his measure, and remembreth himselfe that the earth is the center or point of this great circumference, shall know that nothing may be so high in the same, that by that meanes it may haue more sense of the effect of the Sunne, and of those other celestiall fires, as if he were more neerer vnto them. These mountaines that we behold, and these high Tenarises that are couered with perpetuall snowe, are notwithstanding in the bottom. True it is, that a mount which is raised high is neerer the Sunne then a valley, but in such sort is it, as one thing is greater then another: for after this manner one tree is said to be neerer heauen then another; which is false, because betweene those things that are little there cannot be any great difference, but whilst they are compared one with another. When wee come to the comparison of a mighty body, it skils not how much the one is greater then the other, because although it be with a great difference, yet are they called small.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Why the snow is soft.

BVt to retrie, by reason of the reasons aboue mentioned, diuers haue bin of the opinion, that snow is made in the lowest region of the ayre, by meanes whereof it is soft, because it is gathered of a cold that is lesse rigorous then that of other regions. The neighbouring ayre hath too much colde to conuert it selfe into water and rain, and ouer little to be hardned into haile. Of this moderate cold, and not too much intended are the snowes made by the meanes of thicke waters.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the resolution of this question; he enuieth here censure against the Epicures of this world, who abuse snow.

WHy, saiest thou, dost thou prosecute so earnestly these follies, whereby thou shalt neyther become more learned, nor more better? Thou tellest me how snowes are made, where it concerneth thee far more to let vs vnderstand why snowes are not to be bought. Thou willest me to pleade against dissolution; this is a daily and a fruitlesse brawle; yet let vs chide at it: although she be like to get the vpper hand, yet let her ouercome vs fighting and striuing against her. What then? Thinkest thou that this inspection of nature auaileth nothing to that which thou intendest? When we aske how snow is made, and say that by nature it is like vnto frost, that it containeth in it selfe more ayre then water, thinkest thou not that they are reproached hereby, because they buy not true water, but a far more baser thing? But let vs rather inquire how snowes are made, then how they are kept, because not contenting our selues to poure out our olde wines, and to dispose them according to their sauours and age, we haue found out the inuention how to keepe snow, and to the end it might ouercome Summer, and defence it selfe against the heat of the yeare, by the coldnesse of the place, what haue we attained by this diligence? Forsooth this, to buy water that costeth vs nothing. It griueth vs that we cannot buy the winde and the Sunne; or for that the ayre commeth so easily to present himselfe to a rich and more delicate sort, who could be contented to buy the same. O how impatiently endure wee that nature, the mother of all hath left nothing common to all. This which she would haue flow and lie open to all men; this which she hath made publike, to the end that all men might drinke therof to entertaine life, that which she hath largely and happily dispensed for all, to serue the common vse of men, of sauage beasts, of birds and all other liuing creatures, that are the most idle, that hath dissolution (ingenuous in her owne mischiefe) drawne vnto a price; so is not this pleasing vnto her except it cost deere. This was the onely thing that equalled the rich with the common sort, in which onely they could not exceed the poorest. For him was this deuised (whose riches are troublesome to himselfe) to feed his dissolution euen in water. I will tell you whence it came to passe that no running water seemed cold enough for vs. As long as the stomacke is sound and capable of conuenient nourishment, and is filled but not ouerpressed, it is content with naturall supplies, it feeleth not the heate of the time, but his inward distemper; when as continuall drunkennesse encampeth in his bowels, and the noble parts are inflamed by a cholericke humour that seizeth the stomacke, men seeke necessarily for somewhat that may temper that heate which

waxeth more violently by those waters that are poured on it, and the remedy increaseth the sickness. And therefore not in Summer onely, but in the depth of winter they drinke water for this cause. What is the cause hereof but an euill intestine, the intrailes rotted and spoyled by excesse, to which no intermission hath bin granted, to concoct & digest that which they had thrust into them; but some haue heaped on their dinners those nightly banquets, which haue lasted till the next day morning, gourmandize and drunkennesse plunging as it were into a gulfe, mens stomacks charged with abundance and diuersities of wines and meates. Besides this, intemperance that hath no intermission, hauing greedily deuoured all that which was presented vnto him, becomes mad, and inflameth it selfe alwayes in a new desire to follow his traine. Although therfore they garnish their chambers with Tapestrie and other ornaments, and with huge fires conquer the vehemency of the colde, yet notwithstanding their stomackes cloyed and weakened by their proper heate, seeketh some solace to refresh themselues. For euen as we cast colde water vpon their faces that faint and are in a swound, to the end we may reuiue them, so the entrailes of these dissolute men, wholly stupified with so much excesse, feele nothing, except you awake them with these extreame colde drinkes. Hence commeth it that they content not themselues with snow, but steepe their yce in store of fresh water, as if the thickenesse thereof gaue them some more certaine refreshing. And this yce is not taken from that which groweth aboue, but to the end it may haue more force, and a more vehement colde, they draw it and digge it out of the deeper places. Therefore is it, that these delicacies haue more prises then one, and there is traffique both of water and yce, according to the diuersities of the seasons of the yeare, to the great dishonour of the buyers and the sellers. The Lacedemonians banished Perfumers out of their Citie, and commanded them suddenly to depart out of their confines, because they wasted their oyle. What would they haue done if they had seene the shops and store-houses for snow, and so many horses appointed to carrie water, whose colour and sauour they alter by the meanes of the straw wherein they keepe it? But good gods, how easie a thing is it to extinguish wholsome thirst? But what can dull and dead jawes, stupified with burning meates, feele? Euen as nothing is colde enough for them, so nothing is hot enough: but they thrust downe the scalding morsels, speedily drowned in their sawce, halfe smoaking into their stomacks, to the end they may extinguish them with snowie potions. Thou shalt see certaine leane fellowes, armed against the colde vp to the chin, pale and ill disposed, that not onely swallow downe, but also eate snow, casting great morsels of the same into their cups, fearing least in forbearing their drinke a little, it should waxe warme. Thinkest thou that this is thirst? It is a feuor, yea, so malignant that it is neyther discouered in touching the pulse, nor by the colour that appeareth in the face. But intemperance an inuincible euill, of soft and fluid becomming hard and stupid, burneth the heart it selfe. Knowest thou not that all things loose their force by custome? Therefore this snow, in which at this day you that are delicate, are as it were plunged, by vse and continuall seruitude of the stomacke hath gotten this priuiledge, that it obtaineth the place of water. Seek out now some other thing that is more colde, for an ordinary and accustomed freshnesse and coolenesse is as much to you as nothing.

A pleasant and fit comparison, to shew the miseries of the dissolute.

A liuely description of belly-gods, and how great was Senecas admired hatred against all excesse.

The end of the fourth Booke of Naturall Questions.

OF

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The fifth Booke.

Wherein

Is intreated of the matter and motion of the windes and aire.

CHAP. I.

THe Winde is fluent aire. Some hatte definited it thus: The winde is an aire which is fluent in one part. This definition seemeth to be more exact, because the aire is neuer so immoueable, but that in some sort it is agitated. So say we that the Sea is calme, when it is but gently moued, and inclineth not ouer-much to one part. When therefore thou readest,

When as the Sea was calme vnbet by windes:

Know that it is neuer so still but that it hath some slight replying, and is said to be calme, because it forceth not a streame neither this way, nor that way. The same may a man iudge of the aire, that it is neuer immoueable although it be quiet and calme. Which thou maiest conceiue by this: When the sunne is infused into any closed place, we see certaine little bodies carried now a thwart, some vpward, some downeward, and diuersly encountring together. He shall therefore scarce diligently enough comprehend that he would, that saith: The floud is the agitation of the Sea, because when it is calmest it is stirred likewise. But beyond exception shall he be that shall define it thus. The floud is the agitation of the Sea into one part. So in this thing also, wherof we most of all now debate, he shall not be excepted against, that carrieth himselfe so as hee saith: The winde is a fluent aire into one part, or

Hippocrat. lib. de Flatib. Read Valeriola vpon this, and Aristotles opinion in 2. Meteorolog. wherein he highly taxeth the definition: but Seneca in this place first declareth what winde is.

or the winde is fluent aire with violence; or the force of the aire that fleeteth into one part, or a course of the aire a litle more vehement then ordinarie. I know what may bee answered for that other definition, what needest thou to adde this, aire flowing into one part? For whatsoeuer floweth, fleeteth into some part. No man will say that the water floweth, if it be only moued in it selfe, but if it tendeth toward some part. There may be therefore somwhat that may moue and not flow, but contrariwise it cannot flow except it be into one part. But if this breuitie be sufficient to defend vs from reproofe, let vs vse this. But if any man be more circumspect, let him not spare his word, by whose adiection hee may exclude all cauill. Let vs now come to the matter it selfe, because we haue sufficiently disputed of the forme.

CHAP. II.

Whereof winde is compased.

DEMOCRITVS saith, that when there are many of these small bodies, which he calleth *Atomi*, in some voide streight, there followeth winde: contrariwise that the estate of the aire is calme and peaceable, when in much voide there are few *Atomes*. For euen as in the market place or street, as long as there is but little companie, a man may walke without tumult: but when as companie meeteth in a straight, there groweth quarrell, because they throng and iustle one another: so in this space wherein we are inuironed, when many bodies haue filled a small place, it must needes bee that in incountring one with another: the one should be pushed by the other, which push them back againe, and that they should be confused together, and compresse one another. From thence commeth winde, when as those two bodies that were at debate are fallen downe, and after they haue long time floted and remayned in suspence, incline themselues. But where there are few bodies in a great extent, neither can they iustle one another, nor be impelled the one by the other.

CHAP. III.

Refutation of Democritus argument in the former Chapter.

NOw false this opinion is, thou maist gather hereby, because that when the skie is cloudie and the aire is thick, there is no winde stirring. But at that time diuers bodies are assembled together, whence proceedeth also the thicknesse of the clouds. Adde hereunto that about Riuers and Lakes fogs fall very oftentimes, bodies being pressed and conioyned together, and yet there is no winde. And sometimes so great a mist is spred abroad, that scarce one man can see another, though they stand neare together, which should not come to passe except many bodies had enclosed themselues in a little space. But no time wanteth winde more then that which is foggie. Adde hereunto now that which falleth out on the contrarie side, that the rising sunne ordinarily attenuateth the thick and moist aire vpon his rise. And then doth the winde rise when as the bodies are set at libertie, and that their presse and multitude is resolued.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

Winde is made in diuers sorts.

NOw therefore how sayest thou, are the windes made, since thou confessest that they are made? not after one manner: for sometimes the earth pusheth out of her caues a great abundance of ayre, oftimes when a great and vnordinarie exhalation driueth vp on high, that which shee had depressed, this change of interminded ayre is turned into winde: for this neither can I bee perswaded to beleeue, nor to conceale, which some men doe hold, that all by the meanes of our meate, winde is caused in our bodies, which cannot but issue forth, except it be by violent sneesing, or likewise sometimes by discharge of the belly with some noice, or making an eschape which is not heard: so this spacious nature that maintaineth all things, in changing nature produceth winde. It is good for vs that shee disgesteth alwayes, otherwise wee might feare some flinke or more vncleannesse. Is there not therefore more appearance to say, that from all the parts of the earth, there necessarily arriues great number of these Atomes, which heaped together, & afterwards attennated by the same, it happeneth that the winde is made, because that all that which enlargeth it selfe in a narrow place, requireth a greater space?

CHAP. V.

The ayre hath in it selfe a naturall faculty of motion.

WHat then? thinkest thou that the euaporations of the waters and earth are the onely cause of the winde? That the greatnesse of the aire is caused by these, & afterwards resolued by violence when these things that stood thicke, as it is needefull by being extenuated, striue to get a greater space? For mine owne part I iudge it to be so. But that is the more truer and firmer cause, in that the ayre hath a naturall force of moning her selfe, which shee hath of her selfe, as other thinges haue without hauing any need of conceiuing it from an other. Thinkest thou that the force of motion hath beene giuen vs, and that the ayre hath beene condemned to remaine idle, and without agitation, considering that the water ceaseth not to haue her motion, although the windes bee calme, for otherwise shee could not breed fishes. Wee see likewise that Mosse and other herbs growe in the waters, and floate aboue them.

CHAP. VI.

It hath somthing vitall in it selfe.

THere is somewhat therefore vitall in the water. Speake I it onely of the water? The fire that consumeth all things, createth likewise some things, and that which cannot seeme to bee true, and yet is very true) there are certaine liuing creatures that are engendred in the fire. The ayre likewise hath some such like vertue, and therfore sometimes it thickneth, sometimes it spreadeth and pureth it selfe, sometimes it cloaseth, it openeth, and restraineth it selfe. There is herefore such difference betwixt the ayre and the wind, as there is betwixt a Lake and a Riuer. Sometimes the sunne it selfe is the cause of winde, sometimes

times melting the colde ayre, and finding it thicke and closed in it selfe, purifieth and dilateth it.

CHAP. VII.

When and from whence the winds proceed.

WE haue spoken of the windes in generall, now let vs beginne to entreat of them seuerally. It will happily appeare how they are made, if it shall appeare when and whence they proceede. First therefore let vs examine those windes that rise before day, which eyther are raysed from some riuers, or vallies, or gulfes. There is none of them continueth, but falleth when the sunne is mounted somewhat high, neyther is carried about the sight of the earth. This kind of windes beginneth in the Spring time, and passeth not the Summer. And from thence most of all commeth it, where there are many waters and mountaines. The Champions although they abound with waters, yet say I, that they want this breath which standeth in stead of wind.

CHAP. VIII.

Whence strong windes are caused.

NOw then is that winde bred which the Grecians call ἐχίνοδες, what soeuer the riuers and mārishes cast out of themselues, (the which is much and continuall) is in the day time the nutriment of the sunne, by night it is not spent, but being vnited in the mountains, is gathered into one region; when it hath filled the same, and being vnable to containe it selfe in it selfe, it breaketh forth, and goeth into an other part, and hence commeth the winde. It inclineth therefore towards that part, which inuiteth it with more free passage, and thorow the spaciousnes of the place, into which being gathered together it may runne. The proofe hereof is, that it riseth not before midnight: for this collection beginneth to bee made a little before day, and being as it were accomplished at such time as the light appeareth, it seeketh to discharge it selfe of the weight, and thether especially tendeth, where there is most ayre, and a great and spacious extent. The sunne likewise at his rise reflecting vpon the cold ayre, in some sort addeth forwardnesse to it: for euen before hee appeareth, hee preuaileth by his light, although his beames doe not dissipate the ayre, yet prouoketh hee it, and stirreth it by sending his light before: for when he himselfe appeareth, the one are raysed vp into the ayre, the other are dissipated by little and little, in such sort as they are not permitted to blow, except in the morning, their vigor vanisherh vnder the force of the Sunne. And if they bee strong about the morning, about midday they waxe weake, and these small windes neuer passe midday. There are some likewise that are very feeble, and more short, according as their causes are more or lesse powerfull.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Whence it commeth that such a wind is more violent in the Spring and Summer.

BVt why are these winds more violent in the spring-time, and in the summer? for in the two other seasons they are very milde and scarsely fill the sayles of shippes; because the spring is moister, and a greater euaporation is made from diuers waters and places, that by reason of the moist nature of the heauens are full and ouercharged. But why is it that these vapours are so great in the summer time? because such dayly heat continueth after the setting of the sunne, and continueth for the greater part of the night, and draweth to it selfe that which is without, and attracteth with violence all that which the earth is accustomed to render of it selfe, but it hath not sufficient force to consume and dissipate that which it hath drawne: for this cause, the earth and water push out these little Atomes which are accustomed almost ordinarily to issue out, not onely by heate, but also by the reuerberation of his beames, the Sunne is the efficient cause of the winds: for the light that forgoeth the rising of the Sunne doth not as yet warme the ayre, but onely reflecteth vpon it, which being strucken vpon, retireth it selfe on the one side; although I auerre not that this light is without heate, considering that it is made of heate. It may bee it hath not so much heate, that it may actually apppeare, yet notwithstanding it performeth his dewty by deducing and attenuating these things that are thicke. Besides those places, which by some iniquity of nature are so closed, that they cannot entertaine the sunne, are notwithstanding lightned by a drie and heauie light, and are lesse colde by day then by night. By nature likewise euery heate drieth and disperseth away from it all cloudes. It followeth therefore, that the sunne doth the like. For which cause some are of the opinion, that the winde bloweth from thence whence the sunne parteth. But that this is false, it appeareth hereby because the wind drieth shippes into diuers climates, and such as trauell by sea with full sayle, sayle against the sunne-rise, which should not come to passe, if the winde were alwayes carried by the sunne.

If the winde bloweth from the place whence the Sun departeth.

CHAP. X.

Why the winds that are called Etesians blow not but in summer, and during the number of certaine dayes.

THe Etesian windes likewise (which are alleadged by some in way of proofe) serue them little for their purpose. I will first declare what their opinion is, and afterwardes why it disliketh mee. The Etesians (say they) blow not in the winter, because in the shorter dayes the sunne is sooner set before the colde bee ouercome, and therefore the snowes both fall and are hardned. In the summer time they beginne to blow, because the dayes are longer, and the beames of the Sunne directly beate vpon vs. It is therefore like to be true, that the cloudes being shaken with great heat, push forth humidity, and that the earth (discouered and discharged of the snow) produceth the vapours more freely; whence issue more impressions in the ayre to the Northward, then otherwise, which are carried into places more sweet and temperate: so doe the Etesians inforce themselues, and therefore is it that they beginne in the Solstice, being vnable to endure the rising of the Dogge-starre, because that already the colder part of the heauen hath powred much of his humour into the same. But the Sunne hauing

having changed his course, draweth more directly towards vs, inuiting one part of the ayre, and repulsing the other. Thus the gale of these Etesians breaketh the forces of Summer, and defendeth it from the violence of the hotest monethes.

CHAP. XI.

If the Etesians and other windes are stirred by the sunne.

NOw will I performe that which I promised, why the Etesians helpe them no wayes, neyther yeelde any confirmation to this cause; we haue saide that about the spring of the day, there ariseth a little wind, which is laid as soone as the Sunne meeteth with it. And therefore is it why the Mariners call the Etesians idle & delicate, because they know not how to rise earely as *Gallion* saith. They beginne the most times to blow when that little mornings breath beginneth to calme, which would not come to passe if the Sunne were the stirrer of them as he is of the lesser winds. Furthermore, if the length and greatnesse of the day were the cause that they blew, they should be heard before the Solstice at such time as the dayes are long, and the snowes are melted; for in the moneth of July all the earth is discouered, or at leastwise there are very few things that lie vnder the snow.

CHAP. XII.

Of the winds called Ecnephy and how they are made.

THere are some sorts of winds which the clouds that are broken, and fall, push before them; these windes do the Grecians call ἐκνεφίας, which in my opinion are made after this maner. When as a great inequality & diuersity of bodies which are cast forth by terrestriall vapours, mount on high, and that the one of these bodies are drie, and the other moist. It is to bee beleiued, that from so great a contrariety of bodies that incessantly striue one against an other at such time as they are assembled, there should certaine hollow cloudes bee composed. and that there is betweene them some distances, full of narrow holes, such as are in flutes: In these distances there is a subtill and thinne aire, that incloseth it selfe, which being tossed vp and down therein, and in the end warmed by a constrained and interrupted course, becommeth hereby more strong; and seeking for a place more large, breaketh all that which incloseth it, and issueth like a wind, which for the most part is stormy, because it commeth from aboue, and falleth vpon vs with a great violence, because it cannot spread it selfe euery wayes, but contrariwise trauelleth very much to finde an issue, enforcing his way before him, and as it were by a violent combate. Ordinarily this wind endureth not long, because it breaketh the receptacles of those cloudes wherein it was carried: sometime it issueth with a great noyse, but not without thunder and lightning. Such winds are of more vehemency and longer continuance, if they carry with them other violent winds intermixed with them, and such as issue from the same way, and striue to vnite themselues with them: euen as torrents flow in a measurable greatnesse, as long as euery one hath his particular course, but when as diuers of them meet together in one, they surpasse in depth, breadth and swiftnesse the greatest riuers that flow incessantly. The same

same way in all likelyhood fall out in stormes, which of themselues continue not long time, but when they haue assembled their forces, and when as from diuers parts of the heauen, the ayre being pressed, assembleth it selfe in one place, they both gather more forces, and continue longer.

CHAP. XIII.

The maner how the winds breake from the cloudes that incloſe thē.

SO then a resolued cloud maketh the wind which is dissolued in diuers sorts. Sometimes the ayre which is incloſed, searching to finde a vent, struggleth in such sort that it breaketh all that collection of cloudes that detaineth it, sometimes the heat that hath beene occasioned by the sunne, sometimes the intershocke of cloudes, as it hapneth when two great bodies encounter and crush one another. In this place it may be demanded (if thou thinkest it fit) whence that storme is rayſed? which is accustomed to happen in riuers, which fleeting onward without interruption seeme peaceable and milde, and make no noyse: but when they encounter with any rocke on this or that side of the riuer, they recoyle and turne their waters into round circles which cannot bee diuided; so that in whirling about they sucke vp themselues, and make a gulfe: so the winde as long as nothing resisteth it, extendeth his forces: but when it is beaten backe by any promontory, or if by constraint of the places it bee gathered into some straight and crooked pypes, it oftimes turneth and returneth it selfe into it selfe, and maketh a gulfe like vnto those waters, which as I said, are conuerted and whirled about. This wind turning it selfe, and enuironing one and the same place, and mouing it selfe violently in diuers circles and rounds, is a whirle wind, which if it grow more strong and furious is inkindled, and maketh that flying fire, which the Grecians call πρηστῆρα. This is a fierie storme. These windes for the most part being broken from the cloudes discouer all dangers, whereby whole herdes of beasts are carried away in the fields, and whole shippes are tossed and drowned in the floudes. Some winds also engender diuers others, and pushing the ayre into some other places, then those whereupon they were formerly cast, spread themselues here and there. I will tell you likewise that which is come into my memory; euen as the droppes of rayne in the beginning make not the earth slippery, but when they are gathered together, and reinforced, then is it said that they flow and fall: in like case, as long as the motions of the ayre are light and agitated in diuers places, it is not winde as yet, it beginneth to be when hee hath mingled all his motions together, and hath made a mighty body. It is the measure that putteth a difference betwixt the aire and the wind, for the wind is a more vehement breath, and the spirit likewise a lightly flowing ayre.

CHAP. XIIII.

That there are windes likewiſe which breake from the caues and hollow places of the earth.

I Will repeate now that which I said at the first, that the winds issue from caues and hollow places of the earth. The earth is not made and fashioned of one whole massiue peece from the top vnto the bottome, but is hollow in diuers places:

Suspended on obscure and hollow caues.

Some where ſhe hath voides without any humour. There likewiſe if no light ſhow the difference of the aire, yet will I ſay that the clouds and miſts conſiſt in obſcuritie. For neither are theſe aboue the earth, becauſe they ſeeme ſo to be, but becauſe they are, they are ſeene. There notwithſtanding alſo are they for this cauſe, becauſe they are not ſeene. Thou mayeſt know likewiſe that there, there doe flow certaine riuers, no leſſe great then thoſe that we ſee, the one ſtealing along ſweetly, the other violently and with roaring noiſe, by reaſon that they fall downe headlong from craggie and ſtonie places. What then wilt thou not confeſſe alſo, that there are lakes vnder the earth, and that there are certaine pooles, whoſe waters ſtandeth continually without iſſue? Which if it be ſo, it followeth alſo that the aire is burthened, and by his burthen bended, and raiſeth the wind by his vrging forward. We ſhall know well then that theſe winds ſhall be produced, in obſcure places, out of theſe clouds vnder earth, when they haue gathered ſo much forces that either may ſuffice to breake thorow the reſiſtance of the earth, or occupie ſome open paſſage for theſe windes, and that by theſe caues they may be conueyed amongſt vs. But this is moſt manifeſt, that vnder earth there is a great quantitie of ſulphure and other minerals, that ſerue to enkindle fire. The aire ſearching iſſue by theſe caues, after it is very much agitated, muſt of neceſſity in this great preſſe, expreſſe and cauſe the fire to iſſue. Afterwards the flames being ſpred more at large, if there remained any aire that was ſtill, the ſubtiltie thereof gaue it motion, and there with great noiſe and cracking ſound, it ſeeketh paſſage. But I will entreate hereof more exactly when I ſhall ſpeake of, and debate of the trembling of the earth.

CHAP. XV.

A digreſſion wherein he entreateth of riuers and pooles vnder ground.

PErmit me now to tell thee a pleaſant tale. *Aſclepiodotus* reciteth, that in times paſt *Philip* cauſed certaine work-men to be let down in deſert mines, to ſee if there were any thing to bee gotten, in what eſtate all things were, and if the auarice of our predeceſſors had left any thing for thoſe that were to ſucceed. Theſe men deſcended with many lights, and remained there for many daies, and finally being wearied with walking, they ſaw great riuers, and pooles of a marueilous length like vnto ours, but not incloſed and reſtrained with any earth to bound them in; but ſpred and extended abroad, which made them afraid: I tooke great content to reade this; for I vnderſtand that our age is ſicke, not onely of new vices, but alſo of thoſe which the Ancients haue taught, and that it is not of late time that auarice hath digged into the vaines of earth, and rocks, ſeeking in the darkneſſe the ruine of mankind. And as touching our Anceſtors, whom we praiſe ſo much, they likewiſe (whoſe vertues we complaine that we cannot equall) being led by hope, haue opened and digged downe mountains, and haue found themſelues buried vnder the ruines, and vnder the gaine they had made. There haue beene Kings long time before *Philip* of *Macedon*, that haue ſearched out the verie bowels of the earth to finde out ſiluer, and forſaking the free ayre, haue ſlid downe into thoſe caues, where there was no difference betwixt day and night, leauing the cleareneſſe of the day behind them. What great hope could this be? What neceſſitie hath bowed a man towards the earth, who was made vpright to behold the heauens, that he hath digged, and drowned himſelfe in the heart of the earth, to draw out gold, which is as dangerous in the ſearching, as in the keeping!

An inuectiue againſt auarice.

keeping! For this hath he vndermined the earth, and vnder hope of an vncertaine prey coucred in dirt, (forgetfull of his time, and forgetfull of his better nature) hath he ſequeſtred himſelfe. There is no dead man to whom the earth is ſo waightie, as to thoſe vpon whom auarice hath caſt ſo waightie a load of earth; from whom ſhe hath taken the light of heauen, and whom ſhe hath buried in thoſe bottomleſſe pits, wherein this poyſon was hidden: Into thoſe places durſt they deſcend, where they haue found a new diſpoſition of things, the earth ſuſpended, the windes blowing in an obſcure void, the dreadfull ſources of waters that ſtreamed along, a profound and perpetuall night, yet for all this they feare hell.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the foure principall winds, and whence they come.

BVt to returne to that which is now in queſtion. There are foure windes, diuided into Eaſt, Weſt, South, and North. All the reſt which we call by diuers names are numbered vnder theſe:

EVRVS *retired towards the mornings riſe,*
And to the Nabathean Kingdomes flies,
Breathing on Perſia, and thoſe mountaines hye,
That are expoſ'd to PHOEBVS *riſing eye.*
Milde ZEPHIRVS *the euening hath poſſeſt,*
And beates vpon the warmer ſhores of weſt,
But horrid BOREAS *doth the North inuade*
And bends his ſtormes againſt the Scythian glade:
Where contrarie, the Southerne winde againe
The Neonciſted tract doth moiſt with clouds and raine.

Or if thou haddeſt rather comprehend them in ſhorter words, let them be aſſembled in one tempeſt (which can no wayes be.)

EVRVS *and* NOTHVS *tempeſt both together,*
And ſtormie Afrike hails (to helpe them) thither.

Of twelue winds, according to ſome

Their names.

And the North-winde which had no place in that conflict. Some imagine that there are twelue windes. For they diuide the foure parts of the heauens into three, and giue two adiuncts to euery one of the foure principall windes. According to this manner, *Varro*, a very diligent man, hath ordered them; and not without cauſe: For the Sunne neither riſeth nor ſetteth alwayes in one place, but one is the riſing and ſetting Equinoctiall, (for there are two Equinoctials) other the Solſtitiall and hibernall. We call that *Subſolanus*, that riſeth from the Orientall Equinoctiall: the Grecians call it ἀπηλιώτην. *Eurus* iſſueth from the Orient of winter, which wee haue called *Vulturnus*. And *Liuy* ſo termeth it in that vnfortunate battell of the Romans, wherein *Hanibal* ſet the riſing Sunne and winde in the eyes of his enemies, and by the aſſiſtance both of Sunne and winde, got the victorie. *Varro* ſurnameth it alſo *Eurus* after this manner. At this day the Latines vſe indifferently both the one and the other. The winde that bloweth from the Orientall Solſtice, is called *Caecias*, or καικίαν by the Greeks and the Latines haue no other name. The Weſt Equinoctiall ſendeth *Fauonius*,

which they that vnderstand not the Greeke will tell thee is *Zephirus*. From the Occidentall Solstice proceedeth *Corus*, or according to others, *Argestes*, which I thinke not, because that *Corus* bloweth violently, and maketh a storme in some part; *Argestes* is ordinarily slacke, equall, and common as well to those that go, as those that returne. *Africus* that is both stormie and tempestuous, departeth from the Occident of winter, and by the Grecians is called λίψ. To the Northward, the highest is Aquilon, that in the middest Septentrion, and *Thracias* is the lower, which hath no other name amongst the Latines. From the Meridionall *axis* ariseth *Euronotus*, then *Notus*, in Latine *Auster*; after these *Libanotus*, which amongst vs is without a name.

CHAP. XVII.

That there can be but twelue principall winds.

I Agree that there are twelue windes, not because there arise many in euery country (for the inclination of the earth excludeth some) but because there are no more in any place. So say we that there are six cases, yet meane we not, that euery nowne hath six cases, but because there is no nown that can haue more then six. They that haue proposed twelue windes, haue followed this reason, that there are as many winds as there are parts of the heauen, which is diuided into fiue circles, which passe thorow the Cardines of the world, that is to say, the Northerne, Solstitiall, Equinoctiall, Hibernal, and Meridional, to which is annexed a sixt, distinguishing, as thou knowest, the superiour part of the world, from the inferiour. For there is alwayes a halfe aboue, and another beneath. The Greekes haue called this line which is partly couered, and partly discouered, *Horizon*, we *Finitor* or *Finiens*. To this must wee adde the Meridian circle, which diuideth the Horizon by straight angles. Some of these circles goe sloapewise, and trauerse the others. But it is necessarie that there should be as great differences in the aire, as there is in the parts. So then the Horizon diuideth the fiue aboue-named circles, whereof it maketh ten parts, fiue to the Eastward, and fiue to the Westward. The Meridian circle, which encountereth with the Horizon, addeth two parts. If the aire haue twelue differences, so many windes maketh it. There are some that are proper to certaine places, which go not from one place to another, but bend themselues towards that which is next, without blowing from one end of the world to another. *Atabulus* molesteth *Apulia*, *Iapix*, *Calabria*, *Sciron*, *Athens*; *Cat.egis*, *Pamphilia*, *Circius*, France; whose inhabitants cease not to giue him thankes, although he breaketh their buildings, as if they were bound vnto him for the bountie of their aire. At such time as the Emperour *Augustus* soiorned in France, he vowed and builded a Temple to this winde. It were an infinite matter if I should entreate of all other windes in particular, since for the most part, there is not any region that hath not some winde, that both breedeth and ceaseth in it, or about it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Why the windes haue been created and lodged in the aire.

AMongst other workes of diuine prouidence therefore, a man may likewise wonder at this, as a matter worthie of admiration. For it hath not out of one cause, both found out, and disposed the windes diuersly: but first of all, to the end it might not suffer the aire to stand still, but by continual agitation make it profitable and vitall to those that should vse it. Againe, that they might minister raines vnto the earth, and bridle excessiue stormes. For sometimes they bring on clouds, sometimes seuer them, to the end that the raine may be distributed thorow all the world: Auster driueth it into Italy, Aquilo casteth it into Africa, the Etesians suffer not the clouds to stay with vs. The same windes in the same season, when we haue drought, water India and Æthiopia with continuall raines. But why? could a man store vp his corne, were it not that the winde assisted him to driue the chaffe from that which was to be reserued? Except there were somewhat that caused it to encrease, and that breaking the eare and spike that holdeth the graine hidden and couered (which the laborers call the husks) should open the same? Is it not a great good, that she hath giuen vs the meanes to be able to traffique and to merchandize with forren Nations? This is a great benefit of Nature, except the furie of men conuerted it to their iniurie. Now that which in times past was spoken by the greater part of people by *Cæsar*, that a man could scarcely say whether it were more expedient for the Commonweale, if this man had liued, or had neuer beene, may be at this day said of the windes. So much the necessity of them, and the profit that they bring counterpriseth the euils, that the furie of mankind hath inuented to his owne ruine by this meanes. For such goods cease, not to be good of their own nature, although they are become hurtfull through their wickednesse that abuse the same. The eternall prouidence of God, who is the gouernour of this world, hath not giuen this charge vnto the windes to agitate the aire, neither hath he lodged them in all parts to cleanse the same, to the end we should couer a part of the sea with vessels charged with armed souldiers, or that we should seeke out enemies in or beyond the same. What madnesse is it that possesseth vs, and maketh vs to seeke out a meanes how to murther one another? We embarke our selues to fight and seeke out danger, wee hazard our selues to find out hazard. We aduenture on vncertain fortune, we combat against the violence of a storme, which no humane power is able to surmount, and runne vnto death without hope of sepulture: yet should this be nothing, if we might attaine peace hereby. But now when we haue escaped so many hidden rockes, and the ambushes of a sea full of shoales, impetuous billowes, and sands into which a head-long winde drieueth those that saile: when we haue passed thorow dayes couered with skowling clouds, horrid night full of raine and thunder, and seene the vessels broken and battered by the winde. What shall be the fruit of this labour and feare? What hauen shall entertaine vs, being wearied with so many euils? It shall be warre, and the enemie that attendeth vs vpon our descent; the Nations we shall murther, and shall kill a part of the Conquerours armie, with burning of those Cities that were builded for perpetuitie. Why call wee the people to armes? Why leuie we men of warre, entending to arrange our battels in the middest of the sea? Why disquiet we the seas? Is not the earth great enough for vs to die in? Fortune handleth vs too delicatly: She hath giuen vs too hard

How men haue abused this blessing of God bestowed vpon vs by the winde.

Inuectiues against the disturbers of humane peace.

bodies, and to happie health. There is no accident that may hurt vs. Euerie one may measure his yeares, and pursue them vntill old age. Let vs then enter vpon the sea, and prouoke the forts that forbeare vs. Wretched men what seeke you? Death; which euery where attendeth you, and alwayes is at hand? He will finde you euen in your beds, but let him finde you alwayes innocent; he will possesse you in your houses; but let him take hold of those that practise no euill. But what other thing is this, but meere rage, for a man incessantly to carrie his dangers about him, and to thrust himselfe amongst new and vnknowne dangers, to enter into choller without any offence, and thereupon to treade all things vnder foote that a man meeteth withall, and after the manner of sauage beasts, to murther him that a man hateth not? yet beasts bite either for reuenge or hunger sake; but we that are prodigall both of our owne and other mens bloud, trouble the seas, lanch our ships, commit our securitie to the waues, wish for faire windes, whose felicitie is to be carried speedily to warre. How farre haue our euils rauished vs that are euill? Is it a little matter for vs to play the fooles in our owne countrey? So the foolish Persian King sailed ouer into Greece, which he conquered not, although he couered the countrie with souldiers. So would *Alexander* enquire, when he was beyond the Bactrians and Indians, what was beyond that great sea, & would be angrie if he should leaue any thing behind him. Thus Couetousnesse will deliuer *Crassus* into the Parthians hands. He shall not feare the execrations of the Tribune that calleth him backe, nor the stormes of a long voyage, nor the lightnings which enuironing Euphrates, foretold him of his fall, nor the gods that made head against him; In spight of heauen and earth, he will runne and seeke out gold. It were therefore some reason, to say that Nature had greatly fauoured vs, if she had forbidden the windes to blow, to the end to bridle the forces of humane furie, by staying euery one in his owne countrie. For if there followed no other good, at least wise no man could be borne, but to doe euill to himselfe, and his owne. But now it is a small matter to play the mad-man at home, we must goe farre off, and torment others. There is no countrie so farre of vs, but it may send vs much miserie. Whether know I, whether any powerfull and vnknowne Prince, made proud with his owne greatnesse, shall sallie out of his owne countrie with armed hand? Or whether he riggeth some nauy, intending to cause some trouble? whence know I whether such or such a winde may bring armes against me? It were a great part of humane peace, if the seas were closed, yet can we not, as I said a little before, complaine against God our Creator, if we abuse his benefits, and make them contrarie vnto vs. He gaue the windes to keepe the temperature both of heauen and earth, to call forth and suppresse the waters, to nourish seeds, and fruits of trees; which the agitation of the windes, together with other assistance doe ripen, drawing nutriment to their vpper parts, and encreasing them, lest they should wither. He gaue the winds to know the furthermost parts of the earth. For man had beene an vnskilfull creature, and without great experience of things, if hee had beene shut vp within the confines of his owne countrie. He gaue the windes, to the end that the commodities of euery countrie might be common, not to the end they should carie legions and horsemen, nor transport men to pernicious warres. If we weigh the benefits of nature according to their deprauednesse that vse them, we haue receiued nothing but to our owne miserie. What profiteth it a man to see, to speake? Nay, whose life is not a torment? Thou shalt finde nothing of so manifest profit, which error cannot transferre to the contrarie. So Nature intended, that the windes should be

The strange vanities of Xerxes and Alexander.

To what sort men abuse the windes.

God is the author of good, how he neuer employes his blessings to the contrarie.

The wicked vse nothing but to their owne confusion.

be good, but we haue made them euill. There is not one but pusheth vs towards some euill. Euery one setteth saile to diuers ends and intentions, but no man aymeth at the iust cause; for diuers euill concupiscences make vs embarke, therefore we set saile to some euill end. *Plato* speaketh well to the purpose, and he it is, that must be produced before vs, as a witnes in the end of our daies, that wee prise our liues basely for things of small value. But (my deere *Lucillius*) if thou estimate their furie well, that is to say, our owne (for wee are of the company) thou wilt laugh; yet more when thou shalt bethinke thy selfe, that life is gotten by those things, wherein life is consumed.

A notable censure of our vanitie.

The End of the fifth Booke of the Naturall Questions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA,

DEDICATED TO LVCILLIVS

The sixth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of the motion of the earth.

CHAP. I.

The wonderfull earthquake that happened in Campania in Senecaes *time.*

IT hath beene heard by vs (my *Lucillius* the best of men) that Pompeias a renowned Citie in Campania, having on the one side the Surrentinian and Sabiane shores, on the other side the Herculan, and which the Sea begirteth with a pleasant gulfe, made as it were artificially, was shaken by an earthquake, not without the preiudice of those countries that bordered vpon the same: and that the same happened in Winter time, which as our auncestors assure vs, is exempt from such danger. This earthquake happened the fift day of February, when *Regulus* and *Virginius* were Consuls, which brought a marueylous ruine into Campania, which had beene neuer well assured from that danger: yet had it not before that time encountred with any such misfortune, and in great feares had beene oftentimes preserued; for a part of the Citie of Hercule is falne to the ground, and that which as yet standeth, is not well assured. The Colonie of the Nucernis also, as it hath not suffered some generall destruction, so is it not without complaint. Naples likewise hath priuately lost much, but publiquely nothing, being lightly touched with a great euill. As touching some scattered Farmes; they haue beene almost all of them shaken, but not offended by this earthquake. They adde hereunto, that sixe hundreth flockes of sheepe were strooken dead, and that statues haue beene riuen in sunder, and moreouer, that some persons lost their wits, and ranne about the streets like

The effect of this earthquake.

like mad men. The proceſſe of this enterpriſed worke, and the circumſtance of the ſeaſon require vs to examine the cauſes of theſe accidents. We ought to ſeeke out comfort for thoſe that are diſmayed, and extinguiſh mighty feare. For what ſecurity can a man promiſe himſelfe if the world it ſelfe be ſhaken, and the moſt ſolid parts thereof quake, if that which is wholly immoueable and ſetled, to the end it may ſuſtaine all other things on it bee ſhattered heere and there? If the earth looſeth that which ſhe hath propper in her, which is to be firme; whereupon may we aſſure our diſmay and feare? What retreat ſhal there be for our bodies? Whether ſhall they retire in danger, if feare iſſueth and be drawne from the bottom of the earth? All men are amazed with feare hearing the houſes cracke, and the ruine hath giuen a ſigne; then euery one flyeth headlong from the place, and forſaketh his home and houſhold-goods, and ſetleth himſelfe in the open fields. What retreate diſcouer we? What ſuccour appeareth if the world it ſelfe fall into ruine? If ſhe that keepeth and ſuſtaineth vs, whereon our Cities are builded, which ſome haue ſaid to be the foundation of the world ſinketh and trembleth? What ſupport, or rather what ſolace may a man hope for, when as feare it ſelfe hath loſt the meanes of flight? Is there any aſſured retreat or firme ſafegard, ſay I, eyther for a mans ſelfe or another? I may repulſe mine enemy from the breach; high Rampiers and Bulwarkes will ſtay great armies from approaching very eaſily. The heauens preſerue vs from ſhipwracke: the corners of our houſes reſiſt the violence of raging raines, and defence vs from the continuall fall of ſhowers: the fire followeth not thoſe that flie it: the houſes vnder ground, and deepe digged caues ſerue for a ſhelter againſt thunders and the threatnings of heauen. The lightning penetrateth not the earth, but is repulſed by a little obiect of the ſame. In the plague time a man may change his habitation. There is no euill but may be auoyded. Neuer did lightnings burne vp whole Nations. The peſtilent ayre hath deſolated Cities, but not deſtroyed them: this euill extendeth it ſelfe euery way, and is vnauoydably greedie, and publiquely harmefull. For it not onely deuoureth houſes, or families, or priuate Cities, but ouerturneth whole Nations and Regions, and ſometime couereth them in her ruines, ſometimes hideth them in a bottomleſſe gulfe of confuſion. Neyther leaueth it ſo much whereby it may appeare that that was at leaſtwiſe, which now is not. But the earth extendeth it ſelfe aboue noble Cities, without any appearance of the former condition: neyther want there ſome men that feare this kinde of death, more then any other, whereby both they and their houſes are ſwallowed vp, and are carried away aliue from the number of the liuing, as if all ſorts of death conducted vs not to one and the ſame end. Amongſt all other rites that nature pretendeth in iuſtice, this is the principall, that drawing neere vnto death we are all equall. There is no difference therfore whether a ſtone cruſh me, or a whole mountain ſmother me, whether the burthen of one houſe fall vpon me, or I breath my laſt vnder a little heape of the duſt thereof, or whether the whole earth hide my head; if I die by day and before all men, or if ſome obſcure and vaſt yawning of the earth couer me, if I fall alone into ſuch a bottomleſſe pit, or if many Nations keepe me companie. What care I if they make a great noyſe about me when I ſhall depart? The death is alwayes death in what part ſoeuer I meete it. Let vs therefore fortifie our courages againſt this ruine, which neyther can be auoyded nor preuented. Let vs liſten no more to thoſe men, who haue renounced Campania, and who after this accident haue forſaken the countrie, and vow that they will neuer viſit that Region againe; for who will promiſe them that this

There is nothing aſſured vnder heauen.

How vaine are the hopes which men apprehend amidſt ſo great incertainties.

Conſolations and remedies againſt the ſame.

this or that ground ſhall ſtand vpon better foundations. All places of the earth are of the ſame ſtuffe, and if as yet they are not moued, yet are they moueable: happily this night, or the day before this night ſhall deuide this place likewiſe, wherein thou liueſt more ſecurely. Whence wilt thou know that the condition of theſe places is better, on which fortune hath alreadie ſpent all her forces, and are aſſured for euer by the ruine which they haue ſuffered. We deceiue our ſelues if we thinke that there is any part of the earth exempt from this danger. All of them are ſubiect to the ſame law. Nature hath made nothing, which is not expoſed to change: this thing faileth at one time, and that at another. And euen as in great Cities, now this houſe, now that is ſuſpended; ſo in this world, now one Region is ſhaken, ſtraight another. Tyre in times paſt was defaced by ruines. Aſia loſt twelue Cities at once. The laſt yeare Achaia and Macedon haue beene endamaged with this euill (whatſoeuer it be) that hath now afflicted Campania. Fate maketh his circuit; and if for a time he forget ſome things, at laſt he reuiſiteth them. He afflicteth ſome more rarely, and others more often, but leaueth nothing exempt and free from euill: he muſtereth not vs onely that are men that haue but a little handfull of life, but Cities alſo, extents of countries, ſhores, and the Sea it ſelfe. Meane while we make our ſelues beleeue that theſe corruptible things are eternall, and beleeue that our good hap which we enioy, and which paſſeth away more lightly then the wind, ſhal haue ſome waight or ſtay in this or that. And they that promiſe themſelues that all things ſhal be perpetuall vnto them, cannot remember that the earth it ſelfe, on which we treade, is neyther firme nor ſtable: for this accident is not onely incident to Campania and Achaia, but to euery ground, to be brittle, and to be reſolued vpon diuers cauſes, and to be ruinated in part although the whole remaine.

All countries are expoſed to earthquakes.

CHAP. II.

WHat doe I? I had promiſed to ſet downe comforts againſt dangers, and beholde I denounce perrils euery way; I denie that there is any thing, which both cannot periſh nor cauſe ruine, which may be euer in eternall repoſe: but contrariwiſe, I maintaine alſo that this ought to ſerue for the greateſt aſſurance that may be found, becauſe a feare without remedie is a meere folly. Reaſon ſhaketh off wiſe-mens feare, imprudent men gather great ſecuritie in their deſperation. Think therefore that this is ſpoken vnto mankinde which was ſaid vnto thoſe men, who thorow a ſudden captiuitie ſtood amaſed amidſt the flame and the enemie.

The onely helpe to thoſe that are in thrall
Is conſted this, to hope no helpe at all.

If you will feare nothing, think that all things are to be feared: look about you, vpon how ſlight cauſes we are ſhaken and ouerturned. Neyther is our meate, nor our drinke, our watching, our ſleepe wholſome for vs, except it be in ſome meaſure: you ſee now that our bodies are vaine, fluid, infirme, and eaſily deſtroyed. Vndoubtedly this one danger were enough that the earths tremble, that they are inſtantly diſſipated, and ſwallow that which they themſelues ſuſtaine. He priſeth himſelfe very much, that feareth the lightning, the ſhaking and

The true aſſurance againſt dangers, is to remember that we are expoſed to dangers.

and openings of the earth, although the ſenſe of his owne infirmitie, make him feare his owne flegme. After this maner are we borne; hauing ſo happie members alotted vs, men growne to this greatnes, and for this cauſe, except the parts of the world be moued, except the heauens thunder, except the earth ſinke, we cannot periſh. A little paine, not of the whole finger but of one ſide of the naile of our little finger, or a chap killeth vs: and ſhall I feare the tremblings of the earth, whom a little thick ſpittle choketh? Shall I feare that the Sea ſhal breake from out his bounds, and that the flouds with a courſe more greater then accuſtomed, by aſſembling more waters ſhould attempt to drowne me. When as a potion hath ſtrangled ſome that ſlippeth downe the contrary way into the throat? What a fond thing is it to feare the Sea, when thou knoweſt that thou mayeſt periſh by a little drop? There is no greater ſolace and remedie againſt death, then to know that we muſt die; and againſt all dangers that enuiron and aſtoniſh vs, to remember that we beare an infinite number of perrils in our boſomes. For what madneſſe can there be more, then to ſwound when we heare it thunder, and to hide our ſelues vnder earth for feare of lightning? What is more fooliſh then to feare the ſudden fall and ouerthrow of mountaines, the ouerflowes of the Sea, being caſt without his bounds. When as death meeteth with vs in all places, and accoſteth vs on al ſides, and there is nothing ſo little, but is of ſufficient force to exterminate mankinde. Neyther ſhould theſe accidents confound vs, as if they contained in them more euill then an ordinary death: but contrariwiſe, ſince we muſt needs depart out of this life, and at one time or other breath our laſt, it ſhould be a contentment for vs to die by ſome notorious meanes. We muſt needs die ſometime, where ſoeuer it be. Although this earth that ſuſtaineth me remaineth firme, and containeth it ſelfe within his limits, and is not ſhaken by any incommoditie, yet ſhall ſhe couer me one day. What skils it then whether I couer my ſelfe, or that the earth of it ſelfe couer me? She openeth her ſelfe thorow the marueilous power of an vnknowne euill, ſhe yawneth and maketh me ſinke, and ſwalloweth me in her immeaſurable depth: What then? is it a more gentle death to die in the plaine? What cauſe haue I to complaine, if nature will not permit me to be buried in an ignoble place? and if ſhe caſt a part of her ſelfe ouer me? My friend *Vagellius* wrote very wittily in that worthy Verſe of his;

The ſmalleſt dangers being ſufficient to end vs, why ſhould we feare any whatſoeuer appearance offereth it ſelfe, the end is one.

If I muſt fall this thing wiſh I,
That I may fall downe from the skie.

The ſame will I ſay if I muſt die; let it be then when all the world is ſhaken, not that it is a thing lawfull to wiſh the ruine of the world, but becauſe it is a great ſolace againſt death, to ſee that all the earth muſt one day haue an end.

CHAP. III.

Of the naturall cauſes of earthquakes.

PHis likewiſe ſhall profite much, to preſume in minde that the gods doe none of theſe things, neyther that their indignation is the cauſe, whence proceedeth this agitation both of heauen and earth. Such accidents haue their cauſes; it is not by commandement that they rage thus, but euen as our bodies are afflicted with euill humours, ſo both heauen and earth haue certaine defaults, and euen then when

when they ſeeme to doe vs harme, they endamage themſelues. But becauſe we vnderſtand not the true cauſes, all accidents ſeeme terrible vnto vs, and becauſe they happen very ſeldome, we are thereby affrighted the more. Thoſe euills that are ordinarie are more eaſily endured, but thoſe that are extraordinarie, aſtoniſh the more. But why ſeemeth any thing a noueltie vnto vs? It is becauſe we comprehend nature by the eyes and not by reaſon, and thinke no waies on that which ſhee may doe, but only on that which ſhee hath done. Therefore are we worthily chaſtiſed for this negligence, being terrified by thoſe accidents which wee call new, when as indeede they are not, but only vnaccuſtomed. What then? Feele we not our mindes ſeized with religious feare, and finde we not the common ſort diſmaid, to ſee the Sunne looſe his light, or the Moone, (whoſe obſcuritie is more often) when ſhee hideth her ſelfe wholly, or in ſome part, and farre more if we ſee pillars of enflamed fire thwarting the aire; a greater part of the heauens on fire, if we ſee crinite Comets and diuers Sunnes, if we behold the ſtarres by day time, the ſodaine fires running from one part to an other, and leauing after them a great light? We behold none of theſe things without feare, and when as to be ignorant is the cauſe of feare, thinke you it a ſmall matter to be inſtructed how you ſhould not be affraid? How farre better were it therfore to ſeeke out the cauſes of theſe changes, by applying the minde diligently thereunto? For there cannot any one more worthy ſubiect be found out, wherein a man ſhould not only fixe his ſtudies, but ſpend them alſo.

Whence it commeth to paſſe, that wee eſteeme extraordinarie accidents for noueltie.

CHAP. IIII.

The cauſes of diuers tremblings, and yawnings of the earth, and other ſuch griefe accidents.

LEt vs therefore ſeeke out what the cauſe is which moueth the earth from her bottome to the top, that impelleth the waight of ſo maſſiue a body, what it is that hath ſo much force to bee able to lift vp ſo vnweldie a burthen, whence commeth it that ſometimes ſhee trembleth, and ſometimes being looſened ſincketh, now renteth her ſelfe into diuers parts, now appeareth long time open, ſometimes cloſeth her ſelfe ſodainly, preſently ſwalloweth vp great Riuers, anon after diſgorgeth new, diſcouereth in one place the veines of hot water, in an other cold: vomiteth ſometimes fire by a new vent of a Mountaine or Rock: other whiles choaketh and ſhuteth vp thoſe that had flamed and burned for the ſpace of many yeares. Shee moueth a thouſand miracles, produceth diuers changes, tranſporteth mountaines, maketh mountaines of plaines, ſwelleth vp the vallies, and raiſeth new Iſlands in the Sea. To know the cauſes of ſo many accidents, is a thing worthy to be diſcuſſed. But what commoditie ſaieſt thou will there grow hereby? The greateſt in this world, which is the knowledge of nature. Although the conſideration of this matter bringeth many commodities with it, yet containeth it nothing in it ſelfe more excellent then this, that the worthineſſe thereof wholly poſſeſſeth the minde that is fixed thereupon, and it is not the gaine, but the miracle that is obſerued therein that maketh it venerable. Let vs conſider then what the cauſe might be, why ſuch things happen, the contemplation whereof is ſo pleaſing vnto me, that although in times paſt, during my yonger yeares, I publiſhed a Treatiſe of earthquakes, yet had I a minde to trie and aſſay, whether age hath added any thing either to my knowledge or diligence.

What profit the ſearch into nature yeeldeth a man.

Diuers opinions of the cause of Earthquakes.

SOme haue thought that the cause of earthquakes was in the aire, some in the impressions of fire, some in the earth it selfe, and other-some in the aire. Some haue said that two or three of the elements were the cause, some haue imputed it to all. Some of these haue said that one of these in their knowledge was the cause thereof, but which they knew not: But now let vs examine euery particular. This before all things must I needes say, that the opinions of the ancients were both grosse and feeble. They wandered as yet about the truth. All things were new to those that spake of it first, but afterwards they were better polished and discouered, and if any thing be found out, yet for all that we ought to attribute and attribute the honour to them. It was the enterprise of a high vnderstanding, to diue into the secrets of nature, and not content to behold her outwardly, to contemplate her inwardly, and to descend into the secrets of the Gods. He hath helped very much in the finding it out, that hath hoped that he might find the same. Our ancients therefore are to be heard with some excuse: nothing is consummate in the beginning: neither in this thing only which is the greatest and most intricate of all others, wherein likewise when as much is performed, yet euery age shall finde what to doe: but in euery other businesse also, the beginnings were alwaies farre from perfection.

The ignorance of the ancients in this point of naturall philosophie.

CHAP. VI.

Whether water be the cause of Earthquakes.

IT hath not beene maintayned by one, nor after one manner, that the water is the cause of earthquakes. *Thales Milesius* is of the opinion, that all the earth floateth, and is carried aboue the water, whether it be that we call it the greater Ocean, or the great Sea, or any simple water of another nature, or a moist element. By this water, saith he, the earth is sustained as a great ship, which waigheth very much vpon the waters that beare it vp. It were a superfluous matter to set downe the reasons why he thinketh that the most waightiest part of the world cannot be sustained by the aire which is subtill and light: For the question is not now about the situation thereof, but of the trembling of the same. He alleageth for one of his reasons, that the waters are the cause of the quaking thereof, because that in all extraordinarie motions, there issue almost ordinarily some new fountaines: as it hapneth almost ordinarily by some ships, which if they be inclining to one side; and shew their keele aside-longs, gather water, which (if it happen that the burthen they beare be ouer-waighty) either spreadeth it selfe aboue, raiseth it selfe more higher towards the right, or towards the left. Wee neede no long answere to shew that this opinion is false. For if the water sustayned the earth, sometimes the whole earth should bee shaken, and haue continuall motion, neither should we wonder that it is agitated, but that it stayeth setled. She should not tremble in a part, but wholly; for neuer is a ship shaken to the halfes. But the earthquake is not of the whole, but a part only. How then can it be; that all that which is carried is not wholly agitated? if that which is not carried is agitated? But why appeare new waters? First of all the earth hath ofttimes trembled, and yet no new source hath euer discouered it selfe. Againe, if

The reasons alleged by Thales to proue this, with Senecaes answeres.

if for this cause the water brake forth, it would spreade it selfe on both sides of the earth, as we see it hapneth in Riuers, and in the Sea, that when the ships lie at roade, the increase of the waters appeareth, especially about the sides of the Vessell. Finally, there should not be so small an eruption made as he speaketh, and the pump should not yeeld water as it were by cleft, but a great deluge should be made as from an infinite water that beareth the earth.

CHAP. VII.

SOme haue imputed the motion of the earth to the water, but vpon a different cause: They say that diuers kinds of waters ruane throw the whole earth: and that in some place the waters are perpetuall, great and nauigable, although it rayneth not. On the one side Nilus is very great, and violent in the Summer time, on the other Danubius and the Rhine, passing thorow peaceable and hostile Countries, the one brideling the incursions of the Sarmatians, and separating Europe from Asia: the other repelling the Almaines which are a warlike Nation. Adde hereunto the spacious Lakes, the pooles enuironed by nations that know not one an other, the Matistes that neuer as yet ship hath thorowly sayled thorow, nor the inhabitants that border thereupon haue euer visited and searched. After this so many fountaines, so many sources, whence are vomited both from aboue and beneath the earth, so many Riuers in so great number. Besides these so many furious torrents, whose forces dure as little as they are sodaine and violent. Such is the nature and appearances of waters, especially of those that are in the earth. There likewise are diuers currents of maruallous swiftnesse, which spend themselues into bottomlesse pits; and others more gentill, which are spred abroade by spacious channells, where they flow peaceably without any noise. But who will denie, that they are contayned in vast receptacles, and that in diuers places they remayne in repose without stirring. I neede not long time insist vpon this proofe, that there are many waters there, where all are. For the earth would not suffice to produce so many floods if shee had not aboundance in store. This being thus, it must needes bee that sometimes a Riuer swelleth inwardly, and that in breaking his bounds hee runneth violently against that which resisteth him. By this meanes there shall bee some motion made of some part against which the floud inforceth it selfe, and against which it will beare, vntill such time as it hath a decrease. It may bee that the Riuer exceeding his bounds careth away some quarter of the Countrey, and carryeth with it a masse of the earth: which beginning to be dissolued, all the rest which is aboue is shaken and followeth after. But that man ouer-reacheth his eyes, and cannot extend his minde further then the bye of his body, that beleeueth not, that in the cauities of the earth there are gulfes of the spacious Sea? For I see not what thing may hinder, but that there is a shore vnder earth, and that by the chanells which are hidden vnder Sea, which therein it may bee haue as much and more place then those which wee see. The reason is that the earth and the sea, that is discouered to our sight, ought to bee as it were couered with so many Creatures as wee see. Contrariwise the Regions that are bidden, deserts, and without inhabitants, receiue the waters more freely, which nothing hindreth to flow, and to be agitated by those windes, by the whose

Other reasons of those who after Thales haue thought, that the water is the cause of the trembling of the earth.

whole ayre, and the whole distances of places. A storme being raised there, and more violent then ordinarie, may more rudely shake some portion of the earth which it encountreth with. For in our quarters likewise many places farre distant from the Sea, haue beene beaten with a sudden accesse and flould of the same; and the flould that is conceiued to come a farre off hath inuaded those countrey houses that are builded about vs. Vnder earth also the Sea may haue his ebbe and floate; which cannot be without some shaking of the earth, which is aboue the same.

CHAP. VIII.

He proueth that there are abundant waters vnder the earth.

IThinke that thou wilt not very much debate and doubt, whether there bee riuers and a sea hidden vnder ground: for from whence doe they issue, and come vnto vs, except that it be because the water is inclosed in his source? Tell mee when thou seest the course of the riuer Tigris stayed, and the water thereof dried vp by little and little, and not all at once, and lesse appeareth not; but that it is diminished vntill such time as it is wholly dryed, whether thinkest thou that it goeth, when as thou seest it issue, as violent, spacious, and deepe as it was in the beginning? And when thou seest the riuer Alphæus, which the Poets haue so much renowned, loose it selfe in Achaia, and after hauing trauersed the sea, discouer it selfe in Sicilie, where with a liuely source it passeth forward the pleasant fountaine of Arethusa, what thinkest thou? Knowest thou not that amongst the reports that are made of the Riuer of Nilus, and the ouerflow thereof in Summer time, that it is said that it issueth from the earth, & that it increaseth not by the waters of the ayre, but by those waters that spring from vnder the earth? I haue heard say by two Centurions, whom the Emperour *Nero* (a friend of all vertue, but aboue all of veritie) had sent to discouer the source of Nilus, that after a long iourney, accomplished by the assistance of the King of Æthiopia, who had recommended them to diuers other Kings, they came vnto certaine marishes of infinite extent, the inhabitants of which countrey knew not the end thereof, and no man durst promise himselfe to discouer the same, by reason that the heardes and waters were so tyed together, that it was impossible for a foreman to trauell: no lesse for a Boate, because the Marishes being full of mud and flags, could not beare the vessell wherein there was any more then one man. They adde moreouer, that they haue seene in Marishes two rocks, from whence the water falleth abundantly. But whether it be that such water be called the source or increase of Nilus, or that he hath his beginning there, or that he is deriued from farther places, thinkest thou that it mounteth not so to some great Lake vnder earth? It must needes be that these rockes haue their waters deriued from diuers places, and gathered vp on high, which discharge themselues in such abundance and so violently.

Nerues praise during the first yeares of his Empire, but how great alteration breedeth much authority, where the counselors are flatterers, religion paganisme, delight impiety?

CHAP. IX.

The examination of their opinion who hold that the fire is cause of earthquake.

THere be some that iudge fire to be the cause of this motion, yet consider they this cause in diuers fashions. Amongst the rest *Anaxagoras* thinketh that the ayre and the earth are almost shaken by the same cause. When as the winde which is inclosed vnder earth, breaketh the ayre which was thickened and formed in a cloude, with as great violence as the clouds which wee see are accustomed to breake, and that the fire by this entershocke of clouds, and by the course of the ayre, which is restrained within it, causeth lightning to issue. This ayre oppoſeth it selfe against all things it meeteth, which seeking a passage to issue forth, and teareth open all that which hindereth it, vntill such time that eyther it hath found a passage by some little hole to mount towards heauen, or that it hath gotten it by force and violence. Some say that the cause is in the fire, but they are not of opinion that it is for this reason, but for that being couered in diuers places, it burneth and consumeth all that which it meeteth withall. And if the things that are eaten thereby happen to fall, then is it that there followeth a disiunction of the parts, which are disfurnished of their stayes, and finally, a totall ruine, because nothing presenteth it selfe to sustaine the burthen. Then are the openings and vast yawaings of the earth discouered; or else when the partes of the same haue long time declined, they which remaine intire beginne to dissolue. We see the like hereof happen amongst vs as oftentimes as the fire hath taken holde of some quarter in the Citie, when as the beames and principals are burned, or that the maine tymbers that sustaine the house are sunke, then the house being shaken falleth to the ground, and so long time shrinke they, and are vncertaine, vntill they haue found some place to stay vpon.

CHAP. X.

The opinion of Anaximenes, that the earth is selfe is the cause of her motion.

ANaximenes saith, that the earth her selfe is the cause of her motion, neyther is there any thing extrinsecally that impelleth the same, but that into her, and from her fall certain parts which the water dissolueth, or the fire eateth, or the winde shaketh: but although these three cease, yet ceaseth she not to haue somthing, by meanes whereof this reuulsion and diminution is made. For first of all, all things decline by succession of time, and there is nothing that is exempted from the hands of age which ruinates the stronguest & most solid things. Euen as therfore in olde houses, some things fall although they are not strooken, when as they haue more waight vpon them then force to beare it: so falleth it out in this vniuersall bodie of the earth, that the partes thereof are dissolued by age, and being dissolued, fall and breede a trembling in the vpper parts. First, whilst they seperate themselues (for there is no great thing that is dissoyned without the motion of that whereunto it cleaueth) then when they are falne they rebound backe againe after the manner of a ball, which falling from on high vpon the earth, is many times strooken vp, and maketh diuers bounds. But if they happen to fall into some great poole, the water that is moued by

the fall maketh that tremble which is round about, and it is the waight that falleth from on him that causeth this present shocke, and that spreadeth it euerie wayes.

CHAP. XI.

Another opinion of those that thinke the earthquake is caused by fire.

THere are some that assigne this trembling to the fire, but otherwise; for when as in diuers places they are hote and boyling, it must needes be, that a mightie vapour is turned vp and downe without issue, which by the multiplication thereof reinforceth the ayre; which being animated & prouoked, riueth that which is opposite; but if it be more remisse it doth nothing else but moue. We see that water fometh when fire is put vnder it. That which this fire doth in this water, that is included in a straight and narrow vessell, by farre more we may thinke it may doe it, when with violence and great abundance, hee causeth great quantities of waters to boyle. Then agitateth hee by the vaporation of the waters that ouerflow, whatsoeuer he beateth vpon.

CHAP. XII.

Whether the winde be the cause of earthquakes.

MAny and the greatest learned men, are of the opinion that the winde is the cause of earthquakes. *Archelaus* who hath carefully examined the opinions of the auncients, saith thus: The windes are carried thorow the cauities of the earth, afterwards when all spaces of the same are filled, and that the ayre is thickned as much as may be, that winde that commeth after presseth and expresseth the former, and first of all by redoubled stroakes pusheth it forward, and finally casteth it out. This seeking for a place, runneth here and there, and enforceth it selfe to breake his bounds. Thus commeth it to passe that the earth is shaken by the winde, which striueth and seeketh for a passage to get out at; when as therefore an earthquake is like to follow, first there goeth before it a tranquillitie and calme of the aire, and the reason is, because the power and vertue which was accustomed to moue the windes, is detained vnder earth. And now likewise in this earthquake of Campania, although it were in Winter time, and in a troubled season; yet so it is that some dayes before it happened, the ayre was calme and peaceable. What then? Was there neuer earthquake when the windes blew? Very seldome haue two windes blowne at once: yet can it be, and it is wont to be; which if we admit, and that it appeareth that two windes may blow at once, why might it come to passe that the one should agitate the higher ayre, and the other the inferiour.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The firme opinion of Aristotle and others, that winde is the cause of earthquakes.

YOu may number amongst those of this opinion *Aristotle* and his scholler *Theophrastus*, a man not so excellent and diuine as the Græcians make him, yet of a pleasing, fluent, and vnaffected discourse. I will discouer vnto thee both their opinions: there is alwayes some euaporation from the earth, that is sometimes drie, sometimes intermixed with humiditie. This exhalation issuing from beneath, and carried vp as high as it might, when as she hath not a farther place by which she may finde issue, recoyleth backe againe, and enfoldeth her selfe in her selfe: and whilst the debate of the winde, which goeth and commeth, ouerturneth that which maketh head against her, be it that she remaineth enclosed, be it that she escapeth by narrow straights, she moueth earthquakes and thunders. *Strabo* is of the same opinion; a man who hath carefully addicted himselfe to this part of Philosophie, and hath diligently searched out the secrets of Nature. This is his opinion: Colde and heate are two opposites, and cannot be together, the colde slippeth in thither where the heat is absent; as contrariwise, the heate entereth that place whence the colde is driuen. This that I speake is true; but that both are driuen contrariwise, by this it appeareth. In Winter time when the colde is vpon the earth the Springs are warme, the Caues and all hidden places vnder earth are hot, because the heate is retired thither, giuing place vnto the colde that possesseth the vpper part. When the heate is thus entered into the lower partes, and hath insinuated it selfe as much as it may, the thicker it is the stronger it is. If a new heate come vnto it, the one being pressed by the other giueth place: the contrarie happeneth, when as the colde becomming more powerfull slippeth into the Caues. All the heate which at that time was hidden therein, giuing place vnto the colde, retireth it selfe into some narrow corner, and is moued, and inforceth it selfe with great violence; for the nature of them both admitteth no concord, neyther can they euer bide in one place. Flying therefore and striuing by all meanes to get out, he ouerthroweth, ruinateth and tosseth whatsoeuer he meeteth. Therefore before the earth is moued, men are accustomed to heare a kinde of whistling or murmure whilst the windes combate beneath, or otherwise, as our *Virgil* saith could not,

The earth waues vnder feet, the mountaines quake.

If the winde were not the cause hereof. There are likewise vicissitudes of this fight, and each hath his turne. The heate ceaseth to assemble it selfe, and to issue. Then is the colde represſed, and succeedeth to reinforce himselfe incontinently: when as therefore the force of heate and colde runneth and returneth often, and that the winde goeth and returneth here and there, then is it that the earth trembleth.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

The diuers causes of earthquakes by the meanes of wind.

THere are some that thinke that earth is shaken by the wind, and by no other meanes; but they imagine another cause then *Aristotle* did. And heare what they say. Our bodie is watered and moistened with bloud and spirit, which run here and there, thorow those passages that are deputed to those offices. But we haue som more narrow receptacles of the soule, by which she doth nothing else but wander, some more open and spacious, in which she is gathered together, and from whence she diuideth her selfe into parcels. So this great bodie of the earth is open to the waters that possesse the place of bloud, and to the windes, which a man may well call the soule. These two encounter in some place, in some place stay. But as in the bodie, as long as it is in health, the continuall beating of the arterie is measured, but if the health thereof be altered, the pulse is frequent and high, the signes and violent respirations, are the signes that the bodie is wearied and afflicted. In like sort when as the waters and the winds are in their naturall receptacles in the bodie of the earth, they haue no agitation aboue measure. But if there happen any disorder, at that time there is distemper, as in a sicke bodie, the wind that breathed along pleasantly, if it be stopped in the passage, agitateth his vaines. It followeth not therefore that the earth should be as the bodie of a liuing creature, as some doe pretend. For if it were so, it should be wholly agitated as a liuing creature is. And we our selues feele that feuor afflicteth not some parts of the bodie more gently then other some, but that shee runneth thorow all equally. Consider therefore, if it be not true that the wind entereth into the earth, replenished with aire round about, which as long as he hath free passage, stealeth along gently, if hee encounter with any thing that stoppeth his passage, first of all he is charged by the aire that presseth after hard at his backe, afterwards he flieth secretly by some crany, and the more eagerly dislodgeth he, the more straiter his passage is. This cannot be done without conflict, neither is there any combate without agitation. If he findeth not any clift to escape there, he gathereth himselfe together and beginneth to tempest, whirling vpwards and downwards, vntill such time as he hath ouerturned and suncke that which resisted him: if he be subtill, he is wonderously strong, and if he slideth thorow passages that are somewhat natrow, and that by his vertue he enlargeth and dissipateth all that where he entereth, then is the earth shaken. For either she openeth her selfe to giue passage to the winde, or after she hath giuen it, being destitute of foundation, shee seazeth and seateth her selfe in that cauity whereby she gaue him passage.

CHAP. XV.

The third opinion of earthquakes by force of wind.

THus some thinke: The earth is perforated in diuers places, neither hath she onely these first entrances and pores which she receiued as vents from her beginning, but casualtie hath bred many more in her. In some places the water hath enlarged all that earth which she had ouer her, the torrents haue eaten away some portion, the greatest heates haue cleft another. The winde entereth betwixt both, which if the sea hath included and driuen, neither suffered the flouds to go backward, then he being cut off both of his entrance and returne, tumbleth about. And because he cannot, according to his nature, tend directly, he shooteth vp himselfe on high, and reuerberateth the earth that presseth him.

CHAP. XVI.

The fourth opinion as touching the trembling of the earth by windes.

WE must also speake some thing as touching that which diuers Authors approue, and where it may be they will be found to be different. True it is that the earth is not without aire, and not only this aire which maintaineth the same, and tieth the parts thereof together, penetrating likewise thorow stones and other bodies without life: but also this vitall aire which quickeneth and nourisheth all things. If she had it not, how should she giue life to so many plants and seeds, which draw their vigor from no place els? How could she entertain and sustain so many diuers roots in her, the one of one fashion, the other of another; the one entertained in her vpper part, the others buried more deeper, if she had not much soule which engendreth so many and so diuers things, and nourisheth them by her inspiration and vertue? Hitherto haue I set downe but coniectures. All the heauens, that are enclosed and arounded with elementarie fire, all these innumerable numbers of the starres, all the celestiall bodies, and amongst the rest, the Sunne (shaping his course more neere vnto vs, and which is but twice as great as the globe of the earth) draw nourishment from the earth, and diuide it amongst them, being sustained by nothing else but terrestriall vapoures. This is their nourishment and feeding. But the earth could not nourish so many creatures, so ample and more greater then her selfe, if she were not full of a soule, that day and night is spread thorow all her parts. For it cannot be but that there remaineth very much in her, from whence there is so much both expected and gathered, and that which issueth forth should not be bred in his proper time. She should not haue continuall abundance of spirit to furnish so many celestiall bodies, if these things had not concurrence amongst themselues, and were not grounded and changed in some other thing. Yet of necessitie shee must abound and be full, and that shee furnish her selfe with it, which shee hath in store. There is no doubt then, but that much spirit is hidden therein, and that within the entrals of the earth there is a marueilous abundance of aire. This being so, that must needes follow, that that which is filled with a thing which is very moueable, should bee oftentimes remoued. Euery one knoweth that there is nothing more inconstant, stirring, and fleeting then the aire.

Senecaes opinion as touching the greatnesse of the Sunne.

CHAP. XVII.

A consequence drawne from the precedent discourse, and a proofe that the winde is the cause of the trembling of the earth.

IT is conuenient therefore that she exercise her nature, and that that which will alwaies be moued, should sometimes agitate and moue other things. When is this done? Then when her course is cut off and stayed. For as long as he is not intercepted, he stealeth along quietly and peaceably; but if he be resisted or restrained, he entereth into furie, and breaketh thorow all that which intercepteth him, euen as the Poet saith by the floud:

Araxes

Araxes that disdaines to beare a bridge.

As long as he hath an easie and free passage, he fleeteth along at pleasure, but if either by cunning or aduenture some stones are gathered together which stay his course, hee taketh occasion hereby to doe much mischiefe, and the more stones are opposed against him, the more forces findeth he. For all these flouds that come behind, and make the heape more high, being vnable to support themselues any more, ouerthrow all things in passing by, and slie along leuelling their streame with that they haue ouerthrowne, and those waues that fled before them. The same befalleth the winde: The more vigorous and swift it is, the more swiftly flieth it, and carrieth away with it, with greater violence, all that which either stoppeth or resisteth his passage. Thence commeth the earthquake, but in that part vnder which this conflict was made. That this which I haue spoken is true, it appeareth by this that followeth. Oft-times when there hath bin an earth-quake, if any part of the same hath beene shattered, the winde hath issued forth, and blowne for the space of diuers daies, as it fell out by report in that earthquake, whereof those of Chalcis were afflicted, which was described by *Asclepiodotus*, *Possidonius* scholler, in his booke of Naturall Questions. You shall finde in other Authors, that the earth being opened in a certaine place: anone after, there issued a winde, which vndoubtedly had made his way in that part from whence it blew.

The winde can neuer be stayed.

The conclusion of all the precedent discourse.

CHAP. XVIII.

In what sort the winde causeth the earth to tremble.

SO then the winde being by nature swift, and changing from place to place, is the greatest cause wherby the earth is moued. As long as this wind is impelled and lieth hidden in a void place, it remaineth calme, and doth no euill to that which enuironeth it; when as any externall or supernenient cause solliciteth him and chaseth him, and driueth him into a strait: yet for a while giueth he place and wandereth, but when as all occasion of escape is taken from him, and he is pressed on euery side then,

With a mightie murmure of the mountaine,
He furious runnes about his strait inclosure.

And after he hath long time beat against the same, hee teareth and scattereth it in pieces, showing himselfe the more violent, the longer that this debate hath lasted in his prison and enclosure. Afterwards when as he hath searched euery nooke of the place wherein he was restrained and could not escape, hee returneth towards that part, where he was most of all impact and closed, and then slideth he away by certaine secret places, which the earthquake hath a little opened, or passeth by some new breach. Behold how his extreame violence cannot be stayed, and there is no restraint sufficient to retaine him: for he breaketh all bounds, and carrieth with him euery burthen that is laid vpon him, and infused into those things that are more small and thinne, he prepareth himselfe a release and libertie by an inuincible power that is naturall vnto him, and running on head-long, establisheth himselfe in his rights. In a word, the winde is inuincible, neither is there any thing that,

May keepe in aire, or after imprisoning
The struggling winde by tempest thundring long.

Vndoubtedly the Poets, who haue discoursed of these tearmes, intended to speake of these couerts vnder ground, where the windes remaine inclosed. But they haue not comprehended, that that which is inclosed is not winde or aire, and that that which is the winde, cannot be enclosed. For the which is enclosed remaineth still, and is a statue of the aire. The winde appeareth not to be winde, but when it flieth. To these reasons a man may adde this also, which proueth that the windes is the cause of earthquakes, that is to say, that our bodies tremble not, except some cause doe shake the spirit, which being restrained by feare, weakened by age, the vaines decaying and shrinking, is arrested by cold, or when the accesse approcheth is cast out of his course. For as long as he floweth without hinderance, and floweth according to his accustomed manner, there is no shaking in the bodie. But if any thing happen that hindereth him from performing his office, then being scarce able to beare those things which he sustained by his vigor, in falling he shaketh all that which in his integritie he had supported.

A comparison taken from the body of man.

CHAP. XIX.

The opinion of Metrodorus vpon this point.

BVt we must needs giue eare to *Metrodorus Chius*, that will haue his opinion stand for law. For mine owne part I will not ouerslip those opinions I approue not, when as it is far better to present all, and rather to condemne that which we approue not, then to passe it vnder silence. What saith he then? Euen as his voice that singeth in a tunne, passeth and resoundeth in euery place with a certaine ecchо, and although it be not high, yet filleth it alwaies the tunne, not without noise and rebound of the same: So the capacitie and vastitie of the cauities, and holes that hang vnder ground haue their aire, which as soone as another that falleth from aboue hath stricken, maketh a noise, euen as the things that are voide, whereof I haue spoken, haue a resound, when any one crieth in them.

CHAP. XX.

The examination of their opinion who thinke that all the elements together, or the most part, are the cause of Earthquakes.

LEt vs now come vnto them, that haue said that all the Elements, or the greater part of those whereof we haue spoken, are the cause of earthquake. *Democritus* setteth them not downe all, but for the most part. For sometimes he saith that the wind is the cause, sometimes the water, and sometimes both; and this prosecuteth he after this manner. Some part of the earth is hollow, and in that there assembleth a great quantitie and abundance of water. Of this there is some part more subtill

As our *Virgil* saith. This should be the cause of this motion of succussion: now passe I ouer to the other cause.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the earthquake by inclination.

THe earth is of a rare nature, and hath much void in it. Thorow these parts and rarities the wind is carried, which when it is entered in some quantitie and findeth no issue, it shaketh the earth. This cause, if a troop of witnesses preuaileth any thing with thee, is pleasing vnto others, as I haue said a little before. This likewise doth *Callisthenes* approue a man of no smal reckoning. For he was a man of a noble mind, and such a one as could not endure a Princes insolencie. *Alexander* is defamed for euer, which neither his vertue, neither his felicity in warre can euer redeem. For as oftentimes as a man shal say, that he hath defeated diuers thousands of Barbarians: it will be opposed, and *Callisthenes* also. If any one saith *Alexander* killed *Darius*, who at that time was the greatest King of the earth: some will reply, and *Callisthenes* too. When some shall alleage that he conquered all that which he met withall, as farre as the bounds of the Ocean, on which he rigged new nauies, extending his Empire from the one corner of Thrace, as far as the furthest part of the East, it will be said that he slew *Callisthenes*. Although he hath surpassed all Princes, and precedent Captaines: the wrong which he offered *Callisthenes* was so great, that it blemisheth all his other exploits. This Philosopher then, in his bookes wherein he describeth how Helice and Buris haue beene deuoured by the waters: and what accident was the cause why the sea couered them, or why they were sucked vp, saith that which hath bin touched in the former part, that the winde entered the earth by some small and secret conduits in all parts, yea vnder the sea. Afterwards, when this course which it had held to enter, is stopped, and the water hath cloased vp behind him all other passage, he turneth here and there, and returning himselfe into himselfe, shaketh the earth. And therefore is it, that the places that border vpon the sea are oftentimes agitated: and the Poets haue assigned this power vnto *Neptune*. Whosoeuer vnderstandeth the Greeke tongue, knoweth that *Homer* surnameth him ἐννοσίγαιον, that is to say, Earth-shaker.

Callisthenes opinion.

CHAP. XXIIII.

In what manner the wind entreth into the earth, to cause it to tremble.

FOr mine owne part I am of this opinion that the wind is the cause of such an euill. I will only debate vpon one point, in what manner this winde entereth, if it bee by pores, so strait that the eye cannot obserue them, or if they are more greater, and open, and likewise whether they rise from the bottome or aboue the earth. This is incredible: For in our bodies likewise, the skinne repulseth the winde, which hath not entered, except by those passages, by which it is drawne, and being entertained by vs, cannot consist but in the most spacious part of the bodie, for it remaineth not amongst the nerues, and in the pulpe, but in the entrals, and the large retreat of our brests. A man may think as much of the earth, especially by reason that the shaking happeneth not aboue, nor about the surface of the earth, but from beneath, and proceedeth from the bottom. The proofe whereof

whereof is, that the deepest seas are agitated, when as that whereupon they are spred is moued: It is therefore likely to be true that the earth is agitated from the bottome, where the winde is formed in spacious dennes: Some will reply, that euen as after we are seised with great cold, a horror and trembling succeedeth, so the winde finding a passage outward causeth the earth to tremble. But this is impossible. For first of all the earth should of necessitie be subiect to this accesse of cold, to the end that the same might befall her as doth vs, who quiuer vpon an externall cause. I will not denie, but that there is something in the earth that hath some resemblance with that which hapneth in our bodies, but the causes are diuers. It must needs be some interior and deepe agitation, that shaketh the earth, as a man may gather euidently enough by this, because the earth hauing beene opened by a very great and terrible motion, such opening hath sometimes swallowed and sucked vp whole Cities, which no man hath seene afterwards. *Thucydides* writeth, that about the time that the war was in Peloponesus, al the Atlantique Island, or the most part thereof, was couered with waters. As much hapned in Sidonia, if thou beleeuest *Possidonius*. This matter needeth no witnesses: for we our selues remember, that the earth hauing beene opened by an inward earthquake, all the Countries were ruined, and the Champions perished: which I will now tell you how I thinke it hapneth.

CHAP. XXV.

How the earth is shaken by the winde.

WHen as the winde with great violence hath engulfed himselfe wholly in the cauities and void places of the earth, and that it beginneth to tempest in seeking an issue, it oftentimes beateth against the sides and places, wherein he is restrained, vpon which sometimes whole Cities are situated. And these at sometimes are in such sort shaken, that the houses that are builded thereupon fall vnto the ground. Sometimes the agitation is so violent, that the foundations and walls that sustayne all the rest of building, fall into this concauitie, in such sort as whole Cities sinke downe into a depth without end or measure. If thou wilt beleeue it, it is reported that the mountaine Ossa was ioyned to the mountayne Olympus, and was torne away by an earthquake in such sort, that the Mountayne, that beforetime was very thick, was diuided into two: and that at that time, the Riuer Peneus retyred himselfe, which dryed vp the Marishes that were discommodious to Thessalie, and carried with him those waters that were setled there without issue. Ladon, a Riuer that is betwixt Helis and Megalopolis, was caused to flow by an earthquake, what proue I by this? That the windes are gathered in spacious caues: for I can giue no other name to those voide places vnder earth. If it were otherwaies, the greater part of the earth should be shaken, where as now the earthquake extendeth it selfe neuer farther then two hundreth miles about. That whereof all the world talketh hath not passed Campania. At such time as Chalcis was shaken, Thebes remayned in quiet. Ægium was violently tossed, and Patrassa that was neare vnto it, heard nothing of it. That vast concussion that oppressed the two Cities of Helice and Buris, staid on the other side of Ægium, whereby it appeareth that the earthquake had as much extent as vnder earth those hollow places had, where the winde was encloſed.

The maruailous force of the winde.

How farre the earthquake extendeth.

CHAP. XXVI.

The examination of their opinions who hold the Egyptians, and the Iland of Delos were neuer ſhaken.

IF Could abuſe the authoritie of great men to proue this, who write that Egypt hath neuer trembled. And the reaſon they yeeld hereof is this; That it is wholly gathered and compoſed of mud. For (if we may giue credit to *Homer*) Pharos was ſo farre off from the Continent as a ſhip with full ſaile may reach in one dayes iournie: but now it is adioyned to the continent. For Nilus flowing with a troubled ſtreame, and bearing along with him much mud, and heaping it afterwards on thoſe other lands, that are vnited together, hath from yeare to yeare enlarged the Confines of Egypt. Thence is it that it is a fat and muddie ground, without any openings, but of a continued thicknes: the mud being become drie; which hath ſtopped vp and cimented all that ſtructure, and vnited all the parts of the ſame ſo well together, that no voide may come betweene, conſidering that alwaies that which is ſoft and moiſt, ioyneth it ſelfe with that which was ſolide. But I ſay that Egypt is ſubiect to trembling, and the Iſle of Delos likewiſe, although that *Virgil* willed them to ſtand;

He made th'inhabitants this fauour finde,
Neither to feare ſtrange earthquakes, nor ſtrange winde.

Theſe the Philoſophers likewiſe (a credulous Nation, according to *Pindarus*) ſaid to bee exempt from trembling: *Thucydides* writeth, that before time it had not beene agitated, but that about the time of the Peloponeſian warre it trembled. *Calliſthenes* ſaith, that it was at an other time. Amongſt many prodigies (ſaith hee) which denounced the ouer throw of Helice and Buris, there were two moſt notable, the one was a pillar of fire, of immeaſurable greatneſſe, the other the earthquake in Delos. The reaſon why he thinketh that Delos is firme, is, that being in the ſea it hath many hollow rocks and ſtones that are pierced through, which giue paſſage to the windes that are incloſed. He addeth, that by reaſon hereof the Iſlands are more aſſured, and the Cities alſo that are more nearer to the ſea. The Citie of Pompeias and Hercule haue felt, that this is falſe. Furthermore, all the ſea-coaſts are ſubiect to agitation. So Paphos hath oftentimes been ruined, and Nicopolis likewiſe too familiarly acquainted with this miſerie. A deepe ſea inuironeth Cyprus, yet is it ſhaken, and ſo is Tyre likewiſe: Hitherto haue we examined the cauſes why the earth trembleth.

CHAP. XXVII.

A diſcourſe vpon that ſheepe which were found dead in that earthquake, and of the cauſes of that accident.

BVt ſome particular accidents fell out in this earthquake of Campania, whereof I am to ſet downe ſome reaſons. For they ſay that ſix hundreth flock of ſheepe were killed in the Region of Pompeias. Thou haſt no cauſe to thinke that theſe ſheepe periſhed through feare, we haue ſaid that after great earthquakes, there ordinarily followeth a peſtilence: neither is this to be wondered at, becauſe many peſtilent things lie hidden in the depth. The aire it ſelfe, that is impriſoned in eternall obſcuritie, either by the intermiſſion of the earth, or by his owne idleneſſe, is pernicious vnto thoſe that ſuck the ſame, either being corrupted by the malignitie

nitie of hidden fires, when it is ſent from a farre off, it ſoileth and infecteth the other aire which is pure, and breedeth new ſickneſſes in them who breath the ſame; whereunto they haue not beene accuſtomed. Furthermore, there are certaine vnprofitable and peſtilent waters, hidden in the hollowes and ſecrets of the earth, and the cauſe why they are ſuch, is, becauſe they haue neither flux nor reflux, nor are beat vpon by any freer wind. Being then thus thick and couered with an obſcure miſt, they haue nothing in them that is not peſtilent, and contrarie to our bodies. The aire likewiſe that is intermixed with them, and that lyeth amidſt thoſe mariſhes when it rayſeth it ſelfe, ſpreadeth a generall corruption, and killeth thoſe that draw the ſame. But bruit beaſts and cattell feele this leaſt, on whom the plague the more greedier they are, raigneth more fiercely. The reaſon is, becauſe they remaine moſt often in open aire, and along by riuer ſides, which ordinarily draw more contagion. As touching ſheep, which are of a more tender nature, and haue their heads almoſt daily inclining towards the ground, I wonder not that they haue been attainted with this contagion, conſidering that they haue ſucked and gathered the breath of the infected aire from the earth. Such an aire had done more miſchiefe vnto men, had it iſſued in greater aboundance, but before it iſſued or was ſuckt vp by any man, it was choaked by aboundance of pure aire that breathed.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Why the ayre iſſuing from the hollow places of the earth is peſtilent and mortall.

THat the earth containeth many things both peſtilent and mortall, thou maiſt know, becauſe ſo many poiſons iſſue from it, not ſcattered by the hand, but of their owne accord, the ground containing in it the ſeedes both of good and euill. And why? are there not diuers places in Italie wherein by ſecret pores certaine venomous vapors are exhaled, that kill both man and beaſts if they draw neare them. The birds alſo if they light vpon it before it be tempered with a better aire, fall downe in their very flight, and their bodies become blew and ſwolne, euen as theſe humane bodies are, that are ſtrangled. This ſpirit as long as it is contayned in the earth, flowing through a ſmall and ſlender paſſage, hath no more power to kill any, but thoſe that looke into that, or willingly offer themſelues vnto it. But when as for many ages it hath beene hidden in darkneſſe, and thorow the malignitie and vice of the place hath gathered more corruption, the longer it ſtayeth there the more heauie it waxeth, and conſequently the more pernicious is it. But when it hath gotten an iſſue, it ſpreadeth that eternall venome; of ſhadie cold and infernall night, and infecteth the aire of our Region. For the beſt are ouer-come by the worſt. Then likewiſe that purer aire is tranſlated and changed into euill: whence proceede ſodaine and continuall deaths, and monſtrous ſickneſſes, as proceeding from new cauſes. The contagion continueth more or leſſe, according to the continuance and vehemencie of the earthquake, and ceaſeth not vntill the ſpacious extent of the heauens, and the agitation of the windes hath diſſipated thoſe venemous vapours.

CHAP. XXIX.

A consideration of an other accident as touching some that haue become insensate and stupid in these earthquakes.

IF a particular and slight feare maketh those that are attainted therewith to become senseless, and to runne about like fooles and desperate men, wee neede not wonder, if at such time as the world hath had an alarum, and Cities haue beene sunke, whole peoples swallowed vp, and the earth shaken, that some haue been seene tormented with sadnesse and feare, destitute of consolation, and driuen out of their wits. It is no gasing matter to haue a good sence in prosperitie or aduersitie. And therefore the milder spirits haue beene attainted with such feare, that they haue swounded. There is no man affraid that hindreth not his health in some sort: and whosoeuer is attainted with feare, resembleth a mad man rather then any other, but some recouer themselues sodainly, other some remayne troubled a longer time, and are as it were transported. Thence commeth it that during the warre time there are found so many fooles running about the streets; and neuer meet we with so many diuines and sooth-sayers, as when feare intermixed with Religion, attaynteth and seizeth mens braines. I wonder not that during this earthquake, a statue was diuided into two parts, and that the earth it selfe was rent from the top to the bottome.

Some say that earst the furie of a storme,
(So much can age and tract of many yeares
Transforme those thinges beneath in sundrie sorts.)
Did separate two places, which at first
Were but one soyle. The Sea pusht forth her waues:
And head-long flouds by force surpassing measure,
Did rent the strong Sicilian shores perforce
From Italie and his faire Continent,
And seuered with a straight and floating streame,
The fields and Cities from their former bounds.

Thou seest that there is nothing permanent in the estates of Cities and Peoples, when as one part of nature is moued by it selfe, or that a violent winde agitateth some Sea. For the effect of the parts as well as of the whole is marualious. For although it rageth in some parts, yet is it caused by the forces of the whole. So hath the Sea diuided and torne Spaine from Africa: and by the same inundation, so much testified by the most famous Poets: Sicilie hath beene separated from Italie. But sometimes those things haue most violence which come from beneath, for that is most furious that inforceth his passage through streights; we haue sufficiently declared both of the effects of the earthquake, and of the marualious euents that haue succeeded them.

CHAP. XXX.

How it may come to passe that a statue cleaueth in two by earthquake.

WHy therefore should a man bee amazed for this cause, that the brasse of one statue, which is neither solide, but hollow and thin, is broken? when as happily the spirit that seeketh issue is included in the same? But who is he that knoweth not this? wee haue seene houses tremble, and the ioynts and the timbers of the same open,

open, and afterwards close againe; contrariwise we haue seene some buildings that were not wel grounded at the first, and which the Carpenters had carelesly ioyned together, which being agitated by an earthquake, haue vnited themselues together in a better sort. And if it trieth in two, whole walls, and renteth wholehouses, and shaketh the walls of whole Towers which are solide, and ouer-turneth the foundations of the building, who is he that can finde any matter worthy of note, that a statue hath beene rent from the bottome to the top? But why continued the earthquake for diuers dayes? For Campania ceased not to tremble continually, sometimes more mildly then at other times, but with great hurt: because the earthquake shiuered that which had beene ouer-turned and shaken, which finding no stay or resting place, fell, and broke it selfe anew. All the winde had not as yet gotten issue, but had only deliuered ouer a part whilst the stronger part, that remayned, laboured to finde issue.

Why the quaking continueth diuers dayes.

CHAP. XXXI.

Why the first trembliings are almost the most violent.

AMongst those arguments whereby it is proued that these thinges are done by the winde: thou maiest without all doubt set downe this: when as there is a great earthquake past, whereby Cities and Countries are destroyed: there cannot an other follow the same that is equall with it, but after the greatest, the lighter motions follow, because the most violent haue giuen passage to those windes that encountred one an other. The remainder of these windes cannot doe so much, and doe not beat one vpon another, because they haue their way alreadie opened, and follow that way by which the greatest force is past. Moreouer I thinke that worthy memorie which a learned and honourable personage hath obserued, that being in the stoue to wash himselfe, hee vndoubtedly saw the pauements and stones, wherewith the house was paued, separate themselues the one from the other, and afterwards reunite themselues, and the water eating betweene the clefts, at such time as the tyles separated themselues one from another, boyled and foamed betweene them both, at such time as they closed themselues. I haue heard the same man report, that hee had seene soft things tremble more gently and oftner, then those of hard and solide nature.

CHAP. XXXII.

What resolutions we are to gather from these earth quakes.

AND thus much, my *Lucillius*, the best of men as touching the causes. Now come I to that which will fortifie our mindes, where it more concerneth to be confident then to bee learned. But the one is not done without the other. For resolution is no other-waies planted in the minde then by good arts, and the contemplation of nature. For whom will not this accident fortifie and confirme against all others: why then should I feare a man or a sauage beast? I am exposed to far greater dangers. Wee are assailed by Riuers, by Lands, and by the greatest parts of nature: we ought therefore to prouoke death with a mightie courage, whether he inuade vs by an equall and vast assault, or by a daily and ordinarie end: it makes no matter with what maske he be couered, nor how mightie the engine is that he draweth against vs, that which he demandeth at our handes is

The principall is a resolute and assured contempt of death.

the

the least matter. This shall old age take from vs, this the paine of an eare, this the corrupt aboundance of humours in vs, this meate which the stomack can hardly dis-iest; this a foot but slightly offended. The soule in man is but a small matter, but it is a mightie thing to contemne the soule. Hee that contemneth it shall with a quiet eye behold the enraged seas, although all the windes haue incensed the same, although the streame with some perturbation of the world, turne and arme all the Ocean against the earth. Hee shall securely behold the dreadful & horrid face of the lightning-heauen. Although the heauen breaketh it selfe, and mixeth his fires to ruine both himselfe, and all that is vnder him. He shall securely behold the yawning earth that riueth and renteth vnder him. Although those infernall Kingdomes should bee discouered, hee shall dreadlesse stand in the face of this confusion, and happily shall skip into the gulfe, into which he should fall. What care I how great the meanes be, by which I perish? when as to perish is no great matter? if therefore we will be happy, if we would not be vexed by the feare of men, of gods, or any things: if wee would despise fortune that promiseth vs vnnecessary things, and threatneth vs with trifles, if we will liue quietly, and debate for felicitie with the gods themselues, we must carrie our soules in our hands: whether it bee that ambushes would entrap, or sickneſſe assaile, or the enemies sword threaten, or the noise of falling Islands, or the ruine of the earth, or these great fires that consume Cities & Countries doe inuiron her, she will lay hold on, which soeuer of these dangers she listeth: what else should I doe but exhort her in her departure, and to send her away with all her goods? Goe forth couragiously, goe happily. Thinke it not strange to restore that which thou hast receiued. The question is not now of the things, but of the time. Thou doest that which thou oughtest to doe at an other time: neither desire thou death, neither feare it, beware thou step not back as if thou wert to depart into some place of euil: Nature that made thee, exspecteth thee, and a place farre better and secure. There the earth trembleth not, neither the windes combate one with an other, and burst the clouds with thundring noise, nor fire desolateth whole Countries and Cities, nor the feare of whole Nauies sucked vp by shipwrack, nor Armies ready to giue battell, nor a multitude of Souldiers running in furie to murther one another, nor the plague, nor fires kindled here and there, to burne the bodies both of great and small, into ashes. This is but a small matter: what feare we? Is death a grieuous matter? rather let it happen once, then threaten alwaies. Shall I be affraid to perish, when as the earth perisheth before me, and those things are shaken which shake others, and attempting to doe vs mischiefe, offence themselues? The sea hath swallowed vp Helice and Buris wholly: shall I be affraid for one little body? Ships saile ouer two Cities, yea two such as wee knew, which are reserued in our remembrance, by the meanes of that discourse which hath beene published of them. How many other Cities, in great number, haue beene swallowed vp in other places? how many Nations hath either the earth or sea deuoured. Shall I refuse mine end, when as I know that I am not without end? yea when I know that all things are finite: shall I feare the last breath or sigh. As much as thou canst therefore, my *Lucillius*, animate thy selfe against the feare of death. This is he that maketh vs humble, this is he that disquieteth and confoundeth that very life which he spareth. This is hee that maketh these earthquakes and lightnings greater then they bee. All which thou wilt endure constantly, if thou thinke that there is no difference betwixt a short and long time. They are hours which we loose: put case they be dayes, moneths, yeares; wee loose them because

Miserable effects caused by the ouer great apprehension of death.

cause they must be lost. What importeth it, I pray you, whether I attayne to such a yeare or no? The time fleeteth away, abandoning those that desire it so much: neither is that mine that either is to come or hath beene. I hang vpon the point of flying Time, and it is a great matter that it hath beene but a very moment. The wiseman *Lelius* answered very elegantly to a certaine man, that said, *I haue sixtie yeares of age*; speakest thou (saith hee) of these sixtie which thou hast not? neither hereby vnderstand we the condition of incomprehensible life, nor the chance of time which is neuer our owne, because wee make accompt of the yeares that are past. Let vs fixe this in our mindes, and let vs oftentimes say one vnto an other, we must die: when? what carest thou? Death is the law of nature; Death the tribute and office of mortall men, and the remedie of all euils; whosoeuer feareth it will wish for it. Setting aside all other things, my *Lucillius*, meditate on this only, least thou waxe afraid of the name of Death; make him familiar with thee by continuall meditation, that if the cause require thou maist step forth and meet it.

The End of the sixth Booke of the Naturall Questions.

OF NATVRALL QVESTIONS,

WRITTEN

BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA;

DEDICATED TO LVCILIVS

The seuenth Booke.

Wherein

He intreateth of Comets.

CHAP. I.

Nouelty rauisheth vs, ordinary matters are contemptible vnto vs.

THere is no man so slow, dul, and brutish, that listeth not his thoughts to behold diuine things, and fixeth not his whole minde vpon them, especially when as some new miracle appeareth in the heauens. For as long as nothing appeareth but that which is ordinarie, custom taketh away the greatnesse of things. For wee are so composed, that those things which we daily meete withall, passe by, although they be worthy of admiration: contrariwise, we take a singular pleasure to beholde the smallest trifles, if they haue any noueltie in them. This assembly therefore of starres, whereby the beauty of this immeasurable body is distinguished, inuiteth not the people to beholde them; but when as any thing is changed in some extraordinary manner, all mens eyes are fixed on heauen: no man gaseth at the Sunne except it be in the eclipse: no man obserueth the Moone except she be darkened. Then whole Cities crie out, and euery one being transported thorow vaine superstition, feareth in his owne behalfe. But how farre greater things are those, that the Sunne (if I may so speak it) hath as many degrees as it hath dayes, and firmeth the yeare by his course? that from the solstice he presently inclineth and giueth space vnto the nights, that he hideth the starres, that he burneth not the earth being farre more greater then the same, but nourisheth it by temperating his heate, by intentions and remissions,

missions, that he neuer filleth or obscureth the Moone but when she is opposite vnto him; yet respect we not these things as long as they continue in their order. If any thing be troubled or appeare contrary to custome, we behold it, we inquire of it, we shew it: so naturall a thing is it to admire at the newnesse, and not at the greatnesse of things. The same falleth out in Comets: if a rare fire appeare, and of an vnaccustomed figure there is no man that is not desirous to know what it is, and forgetting all other things he questioneth vpon this new accident, not knowing whether he ought to admire or feare. For many there are that will enkindle feare in other men, and walke about and presage that this fire threatneth some great mischiefe. They enquire therefore, and would needs know whether it be a prodigie or some starre in the heauen. But truely no man may eyther search after a thing more magnificent, nor learne a thing more profitable, then what the nature of the stars and planets is. Whether this contracted flame, which both our sight doth affirme, and that light which floweth from them, and that heat that descendeth from thence; or whether they are not flaming Orbes, but certaine solid and earthly bodies, which sliding thorow fierie tracts, draw their brightnesse and colour from them, not being cleere of themselues. Of which opinion many great men were, who beleeued that the stars were compact of a solid substance, and were nourished by forrain fire: for their flame, say they, would flie away except it had something that restrained it, and detained it, and being gathered and not vnited to a stable bodie, vndoubtedly the world by his stormines had dissipated it.

The application of this curiositie to the consideration of Comets

The modest search & examination of these fires is laudable.

CHAP. II.

FOr the better inuestigation hereof, it shall not be amisse to enquire whether Comets are of the same condition as the stars are. For they seeme to haue something common with them, their rising and setting, their resemblance likewise, although they spread and stretch themselues out longer: for they are as fierie and bright as the other. But if all starres were terrestriall exhalations, the Comets and starres should be alike: but if they be nought else but pure fire, and continue sixe moneths; neyther the continuall turning and swiftnesse of the heauen dissolueth them, they likewise may consist of a thin matter, neyther for all this be dissipated by the continuall course of heauen. To this point it appertaineth also to know if the heauen turneth the earth continuing fixed, or if the heauen is vnmoueable, and the earth turneth. For some there were that haue said that it is we whom nature insensibly turneth about, and that the rising and setting is not by the motion of the heauens, but that they rise and set. It is a thing worthy contemplation to know in what estate we are, if the place wherein we abide be fixed or turned, whether God causeth vs to turne, or causeth all things to turne about vs; but it is necessary for vs to haue a collection and knowledge of the auncient rising of Comets: for as yet their courses cannot be comprehended, by reason of their raritie, neyther can it be sought out whether they obserue their courses, and some due order produceth them to their certaine day. This obseruation of celestiall things is a noueltie, and but lately brought into Greece.

If Comets are of the same condition as other starrs.

A Paradox of the motion and turning of the earth about the heauens, reuiued in our time by Copernicus.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

DEMOCRITVS also the most subtlest amongst all the ancient Philosophers saith, that he suspecteth that there are diuers starres that runne, but neyther hath he set downe their number, nor their names, for as yet had he not comprehended the courses of the fiue Planets. *Eudoxus* was the first that brought the doctrine of these motions out of Egypt into Greece, yet speakes he nothing of Comets; whereby it appeareth that this part had not beene sufficiently laboured and sought into by the Egyptians, who had been the most curious obseruers of the heauens. After him *Conon* a diligent enquirer after these things, likewise gathered that these eclipses of the Sunne were obserued by the Egyptians: yet made he no mention of Comets, which he would not haue forgotten, if they had any waies made mention or giuen knowledge of them. Two onely amongst the Caldees, who are reported to haue studied this science, *Epigenes* and *Apollonius Myndius* a most cunning obseruer of the works of nature, differ amongst themselues: for the one saith that Comets by the Caldees are put amongst the number of wandering starres, and that their courses are well knowne. But *Epigenes* contrariwise saith that the Caldees haue no assured knowledge of Comets, but that in their iudgements they are kindled by some storme that is agitated and stirred in the ayre.

The ancient naturall Philosophers seemed ouer curious in obseruing comets.

CHAP. IIII.

AF first therefore thou thinkest it meete, we will set downe their opinions and refell them: This man thinkes that the starre of Saturne hath the most force vnto all the celestiall motions. This when as she presseth the neighbouring signe of *Mars*, or that she passeth into those that haue a vicinity with the Moone, or falleth into the beames of the Sunne, being by nature windie and colde, she closeth and thickneth the ayre in diuers parts. Afterwards, if she hath gathered into her selfe the beames of the Sunne, it thundereth and lightneth. If *Mars* sinoureth her likewise, it lightneth. Besides (saith he) the lightnings haue one matter, and the fulgurations another; for the euaporation of the water, and all other things which are moist, doth nought else but moue the lightnings, which doe nought else but moue threatnings; neyther succeedeth there any other euill. But the exhalation that mounteth from the earth, as being more hot and more drie produceth lightnings. But those beames and Torches which differ in no other thing amongst themselues but in greatnesse, are made after this manner: when as some globe of the ayre hath inclosed moyst and earthly things in that which we call a storme; whither soeuer it is carried it presenteth the forme of an extended fire, which continueth so long as the complexion of that ayre hath remained, carrying in it selfe much moyst and earthly matter.

Epigenes opinion as touching the meteors of fire.

CHAP. V.

An examination and diſtinct refutation of theſe opinions.

SO begin with the laſt lies: this is falſe that Torches and fierie beames are expreſſed by a ſtorme: for a ſtorme is formed, and rowleth neere vnto the earth; and therefore it pulleth vp ſhrubs by the roots, and whereſoeuer it inclineth, it maketh the ground naked, laying holde in the meane ſpace on woods and houſes, for the moſt part lower then the clouds, and yet neuer higher. But contrariwiſe, the pillars appeare in the higheſt region of the ayre, and conſequently they haue neuer reſiſted the clouds. Furthermore, a ſtorme preſſeth forward more violently beyond compariſon aboue any other cloude, and fulfilleth his courſe in a round. It likewiſe continueth not long time, but burſteth it ſelfe by his owne violence. But pillars of fire neyther rome, nor flie ouer as Torches doe, but abide in one place, and ſhine in the ſame part of the heauen. *Charimander* alſo in that booke which he wrote of Comets, ſaith, that *Anaxagoras* obſerued in the heauens a great and vnacuſtomed light of the greatneſſe of a huge pillar, and that it ſhined for many dayes. *Caliſthenes* teſtifieth that there appeared the like reſemblance of extended fire, before that *Buris* or *Helice* were hidden by the ſea. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that it was not a beame but a comet; but that by reaſon of the exceſſiue heate it appeared not to be ſcattered fire, but in proceſſe of time, when as now it burned leſſe, it preſented it ſelfe in the forme of a Comet: in which fire there were many things that were worthy to be noted, and yet nothing more then this, that when it ſhined in the heauens, the Sea preſently ouerflowed *Buris* and *Helice*. Did not therfore *Ariſtotle* beleeue, that not only that, but al other beames were Comets? This difference haue you, that in the one the fire was continuall, in the other ſcattered: for pillars haue an equall flame, neyther intermitted or failing in any place, and coacted in the vttermoſt parts thereof, ſuch as that was whereof I ſpake of late, according to *Caliſthenes* opinion.

CHAP. VI.

Two ſorts of Comets, according to Epigenes, and of their cauſes.

EPIGENES ſaith there are two ſorts of Comets; the one on euery ſide powre forth their heat, and change not their place; others extend their ſcattered fire in one place like haire, and trauerſe the ſtars, where two ſuch haue appeared in our time. Theſe former are crinite, and euery wayes likewiſe immoueable, yet are they for the moſt part lower, & compoſed of the ſame cauſes, as pillars and torches are from the intemperature of the troubled ayre, which carries with it ſelf many moiſt and drie exhalations that are raiſed from the earth. For the winde that ſlides thorow theſe ſtraits may inflame the ayre aboue, ful of nutriment, fit for fire, and afterwards driue it backeward from the place where it is calmeſt, for feare leſt through ſome cauſe it ſhould returne and grow faint, and anon after ſhould come to raiſe it ſelfe, and enkindle the fire where it was. For we ſee that the winds after ſome certain daies, return vnto the ſame place whence they firſt iſſued. The raines alſo, and other kindes of tempeſts, returne vnto their point and aſſignation. But to expreſſe his intent in a few wordes, he thinketh that Comets are made in the ſame ſort, as fires that are caſt out by ſtormes; this only is the difference, that the ſtormes fall from on high vpon the earth, and theſe fires raiſe themſelues from the earth vnto the heauens.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The winde is no cauſe of Comets, as Epigenes thinketh.

MAnie things are ſpoken againſt theſe; firſt, if the winde were the cauſe, a Comet ſhould neuer appeare without winde, but now it appeareth euen in the calmeſt ayre. Againe, if it were cauſed by winde, it ſhould fall with the winde: and if it beganne with the winde it ſhould increaſe with the winde, and the more fiery ſhould it be, the more violent the winde was. To this adde that likewiſe: The winde impelleth many parts of the ayre; but a Comet appeareth in one place: the winde mounteth not vp on high; but Comets are ſeene very high aboue the windes. After this he paſſeth ouer to thoſe, which as he ſaith, haue a more certaine reſemblance of ſtars, which goe forward, and paſſe the ſignes in the Zodiaque. Theſe, ſaith he, are made of the ſame cauſes as the other that are lower: in this onely they differ, that the exhalations of the earth, carrying many drie things with them, aſcend to the higher part, and by the North wind are driuen into the vpper part of heauen. Againe, if the North winde did driue them, they ſhould be alwayes driuen to the Southward, againſt which the North winde bloweth. But they haue diuers ſtations, ſome goe towards the Eaſt, ſome towards the Weſt, and all in turning, which way the winde would not giue. Againe, if the violence of the North winde, lifted them vp from the earth vnto the heauens, Comets ſhould not riſe with any other windes; but they riſe.

CHAP. VIII.

Stormes are not the cauſe of Comets.

DEvt now let vs refell that reaſon of his (for he vſeth them both). All that which the earth hath exhaled, eyther drie or moyſt, comming to ioyne in one, the diſcord that happeneth betweene theſe bodies, maketh the ayre become ſtormie. The vehemencie then of that turning winde enkindleth by his courſe, and rayſeth vp on high, that which it holdeth incloſed in it ſelfe, and the brightneſſe of the fire that is incloſed dureth as long time as the exhalation, whereby he is entertained, which beginning to decreaſe, the fire decreaſeth likewiſe. He that ſaid this, conſidered not what the courſe of ſtorms & Comets is. That of ſtorms is headlong and violent, and ſwifter then the winds: that of the Comets is more milde, and no man can diſcouer what way they make in foure and twenty howers. Furthermore, the motion of ſtormes is inconſtant, ſcattered, and turning: that of Comets is certain, and keepeth one ſetled courſe. Would any one of vs thinke that the winde carrieth away, or that the ſtorme cauſeth the Moone to turne, or elſe the fiue wandering ſtars? Nothing leſſe in my iudgement. And why? Becauſe their courſe is neyther troubled nor ſuſpended. Let vs transferre the ſame vnto Comets. They moue not confuſedly or tumultuouſly, ſo as any man ſhould beleeue that they are impelled by turbulent and inconſtant cauſes. And againe, although theſe ſtorms might embrace the exhalations of earth & water, & afterwards lift them vp from beneath vpwards, yet ſhould they not make them mount aboue the Moone. All their carriage extendeth no farther then the clouds. But we ſee that comets are intermixed with the ſtars, & ſlide along the ſuperior parts. It is not therfore likely, that in ſo great ſpace a ſtorm of winde may continue, the which as it is moſt violent, the ſooner takes it an end.

CHAP. IX.

The continuation of the refutation contayned in the former chapter.

LEt him chooſe which of theſe two he liſt: if it be a light ſtorme it cannot diſcend from ſo high, if it be a violent and ſudden ſtorme, it will break it ſelfe the ſooner. Moreouer, theſe lower comets mount not ſo high as ſome think, by reaſon that they haue more waighty matter then the reſt. This waight hindreth them from mounting. Contrariwiſe, it muſt neceſſarily follow that the comets that are higheſt, and are of longeſt continuance haue a matter more ſolid then the lower. They likewiſe could not continue longer except ſome more ſtronger nutriment maintained them. I ſaid not long ſince that a ſtorme could not endure long, nor raiſe it ſelfe aboue the Moone, nor as far as the ſtars: for a ſtorme is raiſed by a conflict of diuers windes one with another. This conflict cannot be of long continuance: for an vncertaine winde hauing ſtrugled with the reſt, finally, the victory remaineth to that which is the ſtrongeſt. But no violent tempeſt laſteth long. The more headlong the tempeſts are, the leſſe time and continuance haue they: when the windes are in their full force, they incontinently begin to decline, and it muſt needs be that by their more earneſt vigor they ſhould tend to their diſſolution. So then no man euer ſaw a ſtrong ſtorme of winde continue longer then foure and twentie houres, no not an houre. The ſwiftneſſe thereof is wonderfull, and no leſſe wonderfull is the ſhortneſſe. Beſides this, he turneth with more greater violence and ſwiftneſſe about the earth: if it be high, it is leſſe headlong, by reaſon whereof it ſpreadeth it ſelfe. Adde hereunto now, that if it raiſed it ſelfe aboue the regions of the ayre, towards the heauens and ſtars, the motion of them, which whirleth about the whole frame would diſſolue and diſſipate the ſame: for what is it that turneth more ſwiftly then the motion of heauen? When the force of all the winds ſhould be aſſembled together, and the ſolid and firme ſtructure of the earth likewiſe, this motion could diſſipate all that, and conſequently in leſſe then nothing, ſhould make that parcell of intorted and confuſed aire to vaniſh.

CHAP. X.

He continueth his proofe, that ſtormes of the ayre cannot be the cauſe of the enkindling of Comets.

FVrthermore, the fire carried vp by the ſtorme could not continue long, if the ſtorme continued not, likewiſe: but what is more incredible then that a ſtorme ſhould laſt long? For one motion is ouercome by his contrary motion: for the place aboue the ayres hath his motion that carrieth the heauens.

And drawes the higher ſtarres with ſwifter turne,
And whirles them round about.

And if thou grant them ſome remiſſion, which can hardly be done in any ſort, what ſhall we ſay of comets that continue ſixe moneths? Againe, there ſhould be two motions in one place, the one of them diuine and continual, accompliſhing his work without intermiſſion, the other freſh & new, being ſhaken by the ſtorme. Of neceſſitie therfore, the one muſt be an impediment to the other. But the motion of the Moone, & the courſe of the other Planets, which are aboue, alwaies obſerue their time, neither ſtop they ouer, or ſtay they, nor giueth vs any

any ſuſpition of intermiſſion or let in their motion. It is an incredible thing that a ſtorme (which is a kinde of tempeſt extremely violent and impetuous) ſhould mount as high as mid-heauen, and whirle it ſelfe amongſt the ſpheares, whoſe courſe is ſo peaceable and gouerned. Put caſe that a ſtorme enkindleth a fire, and driueth it vp on high, or that it appeareth in a longer forme, yet think I that it muſt be ſuch as that is which cauſeth the fire. But the forme of a ſtorme is round, for it turneth in the ſame place, and is whirled about, after the manner of a cylinder that turneth and rouleth in it ſelfe: therefore the fire that is incloſed therein muſt be like vnto the ſame. But it is long and ſcattered, and no wayes like vnto that which is round.

CHAP. XI.

Comets appeare in diuers parts of heauen.

LEt vs leaue *Epigenes*, & examin other mens opinions, which before I begin to expound, this is firſt of all to be preſuppoſed, that Comets are not ſeen in one part of the heauen, nor in the Zodiak only, but appeare as well in the Eaſt as in the Weſt, yea, and oft-times about the North. Their forme is not one; for although the Grecians haue made a difference of thoſe whoſe flame hangeth downe after the manner of a beard, and of thoſe which on euery ſide of them ſpread their light as it were haire, and of thoſe whoſe fire extendeth and poureth it ſelfe out, but tendeth towards a head; yet are all theſe of the ſame note, and are rightly called Comets, whoſe formes when as they appeare after a long time, it is a hard matter to compare them one with another. At that very time when they appeare, all thoſe that beholde them are not of the ſame opinion in reſpect of their habitude, but euen as each of them hath eyther a ſharper or a duller ſight; ſo ſaith he that they are eyther cleerer or redder, or that their haires are drawn inwardly or ſcattered on the ſides. But whether there be any differences of them or no, yet muſt Comets be made by the ſame reaſon. One thing muſt remaine reſolued, that it is an extraordinary thing to ſee a new appearance of ſtars, that draw about them ſelues a ſcattered fire. Some one of the ancients allow of this reaſon, when as one of the wandring ſtars adioyneth it ſelfe to another, both their lights being confuſed into one, make an appearance of a longer ſtar: neyther doth this happen onely at ſuch time as one Planet toucheth another, but alſo when they approach, for the ſpace betweene them both is enlightned and inflamed both by the one and the other, and maketh a long fire.

Their qualitie is iudged by the obſcuritie or cleerenеſſe of our ſight.

CHAP. XII.

An anſwer vnto thoſe that thinke that Comets are formed by the approach and incountry of two Planets.

TO theſe we will anſwer thus; that there is a certaine number of moueable ſtars, and that at one time both they and Comets are wont to appeare; whereby it is manifeſt, that Comets are not cauſed by their coition and meeting, but are created of themſelues. It oft-times hapneth that a ſtar is found right vnderneath one of thoſe which is higheſt, and ſomtimes *Saturne* is aboue *Iupiter*, and *Mars* beholdeth in a right line both *Venus* and *Mercurie*. But for all this courſe and incountry the one with the other, a Comet is not therefore made, otherwiſe they ſhould be made euery yeare, for in euery yeare ſome ſtars meete together in

in one signe, if one Planet drawing neere or aboue another, did make a comet, it should cease to be in the same instant, for the Planets passe suddenly. And therfore is it, that the eclipse of the Planets dureth not long time, because the same course that brought them together carrieth them away swiftly. We see that in a very little space of time the eclipses both of Sunne and Moone take an end. Those of the other Planets likewise which are lesse, ought likewise to continue lesse. But there are certaine comets that endure sixe moneths, which would not come to passe, if they were produced by coniunction of two planets, which cannot long time subsist together; but that the lawe of necessitie must needes separate them. Besides, these planets seeme neere neighbours one vnto another, yet are they separated by huge distances. How then may one planet dart out fire vnto another, in such sort as both of them seeme but one, when as there is so great a distance betweene them? The light (saith he) of two stars is intermixed, and present a forme of one: in no other sort then when as by meeting with the Sunne, a cloud becommeth red, as the euenings and the mornings are yellow, and as sometimes or other we see the Arch of the Sunne. All these first of all are caused by great force: for it is the Sun that enkindleth these, the stars haue not the same power. Againe, none of these appeare but vnder the Moone, and neere vnto the earth. The superior bodies are pure and sincere, & neuer change their colour. Besides, if any such thing should happen it should not endure, but should be extinguished suddenly, as crownes are which begirt the Sunne or Moone, and vanish a little while after: neyther doth the Raine-bow continue long if any such thing were, wherby the middle space between two stars should be confused, they would as soone vanish out of sight, or if it continued it should not be so long as the comets endure. The planets shape their course in the circle of the Zodiacke, but the comets appeare in all the parts of the heauen. As touching the time of their apparition, it is no more certaine then the place wherein they are confined.

CHAP. XIII.

An influence of Artemidorus to maintaine his opinion, and the answer to the same.

THis is alleged by *Artemidorus* against that which is said before, that not onely the fiue stars do run, but that they are obserued alone, yet that innumerable starres, that are carried in secret, eyther vnknowne vnto vs by reason of the obscuritie of their light, or by reason of such a position of their circles, that then at length they are seene when they are come to their period or end. Therfore, as he saith, some stars run between, which are new vnto vs, which intermix their light with those that are fixed, and extend their fire far mort then other stars are accustomed: this is the slightest of his fictions, for all his discourses of the world are impudent lies: for if we beleeue him, the heauen that we see is most solid, and hardned after the manner of a tyle, and of a deepe and thicke bodie, which was made of Atomes congested and gathered together. The next surface vnto this is fiery, so compact that it neither can be dissolued or vitiated, yet hath it som vents and windows, by which the fires enter from the exterior part of the heauen, which are not so large that they may trouble it inwardly, whence again they steale and slip forth. These therefore which appeared contrarie to custome, flowed and had their influence from that matter, that lay on each side of the world. To answer these questions, what other thing is it, then to exercise the hand, and to cast a mans armes into the winde?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

An exact refutation of Artemidorus his Paradoxes.

Another Paradox inclosed in diuers absurdities.

SEt would I haue this man tell me who hath laid such thicke planchars on the heauen, what reason there is that we should beleeue him that the heauen is of this thicknesse. What is the cause he should cary so many solid bodies thither, and detaine them there? Againe, that which is of so great thicknesse, must needs be of a great waight. How therefore may heauie things remaine suspended in the heauens. How commeth it to passe that this heauie burthen faileth not, and breaketh not himselfe through his waight? For it cannot be that the force of so great a burthen, as he setteth downe, should hang and depend on so slight staies. Neither can this likewise be spoken, that outwardly there are some supporters that vphold it from falling; nor likewise that in the middest there is any thing opposed, that might entertaine or containe such an impendent bodie. No man likewise dare be so bold as to say that the world is carried and whirled about infinitly, and that it falleth, but that it appeareth not whether it fall or no, because the precipitation thereof is eternall, hauing no end wherein it may terminate. Some haue spoken thus of the earth, when as they had found no reason why a waight should consist in the aire; It is alwayes falling, say they, but it appeareth not whether it fall or no, because, that is infinite into which it falleth. What is it then, whereby thou wilt proue that only fiue starres moue not, but that there are many, and in many regions of the world? Or if it be lawfull to answere this without any probable argument. What is the cause why some man should not say, that either all the stars are moued or none? Againe, that troope of stars that wander heere and there, helpe thee nothing. For the more they be, the oftner should they fall vpon others: but comets are rare, and for this cause are wonderfull. Moreouer, all ages will beare testimony against them, which haue both obserued the rising of those stars, and haue communicated them with posteritie.

CHAP. XV.

Examples to approue that one Comet cannot be made of diuers wandering stars.

AFter the death of *Demetrius* King of Syria, the father of *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, and a little before the warre in Achaia, there appeared a comet almost as great as the Sun. In the beginning it was a circle of red fire, sparkling with so great light, that it surmounted the obscuritie of the night. Afterwards this greatnesse began to diminish, and the brightnesse thereof to vanish. Finally, the Comet was wholly spent. How many wandering starres, thinke you, should haue beene ioyned together to make so great a bodie? Although a thousand had beene reduced into one Masse, yet could they not reflect so much light as the Sun doth. During the raigne of *Attalus* a Comet was seene, which in the beginning was but little, but afterwards it encreased, and extended, and lengthened out it selfe as farre as the Æquator, in such sort as it equalled (so long was the extent thereof) that part of the heauen which the Astronomers call the Milke-white way. How many wandering starres should there haue beene gotten together, to occupie with a continuall fire so long a tract of heauen?

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

The shameleſſe error and abſurditie of ſome Hiſtorians, taxed, and namely of Artemidorus.

WE haue ſpoken againſt the argument, now muſt we ſay ſomewhat againſt the witneſſes: we need not labour much to empouriſh the authoritie of *Ephirus*, he is an Hiſtorian. Some men get commendation by relating of incredible matters, and excite the Reader by ſome miracle, who would doe ſome other thing elſe, if he were but entertained by ordinarie matters. Some are credulous, and ſome negligent, ſome are circumuented, and ſome pleaſed with lies: the one auoid them not, the other deſire them. And this is common of the whole Nation, which as he thinketh cannot approue his worke; neither that it will be paſſable and vendible, except it hath ſome aſperſion of lies. But *Ephirus*, a man of no religious honeſtie or faith, is oft-times deceiued, and oftentimes deceiueth: as in this place, becauſe when as in this Comet, which all the world obſerued, drew after it the euent of a mightie matter, when as vpon the riſing therof it drowned Helice and Buris, hee ſaith that it diuided it ſelfe into two ſtarres, which beſides himſelfe no man teſtifieth. For who is he that could obſerue that moment, wherein the Comet was diſſolued, and diuided into two parts? And how if there be any man that hath ſeene a Comet diuided into two, is there no man that hath ſeene it made of two? And why added he not into what ſtarres it was diuided, whereas it muſt needs be ſome one of the fiue Planets.

Againſt Hiſtorians in title, and liers in effect.

CHAP. XVII.

The examination of Apollonius *Paradox, that there are many wandring comets.*

APOLLONIVS MINDIVS is of a contrary opinion, for he ſaith that a Comet is not made one out of diuers erraticall ſtarres, but that many Comets are erraticall. It is not a falſe appearance, nor an extended fire, by the vicinitie of two Planets, that maketh a Comet: her forme is not reſtrained in a round, but more high, and extended in length: yet hath it no manifeſt courſe, for it trauerſeth the higheſt part of heauen, and when as ſhe is at the loweſt of her courſe, ſhe is not ſeene. Neither are we to thinke that we ſaw the ſame in *Claudius* time, which appeared in *Auguſtus* dayes, nor that which appeared vnder *Nero Ceſar*, which hath enobled all the reſt; was like vnto that which appeared about the eleuenth houre of the day, when as men celebrated the ſports of mother *Venus*, after *Iulius Ceſar* had beene murthered. There are diuers Comets of diuers ſorts, of different greatnes and diſlike in colour: the one are red, without any clearenes, the other white, and of a pure and cleare brightneſſe, the other flaming obſcurely, and enuironed with thicke ſmoake. Some are bloudie, hideous, which preſage nothing elſe but murthers and maſſacres. Theſe either leſſen or encreaſe their light, as other celeſtiall fires doe in deſcending and approching more neere vnto vs, they ſhow more cleare and more great: leſſe and more obſcure in remounting, becauſe they withdraw themſelues further off.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

A difference betweene Comets and other celeſtiall fires.

HEreunto we forth with anſwere, that the ſame falleth not out in Comets, that happeneth in other Celeſtiall fires. For Comets, the very firſt day they appeare are at the greateſt. But they ſhould encreaſe the neerer they draw vnto vs: but now their firſt appearance continueth vntill ſuch time as they begin to bee extinguiſhed. Againe, that which was anſwered to the firſt, may be anſwered to this man likewiſe: if a Comet were a Planet, and had his courſe, it ſhould be moued within the bounds of the Zodiake, in which all other Planets ſhape their courſe. For neuer doth a ſtar appeare by a ſtar. Our ſight cannot penetrate thorow a ſtarre, to ſee thorow it, what is vnder it. But men ſee thorow a comet, as thorow a cloud, that which is vnderneath, whereby it appeareth that it is not a ſtar, but a light fire that is gathered in haſt.

CHAP. XIX.

Zenoes opinion according with Apollonius.

ZENO the Stoique is of this opinion, ſuppoſing that the ſtarres doe ranke themſelues, the one of them neere vnto the other, and intermix their beames, where there followeth an appearance of a long ſtar. By this reckoning diuers thinke that there are no comets, but that by reuerberation of the ſtars, which are one of them neere vnto the other, or by the coniunction of them that entertaine one another that is cauſed, which hath ſuch or ſuch appearance of a comet. Some maintaine that there are; but that they haue their particular courſes, and at the end of certaine yeares they appeare. Some other accord alſo that there are; but deny that they ought to be called ſtarres, becauſe they diminiſh by little and little, and continue not long, and vaniſh, as it were, in an inſtant.

CHAP. XX.

Seneaes opinion hereupon.

DIuers of our coat and fort are of the ſame opinion, neither thinke they that it repugneth againſt the truth: for we ſee diuers ſorts of fires that are formed in the aire, and ſometimes the heauen on fire, ſometimes long ſtreames of flame, then burning torches carried away ſwiftly, with a large fire: the lightnings alſo, although marvellouſly ſudden, in an inſtant dazle the eyes, and leaue there fires proceeding from the aire, that is cruſhed and violently beaten together. Therefore reſiſt they not, but being expreſſed, flow, and forthwith periſh. Other fires continue long, and vaniſh not, except firſt of all that aliment that nouriſhed them be conſumed. In this ranke are thoſe miracles that are written by *Poſſidonius*, burning pillars and bucklers, and other fierie impreſſions, notable by reaſon of their noueltie, which would not aſtoniſh mens minds, if they appeared according to cuſtome and nature. All men are amaſed that behold theſe, and be it that any fire either ſhine or ſhoot, be it that preſſing the aire, and by ſetting it on fire, it ſubſiſteth, and is reputed for ſome noueltie, euery one gazeth thereat, and ſuppoſeth it to be miraculous. What then? Hath not the heauen ſometimes opened,

ned, and a great clearenesse hath broken forth of the cauitie. Thou mightest exclaime: What is this?

I see the heauen depart it selfe in twaine
And scattered starres from thence shine forth againe.

Which sometimes haue shined before the night was expected, and haue broken forth at mid-day, but there is another reason hereof, why they appeare at an vnusuall time, which that they were, it is manifest euen then, when they were hidden. We see not many comets that are obscured by the Sunne-beames, in whose Eclipse, as *Possidonius* testifieth, there appeared a Comet, which the neighbouring Sunne had hidden. For oftentimes when the Sunne setteth, there are certaine scattered fires seene not farre of him: the cause is, because the greater light is spred in such sort ouer the lesser, that it may not be seene: But Comets escape the Sunne-beames.

CHAP. XXI.

That which the Stoiques teach, as touching Comets.

SO then the Stoickes hold that the Comets, such as are torches, trumpets, pillars, and other such wonders in the heauen are created of thicke aire. And therefore appeare they most often in the North, because in that place there is found much waightie aire. Why then is not a Comet fixed, but goeth forward? After the manner of fires, it followeth that which nourisheth it. For although by nature he inclineth vpwards, yet when it wanteth matter, it declineth into that aire, according as the matter thereof tendeth or bendeth it, either to the right or left part. For it hath no way, but such as the vaine of that which nourisheth it leadeth it, thither creepeth it; neither shapeth she her course as a starre, but is fed as fire is. Why then appeareth it a long time, and is not quickly extinguished? For that we beheld vnder the happie gouernmet of *Nero*, was seene for the space of six moneths, shaping a course altogether opposite to that which appeared in the time of *Claudius*. For that rising from the North vpwards, declined towards the East, alwaies more obscure. This began in the same part, but bending towards the West, declined towards the Southward, and then vanished out of sight. That in *Claudius* time had a quarter more moist, and more fit for inflamation, which she followed. That in *Neroes* time had a more spacious and furnished extent. They therefore descend thither, whither the matter that maintaineth them draweth them, and not their way: which appeareth to be diuers in those two which we beheld, whereas the one moued toward the right hand, the other towards the left. But all starres haue their course in the same part, that is to say, contrarie to that of the heauens, which turneth from the East to the West, and the starres quite contrarie: they haue therefore a double motion, that of their owne, and that of the heauens, that carrieth them.

Of two Comets that appeared in the time of Claudius *and* Nero.

CHAP. XXII.

The examination of the Stoicks opinion.

I Am not of the Stoiques opinion, for I think not that a comet is a sudden fire, but that it is to be reputed amongst one of the eternal workes of Nature. First of all, whatsoeuer the aire createth, are of short continuance, because they are made of a fleeting and mutable subiect. For how can any thing subsist long time in the same sort in the aire, when as the aire it selfe neuer remaineth like it selfe? It doth nothing but turn and flow, and hath very little rest. In a moments space it is changed into another state then it was in before: now is it faire, now rayny, then inconstant betweene both, for clouds are familiar with it, into which he gathereth himselfe, and from which hee is dissolued, which now assemble themselues, suddenly scatter, and neuer continue at rest. It cannot be that a settled fire should take his situation in a body so fleeting, and should cleaue vnto it so obstinatly, as if nature had so appropriated it, that it should neuer be seperated from it. Moreouer, if it alwayes remained annexed to that which entertaineth the same, it should neuer descend: for the neerer the aire approcheth to the earth, the thicker it is, and neuer doth a comet descend as far as the lower region of the aire, neither approcheth so neere vnto the earth. The fire likewise mounteth thither, whither his nature carieth him, that is to say, on high, or thither, whither the matter to which it cleaueth, or that it feedeth, draweth him.

CHAP. XXIII.

The difference betweene starres and Comets.

NO ordinary and celestiall fires haue an oblike way. Circular motion is the property of the starres, yet know I not whether any other comets haue done the like, twoin our age haue done it. A comet all that which is kindled by a temporall cause, is quickly extinguished. So doe torches burne in falling by, so lightnings haue their force for a flash, so those starres that are called transuerse and falling, slide ouer and cut the aire; no fires haue continuance but in their owne fire. Those diuine starres speake I of, which shall continue as long as the heauen it selfe, because they are parts and the workmanship there of. But these do something, they go, they infallibly follow their courses, and are equall. For they should euery other day become greater or lesse (if there fire were gathered and collected) sodainly enkindled vpon some cause: for it should be lesser or greater, accordingly as it should be abundantly or sparingly entertained. I said of late that there is nothing continuall which is inflamed by the corruption of the aire: now adde I further, it neither can abide or stand by any meanes. For both a torch, and lightning, and a shooting starre; and what soeuer fire is expressed by the aire, stayeth not in a place, neither appeareth but whileste it falleth. The comet hath her siege, whence she is not so soone chased, but shee finisheth her course in measure, and is not extinguished suddenly, but vadeth by little and little. If it were a whindering starre, saith he, it should be in the Zodiake. Who setteth one limb for the starres? Who drieueth diuine things into a strait? The Planets which thou only thinkest haue motion, haue diuers circles. Why therefore should there not be others, which might haue a way proper & peculiar from that of the Planets? what is the cause that the heauē is vnaccessible in some place? If thou thinkest that no Planet may passe the Zodiake, I say that a comet may haue his circle so large, that in some place he may enter into the Zodiaque. This is not necessarie, but it may be.

That which is enflamed by the corruption of the aire cannot subsist.

Seneca seemeth to encline in some sort to this opinion, that a Comet is some kind of wandering starre.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The reasons that moue him to produce this Paradox.

CONsider whether this becommeth not the greatneſſe of heauen better that it bee diuided into ſeuerall courſes, then to imagine one only circle wherein all the Planets haue their courſe, and that the reſt remayne vnprofitable and idle. Beleeueſt thou that in this ſo great and faire body, amongſt innumerable ſtarres, which by their diuers beautie adorne and diſtinguiſh the night, nor ſuffering the ayre to remayne voide and improfitable, that there ſhould be but only fiue ſtarres, to whom it ſhould be lawfull to exerciſe themſelues, whilſt all the reſt ſtand, like a fixed and immoueable multitude? if any man enquire of me in this place, why therefore is not the courſe of theſe as well obſerued as of thoſe fiue ſtarres? To him I will anſwere, that we graunt that there are many things, but what they are we know not. All of vs will confeſſe, that each of vs hath a ſoule, by whoſe command we are impelled, and reuoked: but what this ſoule is which is the Ruler and Gouernour ouer vs, euery man is as farre from telling thee, as he is vncertaine where it is. Some will ſay that it is a ſpirit, an other that it is harmonie. That Man, a diuine thing, and like vnto God; This Man, a very ſubtill aire, and that other, an incorporeall facultie: neither will there want ſome that will call it bloud; other ſome, heat. So that a man cannot know the truth of other things, who as yet hath not the perfect knowledge of himſelfe.

CHAP. XXV.

That there is ſomewhat more in Comets then in other Meteors of fire.

WHy wonder we therefore that the Comets (which are a rare ſpectacle of heauen) are as yet vnreſtrained vnder certaine lawes, and that neither their beginnings nor endings are knowne, hauing not their returne, but after a long ſpace of time? There are not yet a thouſand and fiue hundreth yeares paſt ſince Greece

Numbred and named the light-ſome ſtarres.

and many Nations are there at this day who know not the heauen but by ſight, that as yet are ignorant why the Moone faileth, or ſuffereth an eclipſe: And theſe things amongſt vs likewiſe haue beene lately reduced to a certaintie. The time ſhall come that theſe things which are now hidden ſhall be diſcouered by Time, and the diligence of future Ages. One Age is ouer-ſhort to ſeeke out theſe ſecrets, and a mans whole age is required to be ſpent in the contemplation of heauen. Is it not a miſerie for vs that we deuide this little time wee haue to liue, betweene ſerious and friuolous occupations? There ſhall bee diuers ages therefore that ſhall cleare theſe difficulties: The time ſhall come wherein our Poſteritie ſhall wonder that we were ignorant of ſo manifeſt thinges: wee haue learned not long ſince in what time thoſe fiue Planets, which we perceiue, doe riſe and ſet, or ſtay, why they goe directly on, or recoile backward, and which holding ſo different courſes, conſtraine vs to be curious: Not many yeares ſince it hath beene ſhewed vs, if *Iupiter* riſeth, or ſetteth, or is retrograde; for ſo it is ſaid, when he retireth. There haue been ſome that haue ſaid vnto vs: you erre, that iudge that any ſtarre either ſuppreſſeth, or turneth his courſe. Celeſtiall bodies

One Age cannot know all things.

dies haue their motion, neither can they be auerted, they all goe forward, as ſoone as they are ſent, they goe. They ſhall bee no more when they ceaſe to moue. This eternall worke hath irreuocable motions: which if they ſhould at any time ſtay, the one ſhould bee confounded in the other, where as now the ſame tenure and equalitie conſerueth them.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the retrogradation of certain Planets.

WHence commeth it then that certaine Planets ſeeme to bee retrograde? The courſe of the Sunne impoſeth on them this appearance, of ſlow motion; beſides, the nature and ſite of their courſes and circles in ſuch ſort, that at ſometimes they deceiue their ſight that behold them. In this ſort, ſhips that ſaile with a fore-winde ſeeme not to ſtirre: The day will come when ſome one ſhall ſhew vs in what parts the Comets wander: why they obſerue ſo different a courſe from other ſtarres, what and how great they are: We content our ſelues with thoſe things that are found: Let thoſe that ſucceede vs manifeſt the truth likewiſe for their parts: We ſee not, ſaith he, any thing that is vnderneath the Planets. Our eyes pierce the Comets. Firſt, if this be ſo, it is not in that part where the celeſtiall body is of a thick and ſolide fire, but there, where there is a brightneſſe more rare, and in that part where the haires are ſcattered. Thou ſeeſt through the ſpaces of the fires, and not through them. All ſtarres (ſaith he) are round, all Comets are extended, whereby it appeareth that they are no ſtarres: but who will graunt thee this, that Comets are long? whereas naturally according as other celeſtiall bodies are, they are formed round, but it is their brightneſſe that extendeth it ſelfe. Euen as the Sunne ſpreadeth his beames farre and neare, and yet hath another forme then that which proceedeth from his beames: ſo the bodies of Comets are round, but their light appeareth more long, then that of the other ſtarres.

To maintain his opinion he anſwereth to an obiection that is made, that the Comets are more neerer the earth then the Planets and that they are of another forme.

CHAP. XXVII.

Another anſwer of Senecaes, to the obiection, that there is a difference betweene the light of the Comets and Planets.

WHy (ſaieſt thou?) Tell me firſt why the Moone receiueth a different light from that of the Sunne, when as ſhee receiueth the ſame from the Sunne? whence is it that ſhe is ſometimes red, and ſometimes pale? For what cauſe hath ſhe a leaden and darke colour, when ſhee is excluded from the ſight of the Sunne? make me vnderſtand why all the ſtarres haue a different appearance the one from the other, and haue no reſemblance with that of the Sunne. But as nothing hindereth them to be ſtarres, although they reſemble not, ſo nothing hindereth the Comets from being eternall, and of the ſame condition that the ſtarres are, although they haue not the ſame appearance. And why? the world it ſelfe, if thou conſider the ſame, is it not compoſed of diuers parts? whence is it that the ſunne is alwaies burning in the ſigne of *Leo*, and ſcorcheth the earth with exceſſiue heat, and that in *Aquarius* he calleth on the Winter, and cauſeth the Riuers to freeze? All this is but one ſunne, although his nature and effects are diuers: within a ſhort time after, he riſeth in the ſigne of *Aries*, and ſlowly ſtealeth on in that of *Libra*, yet both the one and the other ſigne is of the ſame nature, al-

though that in the one there is swift motion, and in the other slow progresse. Seest thou not how contrarie the elements are the one vnto the other. They are heauie and light, cold and hot, moist and drie. All the harmonie of the world is composed of discords. Thou denyest that a Comet is a starre, because the forme of the one is not answerable to that of the other. For thou seest how like that starre is that fulfilleth his course in thirtie yeares, to that which finisheth his within the space of twelue moneths; nature frameth not all her workes vpon one mold, but glorifieth her selfe in her varietie. Shee hath made some bodies greater, some more swift then others, some more violent, and some more tempered: There are some shee hath drawne from the troupe, to the end they should march apart and in sight, other some hath she put into companie: he is wholly ignorant of the power of nature, that thinketh not that it is lawfull for him to doe that sometimes which he doth often. She sheweth not Comets ordinarily, she attributeth them an other place, other times, and different motions from the rest: By these Comets he would embleazle the excellencie of his worke and the face of the Comet is more faire, then that it should be esteemed casuall, whether it be we obserue their extent, whether their more cleare brightnesse, and more ardent then others. But their face hath some worthy and notable thing in it, for it is not restrained and locked vp in a narrow roome, but is more large and spacious, and that comprehendeth that which diuers starres embrace.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Presage of Comets.

COmets signifie tempest, as *Aristotle* saith, and the intemperature of windes and raynes. Thinkest thou then that that, which presageth a thing to come is not a starre? For this is not in such sort a signe and presage of tempest as that is of rayne, when

Where boyling oile doth crack, and rotten mushromes growes.

Or as it is a signe that the sea will rage,

When Morcheus sport vpon the dryer coast,
And leaue the marshes where they haunted most:
And mounting hence forsakes his watrie shroudes,
And soares aloft aboue the highest cloudes.

But thus as the Equinoctiall presageth heat or the cold of the yeare, that runneth as the Chaldies say, that the starre that gouerneth on the birth-day, setteth and presageth the good or euill hap of men. But to the end thou maiest know that this is thus, the Comet threatneth not the earth with winde and raine sodainly, as *Aristotle* saith, but maketh all the whole yeare suspected: whereby it appeareth that a Comet hath not sodainly drawne presages to reflect them vpon that which shee meeteth withall, but shee hath them in reseruation, and comprehended by the lawes of the world: The Comet that appeared during the Consulship of *Paterculus*, and *Vopiscus*, accomplished that which was foretold by *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus*: For there were great and continuall tempests euery where. But in Achaia and Macedon the Cities were ruined by earthquake. Their slow motion (saith *Aristotle*) sheweth that they are waightie, and haue much earthly exhalation in them: Their course likewise for almost ordinarily they are pushed towards the Poles.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

Senecaes opinion of that which is contayned in the former chapter.

DOth the one and the other is false, I will first speake of the former, why those things that are carried more heauily are more waighty? what then? Is the Planet of *Saturne*, which of all others shapeth his course more slowly, heauie? But it is a signe of leuitie in it, that it is aboue the rest. But she goeth about with a longer compasse, in the moneth more slowly, but longer then the rest. Remember thy selfe that I may say as much of Comets, although their course be more slow. But it is a lie to say they goe more slowly, for this last hath trauersed the halfe of the heauens in sixe moneths space: The former shaped his course in lesse time. But because that Comets are waightie, they are carried more low. First, that which is carried circularly, hath not a course in straight angle. Afterwards, this last beganne his motion in the North, and came by the West vnto the South, then raising her course vanished. The other vnder *Claudianus* appeared first in the North, and ceased not to raise it selfe continually on, and vntill it was extinct. Hetherto haue I proposed other mens reasons, or mine owne, in respect of Comets: which, whether they be true or no, the Gods know, who haue the knowledge of truth. For vs it is lawfull to censure and conecture vpon them in secret only, not with any confidence to finde them out, but yet with some hope.

CHAP. XXX.

The vse of the doctrine of Comets.

ARISTOTLE speaketh worthily, that we ought neuer to be accompanied with more modestie, then when we speake of the Gods: if we enter the Temples with a good countenance; if we approch the Sacrifice with abased eyes; if wee cast our gownes ouer our faces; if wee compose our behauiour in the most humblest sort that may be: how much more ought we to doe this when we dispute of fixed and wandring starres, and of the nature of the Gods; auoiding carefully all rash, impudent, light, foolish, lying, and malicious speech? neither let vs wonder that those things are discouered lately, which lye hidden so deeply. It must needes concerne *Panætius* and those, that denie that a Comet is an ordinarie starre, affirming that it is but a vaine appearance to intreat more exactly, if euery moneth of the yeare be equally apt to produce Comets; if euery Region of the heauens be fit to entertaine them, if they may be conceiued euery where, whereas they may wander: and other questions, all which are taken away, when I say that they are no casuall fires, but interlaced in the heauens, which they bring not forth frequently, but moue them in secret. How many things are there besides Comets, that passe in secret, and neuer discouer themselues to mans eyes? For God hath not made all thinges subiect to humane sight. How little see wee of that which is enclosed in so great an Orbe? Euen he that manageth these things, who hath created them, who hath founded the World, and hath inclosed it about himselfe, and is the greater and better part of this his worke, is not subiect to our eyes, but is to be visited by our thoughts.

Senecaes answere to Panætius as touching Comets.

How God ought to be considered.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the weakenes of mans iudgmēt in the consideration and knowledge of celestiall things.

THere are many thinges besides, that are neare vnto the diuinitie, and haue a power that approcheth neare vnto it, which are hidden, or happily which thou wilt more wonder at, haue filled our eyes, and fled from them, be it that their subtilitie is so great, as the apprehension of humane vnderstanding cānot reach therunto, or that so great a maiestie remaineth bidden in so sacred a retreat, gouerning his Kingdome, that is himselfe, without suffering any thing to approch him, but the soule of man: We cannot know, what this thing is, without which nothing is; and we wonder if some small fires are vnknowne vnto vs, wheras God which is the greatest part of the world, is not subiect to our vnderstanding? How many liuing creatures haue we first knowne in this world? and many things likewise are there, that the people of succeeding age shall know, which are vnknowne vnto vs. Many things are reserued for the ages to come, when as our memorie shall bee extinguished. The world is a little thing, except all men haue somewhat to obserue in it. Those thinges that are sacred are oftentimes taught. The Eleusians alwayes reserue some noueltie, to shew vnto those that reuisit them. Nature discouereth not her secrets at once: we thinke that we are exercised in them, but we are but poore Nouices. Thinges that are so hidden, are not the subiects and obiects of euery mans eyes: they are enclosed and shut vp in his most retyred sacrarie. The ages wherein wee are shall see somewhat, the succedent another part: why therefore shall these things bee brought into our knowledge. The greatest come slowly, especially when we cease to trauell after them. That which we wholly endeuour in our mindes, we haue not yet effected, which is to be most wicked: vices are but yet a learning: dissolution hath found some noueltie whereupon he may mad himselfe and doate. Impudicitie hath attracted some new thing to defame her selfe: The pompe and vanitie of this world hath inuented I know not what, more daintie and delicate then was accustomed, to confound it selfe: Wee are not as yet sufficiently effeminate, but extinguish by our disguises all that which remaineth of vertue: we will out-strip women in their vanities; we that are men, attire our selues in colours like Harlots, which modest Matrons would be ashamed to thinke vpon: We Bride it in our walkes, and treade vpon tip-toe; wee walke not, but slip along. Our fingers are loaden with rings, and there is not a ioynt that hath not a precious stone: We daily inuent, I know not what, to violate and vitiate manhood, and to defame it, because wee cannot shake it off. One hath cut off his members, another hath retyred himselfe into the most shamefull and infamous place in the Theater, and being hired to die, is armed with infamie. The poore man likewise hath found a subiect, wherein to exercise his infirmitie.

The wonders of the world are discouered from age to age.

Disorders not of Senecaes age but ours, wherein pride wanteth no ornament.

CHAP. XXXII.

His Conclusion is such, that he complaineth of the contempt of Philosophie, and the affectation of vanities, which if it be not a mischefe of this time, let euery wise man iudge.

WOndereſt thou that wiſdome hath not as yet attained her perfection? Iniquitie is not yet wholly discouered. Shee is but new borne, and we bestow all our labour vpon her, our eies and hands are at her seruice. Who is he that seeketh after wisedome? who iudgeth her worthy any more but a superficiall knowledge? who respecteth Philosophie or the liberall studie thereof, but when the Plaies and Pastimes are put downe, or when it rayneth, or when a man knoweth not how to loose the time? Therefore is it that so many schooles of the Philosophers are emptie. The old and new Academique haue no Reader left them: Who is he that will teach the precepts of *Pyrrhon*. The schoole of *Pithagoras*, whose scholers were so enuious, findes not a Master. The new sect of the *Sextians* more powerfull amongst the Romans, then any other, hauing begunne with great vehemencie, is extinguished in his infancie. Contrariwise, what care is there had that the name of some famous stage-player should not be obscured. The families of *Pylades* and *Batillus*, two famous Players, continueth by successions, there are diuers Scholers and a great number of Professors in those sciences. Priuately through the whole Citie their Pulpit soundeth: hether men and women trot. Both husbands and wiues contend which of them shall bee neareſt, afterwards hauing loſt all shame vnder their maskes, they enter into Tauernes, caring in no sort what becomes of Philosophie. So farre are we therefore from comprehending any of those things, which the ancients haue left in obscurtie, that for the most part most of their inuentions are forgotten. But vndoubtedly, when we shall trauell with all our power after it, if sober and modest, youth would studie this, if the elders would teach this, and then yonger learne it, yet scarcely should they sound the depth of it, where truth is placed, which now we seeke with idle hands and aboue the earth.

The End of the seuenth and last Booke of the Naturall Questions.

OF THE REST AND RETIREMENT OF A WISE-MAN.

WRITTEN BY LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA.

The Argument of IVSTVS LIPSIVS.

I Know not whether this be a Booke or an Epistle, yet is it to be seuered from the booke of blessed life, with which it hath no correspondence. Neyther know I when it was written, yet is both the matter and the handling thereof good and learned. The question was, Whether it were lawfull for a Wise-man to liue priuately and retired from the Common-weale? It was debated amongst the Stoickes, who by consent called men thereunto. He maintayneth the affirmatiue, and the beginning of this booke is missing, that which is extant intendeth thus much. He saith by the example of the chiefest of the Stoiques, that this is both iust and vsuall, who although they sent some vnto the Common-weale, yet went not. But that some embraced honest repose, euen from their youth, other some in their later dayes retired thither, like olde souldiers that had already deserued their wages. But that honest repose is in the studies of wisedome, and contemplation of Nature. He addeth this, that these are pleasing both to the Stoicks and Epicures, but with some slight difference, because the one doe purposely seeke out the rest, the other vpon occasion; Namely, if the Common-wealth be desperately corrupted, if a man haue small authoritie and fauour; likewise if he be infirme and sickely. Hee concludeth that euen in retirement the Common-weale is handled, which he maketh double, the lesser and the greater; the one is concluded and comprehended in certaine bonds and lawes, as the Athenian or Roman Common-weale: the other is the whole world it selfe, whereof nature hath made vs Citizens. The greater, a wise-man both manageth and handleth euen in his rest and retirement, eyther by writing

or

or teaching. This did ZENO *and* CHRISIPPVS, *and more profited they mankinde then the labours and discourses of all active men.*

OVT OF THE XXVII. CHAPTER.

THe Circi by all mens consent, commend vices vnto vs, although wee attempt nothing elſe that is profitable for vs, yet ſhall it profit our ſelues firſt of all to retire our ſelues into our ſelues: the better ſhall wee bee euery one of vs in retiring our ſelues apart, and why is it not lawfull for vs to retire our ſelues to thoſe that are the beſt men, and to chuſe ſome patterne whereby we may direct our liues? which may it not be done in retirement? Then may a man build on that which is the beſt, when no man commeth betweene, that may wreſt the iudgement which as yet is but weake, by the aſſiſtance of the people. Then may the life march onward with an equal and ſetled pace, which we make vnprofitable by contrary deliberations: for amongſt all other euils this is the worſt, that we change our vices into other vices, in ſuch ſort, as wee haue not that power ouer our ſelues to continue in one vice, which is alreadie familiar vnto vs: we grow from one vnto another, and cauſe our ſelues to bee tormented daily after ſome new maner. This likewiſe vexeth vs, that our iudgements are not onely depraued, but ſlight and vaine: we fluctuate and comprehend one thing by another, we leaue that which we haue wiſhed for, and runne after that which we haue forſaken. In briefe, there is a perpetuall turne and returne betweene our deſire and our repentance. For we depend wholly on other mens aduice, and that ſeemeth the beſt in our iudgement, which is deſired and praiſed by the moſt, and not that which we ought to deſire and eſteeme. Neither eſtimate we the good or euil way by it ſelfe, but only by that which is moſt beaten, wherein euery one throngeth after another. Thou wilt ſay vnto me, What dooſt thou *Seneca*? Thou forſakeſt thine owne part. Truly the Stoickes ſay thus: We will be in action euen vntill the laſt terme of our liues, wee will not deſiſt to ſeeke out common good, to helpe euery one, to aſſiſt our very enemies, and to labour with our hands: we are they that giue not any vacation to our yeares, and who, as an eloquent man ſaith, hide our white haires vnder our helmets. We are they amongſt whom it is ſo hard a matter to finde any tract of idleneſſe before death, that (if the occaſion offer it) euen in our death we employ our ſelues more then euer. Why talkeſt thou vnto vs of the precepts of *Epicurus* amidſt the very principles of *Zenoes* Doctrine? If thou be aggrieued, and moued by following one partie, why forſakeſt thou them not honeſtly and courageouſly without betraying them? Behold what for the preſent I will anſwer thee; Requireſt thou any more at my handes then this, that I endeuour to reſemble my Maſters and Conductors? What therefore wilt thou doe? I will tract that path which they leade me, and not that way which they ſend me.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIX.

NOw will I approue vnto thee that I forſake not the precepts of the Stoicks, for they themſelues haue not departed from them, and yet might I be very well excuſed, although I followed not their precepts but their examples. This which I ſay, will I diuide into two parts: in the firſt I wil ſhew how any man may from his infancie addict himſelfe entirely to the contemplation of vertue, ſeek and exerciſe apart, the means how to order his life wel. In the ſecond, how in his old age he may faſhion other men, and make them vertuous. Herein will I follow the cuſtome of the veſtall Virgins, which diuide and order their age in ſuch ſort, that they may learne firſt of all to vnderſtand their ceremonies, and then to practiſe them, and finally to teach them vnto others.

CHAP. XXX.

I Will alſo ſhew that this is approued by the Stoickes, not that I am conſtrained to doe nothing that repugneth againſt the ſaying of *Zeno* or *Chriſippus*, but becauſe the diſpute permittes me to incline to their aduice; and to follow alwaies the opinion of one alone, is to offer iniurie to the reſt. Gladly would I wiſh it that all things were alreadie vnderſtood, & that truth ſhould be diſcouered & confeſſed by all men, we would not then change the opinions of the Stoicks: but now we ſeeke the truth with thoſe men that teach the ſame. There are two great ſorts that differ in this thing, the one of the Epicures, the other of the Stoicks; but both of them ſend a man to his repoſe, but the truth is that the wayes are different. The Epicure ſaith, *That a wiſe-man ſhall not haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except ſome accident happen that driueth him thereunto.* And *Zeno* ſaith, *That he ſhall haue acceſſe to the Common-weale, except there be ſomewhat that retayneth him.* The one ſeeketh repoſe of ſet purpoſe, the other vpon occaſion and cauſe. But this cauſe extendeth very farre, if the Common-weale be ſo deſperate as it cannot be helped, if it be poſſeſſed with miſchiefs. The wiſe-man ſhall not labor in vain, neither hazard himſelfe, knowing that it will be but loſt time, eſpecially if he haue little credite and leſſe forces, and that the Common-weale be ſo ſicke, that it neither can nor will giue him acceſſe or audience. Euen as a weake and conſumed man will not enrowle himſelfe to goe vnto the warres; and as no man will lanch a Ship into the Sea that leaketh, and hath watching tymbers: ſo a wiſe-man will not caſt himſelfe into a way where there is neither entrie nor any iſſue whatſoeuer. He then that hath all his commidities in their entyre, may ſtay in the hauen, and addict himſelfe readily to good occupations, rather then make ſaile and to go and caſt himſelfe athwart the winds and waues; in briefe, the diſciple of vertues may embrace this happie repoſe, wherin the moſt peaceable men haue licence to maintaine themſelues. This is required at each mans hands, that (if he may doe it) he profit diuers, or leaſtwiſe ſom, if not his neereſt; or if he cannot, at leaſtwiſe himſelfe. For when he maketh himſelfe profitable to others, he procures the common good. As contrariwiſe, he that makes himſelfe worſe, firſt of all hurteth himſelfe, then all thoſe whom he might aſſiſt had he beene a good man. So then he that behaueth himſelfe well in his owne reſpect,

doth

doth hereby profit others, becauſe hee prepareth them the meanes whence they may reape profit.

CHAP. XXXI.

LEt vs imagine two Common-weales, the one great and truely publique, the which comprehendeth both gods and men: wherein we cannot confine our eye within this or that limit, but wee meaſure the extent of the ſame with the Sunne: and the other, that where Nature hath cauſed vs to be borne. This ſhall be either Athens, or Carthage, or ſome other Citie, which appertaineth not vnto me, but to certaine men only. Some men at one time ſerue both theſe Common-weales, other ſome the leſſer onely, and ſome other the great, and not the leſſe. We may in repoſe ſerue this greater Common-weale, & I know not whether better in contemplation then in action, as if we enquire what vertue is, or if there be but one or diuers; whether it be nature or ſtudie that maketh men vertuous: whether there be but one world that comprehendeth the ſeas, the firme lands, and that which is incloſed within them: or if God hath created diuers worlds, if the matter whereof all things are made, is continuate and compleate, or in parcels: if there be void intermixed amongſt thoſe things that are ſolid: if God onely beholdeth his worke, or if he manage and gouerneth it: if he be ſpred about the ſame, and not incloſed, or if he be infuſed into all creatures: if the world be corruptible or incorruptible, and to be numbred amongſt thoſe things that haue end. What ſeruice doth he to God, that beholdeth and conſidereth theſe things? It is to that end, that the workes of God ſhould haue ſuch a man for a witneſſe. We ſay vſually that the ſoueraigne good is to liue according to nature, which hath brought vs into this world, both for contemplation and action. Let vs now approue that which wee haue ſaid heretofore.

CHAP. XXXII.

THis ſhall be well approued, if euery one aske himſelfe how great deſire he hath had to know vnknowne things, and how much he liſteneth attentiuely to all fables that are recounted vnto him. Some trauell by ſea, and expoſe themſelues to the dangers of a long voyage, vnder hope to know ſome hidden things, and which few other men haue ſeene. The like deſire aſſembleth the people in the Theaters. This compelleth vs to ſearch out hidden things, and to ſearch out thoſe things that are ſecret, to turne ouer antiquities, and to examine the cuſtomes of forren Nations. Nature hath giuen vs a curious minde, and knowing the excellencie of her art and ſecret, hath created vs to be beholders of things ſo excellent. But ſhe had beene fruſtrated of her intention, had ſhe diſcouered in ſecret, workes of ſo great, ſo apparant, ſo exquiſitly laboured, ſo proper, and of ſo diuers beauties. But to the end thou mayeſt know that ſhe would be beheld euery wayes, and not couertly or ſlightly conſider where ſhe hath lodged vs. She hath placed vs in the middeſt of her ſelfe, and hath giuen vs the ouer-view of euery thing, and hath not onely created man vpright: but alſo to the end he might

might behold the riſing and ſetting of the ſtars, and carry his eies on euery ſide; ſhe hath raiſed his head, and planted it vpon his necke, which boweth and turneth at his pleaſure. Afterwards ſhe hath produced ſix ſignes for the day, and ſix for the night, and hath left no part of her vndiſcouered, to the end thereby that ſhe might preſent them to the eye, and enkindle a deſire in him to behold the reſt. For we ſee not all things alike, and as touching thoſe things which appeare vnto vs, we ſee them not in their greatneſſe: but our ſight in ſearching them maketh way, and planteth the foundations of the truth, to the end that inquiſition may paſſe from thoſe things that are manifeſt to thoſe that are obſcure, and find ſomewhat more ancient then the world it ſelfe. As, where theſe celeſtiall bodies come, what was the eſtate of the world, before the parts thereof was diſpoſed, as now they be: what reaſon hath diſcouered thoſe things that were drowned and confuſed, who hath aſſigned places vnto things; whence commeth it, that thoſe things that are waightie, are by their nature inclined downwards; and thoſe things that are light mount vp on high: if beſides the force and waight of bodies, ſome higher power hath impoſed a law on al thoſe things; if that be true, and which is more iuſtifiable, that a man is a part of God, and that they are, as it were, ſparkles which that holy fire hath cauſed to fall vpon the earth, and that remaine encloſed in this forren place. Our thought breaketh thorow the bulwarkes of heauen; neither is contented with that which is ſhewed vnto it. I ſearch, ſaith he, that which is beyond the world, whether it be a deepe void, or ſome great extent incloſed, yet notwithſtanding within certaine bounds. What is the habitude of thoſe things that are excluded from our world, if they be informed and confuſed: if in euery part they haue equall place, if they be ordered to ſome vſe, if they are belonging to our world, or far eſtranged from it, and whirleth about in the void: if they be indiuiduall, whereof all things created are to be made, or if their matter entertaineth them, and is euery way mutable: if the elements are contrarie the one vnto the other, or if they be not at diſcord, but by diuers meanes entertaine one another. Being borne to ſeeke out theſe things. Conſider how ſmall a time man hath receiued, although he employ himſelfe wholly herein, although he permit no man to diſtract him, and were carefull to huſband well euery minute of an houre, without loſing one: although he liued longer then any other, without touch of any croſſe or diſaſter what ſoeuer, yet is he ouer mortall, and of to ſmall continuance to attaine vnto the knowledge of eternall things. So then I liue according to Nature, if I addict my ſelfe wholly vnto her, and admire and reuerence her. But her will is that I ſhould intend to contemplation and action. I do both the one and the other, for contemplation is not without action. But we muſt ſee (ſayeſt thou) if thou haſt diſpoſed thy ſelfe thereunto, to this end onely, to reape the pleaſure without ſearching any other thing, then a continuall contemplation and without iſſue; for this contemplation is a ſweete and very attractiue thing. To this I anſwere thee, that it importeth as much as to demand, with what affection thou addicteſt thy ſelfe to a politique and actiue life? If it be to trauell alwayes, and without ceaſing, in ſuch ſort as thou neuer raiſeſt thy ſelfe from the conſideration of humane things to diuine? Euen as it is vnlikely that a man can deſire things, or doe any worke, except he firſt of all haue ſome ſcience in his ſoule, and ſome loue of vertue (for theſe things deſire to be mixed together, and compared the one with the other) ſo vertue, which is idle and without action, is an imperfect and languiſhing good, which neuer maketh ſhow of that which ſhe hath learned. Who will ſay that a vertuous man ought not to aſſay in action

how

how much he hath profited? Dare any man maintaine that he ought to meditate only on that which he ought to do? Is he not tied also to exercise his hand sometimes, and to bring that which he hath meditated to a true effect. What if the delay be not in the wiseman himselfe, if there wanteth not an actor, but such things as are to be acted. What, wilt thou permit him to be with himselfe? With what mind doth a wiseman retire himselfe? To the end he may know that he will act somewhat by himselfe that may profit posteritie. Vndoubtedly we that are Stoikes doe maintayne that *Zeno* and *Chrisippus* haue done more in their solitude, then if they had conducted Armies, exercised publique charges, established lawes: for they haue proposed worthy lessons, not only to a Common-weale, but to all mankinde: why therfore should not such repose become a good man, by meanes whereof he gouerneth the ages to come, and instructeth not only a small assembly of people, but teacheth all men that are liuing at this day, and that shall come hereafter into the world? In briefe, I aske if *Cleanthes*, *Chrisippus*, and *Zeno*, haue liued according to their precepts? I assure my selfe that thou wilt answere me thus, that they liued so, as they said, men were to liue, but none of these gouerned a Common-weale. But thou mayest reply, that they had not either the meanes, or qualities that were requisite in them that are admitted to the gouernment of publike affaires. And I say for all that, that they liued not without doing somewhat, but haue found the meanes to make their solitude more profitable vnto mankind, then other mens endeuours and labours. So then they haue done much, although they haue done nothing in publike. Besides, there are three sorts of life, amongst which, there is a question which is the best. The one intendeth pleasure, the other contemplation, the third action. First of all, laying aside all contention, and that irreconciliable hatred that we haue denounced against those who are of a contrarie opinion to ours: let vs see if these three manners of liuing do not iumpe in one, although they appeare vnder diuers titles. He that approueth pleasure is not without contemplation, and he that is contemplatiue enioyeth some pleasure; and he that addicteth himselfe to the actiue life, hath not wholly forsaken the contemplatiue. There is a great difference (sayest thou) whether that be one thing which a man proposeth, or a dependance of some proposition; vndoubtedly a great difference, and yet the one cannot be without the other. Neither is he without action, who is contemplatiue, neither doth the other doe any thing without contemplation. The third likewise; whom ordinarily we make worst account of, appeareth not an idle pleasure, but that wherein hee confirmeth himselfe by reason. So this voluptuous sect likewise is in action. And why should it not be in action? When as the Epicure himselfe saith, that hee will sometimes retire himselfe from pleasure, and long after paine, if either penitence attend pleasure, or a lesser griefe bee taken for a more grieuous. Whereto tendeth this discourse? To show that a contemplatiue life is pleasing vnto all men. Some seeke after the same, it is our place of rest and not our part. Adde hereunto now, that according to the precepts of *Chrisippus*, a man may liue without trauell, not to addict himselfe vnto idlenes, but make choice of a commodious repose. The Stoiques maintaine that a wiseman will beware lest he meddle with affaires of estate. But what skilleth it how a wise-man come vnto repose, is it because the Common-weale forsaketh him, or he forsaketh the Common-weale. If the Common-weale should leaue euerie one there (as she searcheth not those who seeke her in despight.) I aske you to what Common-weale a wise-man should retire himselfe? Shall it be to Athens?

thens? In which *Socrates* is condemned, and from whence *Aristotle* fled, for feare he should be condemned? whence enuie smothereth all vertues? Thou wilt grant me this, that a wise-man should not retire thither: if hee should goe and liue in that of Carthage, troubled with continuall seditions, enemie of their libertie who are good men: where equitie and goodnesse are basely prised, where enemies are rudely and cruelly intreated, and where citizens themselues are pursued as enemies. He will flie that place likewise. If I should represent other vnto thee, I should not finde one that might support a wise-man, or be supported by a wise man. And if we finde not this Common-weale, which wee imagine, the repose beginneth to bee necessarie for all. Considering, that that alone which might be preferred before repose, is found in no part. Put case that some one say, that it is good to embark, but that we must not make saile vpon that sea, wherein ships are drowned ordinarily, and which is agitated with sudden gusts, which carrie away the most expert Pilots out of their course: I thinke that such a one forbiddeth mee to weigh anchor, although hee praiseth the Nauigation.

The End of the Booke of a Wise-mans rest and retirement.

CERTAINE COLLECTIONS GATHERED OVT OF SENECAES Bookes.

Of Pouertie.

Ontented pouertie, as the Epicure saith, is an honest thing, but it is not now pouertie, if it be content. He that agreeth well with his pouertie is a rich man: he is poore that desireth much, not he that hath little; for what profiteth it a man to haue much in his coffer, to hoorde vp much in his barnes, to feede much cattell, and lend much vpon vsurie, if he thirsteth after another mans fortunes, if he desire not those things which are gotten, but such as are to be attained? Askst thou me what measure there is in riches? First, to haue that which is necessarie; secondly, that which is sufficient: no man can be possessed of a peaceable and contented life, that tormenteth himselfe much about the enlargement thereof. There is no good whatsoeuer that profiteth him that possesseth the same, except that which wee are addressed and willing to loose. By the law of nature the greatest riches are but a composed pouertie. But knowest thou what bounds the law of Nature hath allotted vs? Not to be hungrie, not to be a thirst, not to be colde. To satisfie and asswage thy thirst thou hast no neede to attempt the Seas, nor follow the warres: the thing that nature desireth is easily gotten, and readily set before thee. We sweat for superfluities. They are those that weare out our apparrell, that compell vs to waxe olde, that driue vs vpon forraine forces: it is at hand that may suffice vs. If a man suppose not that which he hath to be ample enough, although he be Lord of the whole world, yet is he miserable. Wretched is he that iudgeth not himselfe to be most blessed, although he command not the whole world: he is not happy that thinkes not himselfe happy. Let vs haue nothing which may be taken from vs, to his great profite that would lay holde thereof: let there be very little in thy bodie that may be taken from thee. There is no man, or very few at leastwise, that thirst after mans bloud for murther-sake onely. The thiefe passeth by the man that is naked, the poore man hath peace in a way beleagred with theeues. He hath most fruit of his riches that wanteth least. If thou liuest according to nature, thou shalt neuer be poore; if according to opinion neuer rich: nature desireth a little, opinion a great deale. If thou beest loaden with as many goods as diuers rich men possesse, if beside these particular riches

riches fortune raise thee to honours, couereth thee with golde, cloatheth thee in purple, bringeth thee to such a height of delights and riches, that thou couerest the earth with marble pillars, that not onely handlest golde and siluer, but treadest vpon it, that besides all this thy chambers be garnished with statues and pictures, and all that which cunning could represent, eyther rare or exquisite in golde or siluer: these things will teach thee to desire more greater. Naturall desires are finite, they that spring from false opinion haue neyther end nor measure: for falsitie hath noe limit, truth hath some end; errour is infinite. Retire thy selfe therefore from these vanities, and when thou wouldest know whether thou hast a naturall or vaine desire, behold if it stay in any part or no: if hauing gone farre onward thou alwayes findest somewhat farther off to be atchieued, know that this is not naturall. That pouertie which is expedite, is secure. When the allarum is sounded, she knoweth that she is not sought after: when the armie is commanded to dislodge, she seeketh how to issue, not what to carrie with her. But if she must make saile, the hauen hath no noyse in it, the shores are not pestered with many attendants. A troope of men attend her not to nourish, when she neede not wish for the felicitie of forraine countries: it is an easie matter to feed a few bellies that are well gouerned, and desire nought else but to be filled. Hunger is satisfied with a little, but excesse with much: pouertie is content to satisfie her instant desires: well aduised is that rich man, that hauing great store of riches, possesseth them as things that may bee taken from him. What moues thee then to refuse such a one for thy companion; whose manners a discreet wise-man doth imitate. If thou wilt gouerne thy minde well, eyther thou must be poore, or like vnto a poore man. Thou canst not studie any thing that may profite thee except thou haue a care of frugalitie, and this frugalitie is a voluntary pouertie. Whole armies haue diuers times beene destitute of all things, the souldiers haue fedde vpon roots and hearbes, and haue suffered famine too loathsome to be spoken. And all this haue they suffered for a Kingdom, and which thou wilt wonder at more, for another man. Is there any man that will doubt to endure pouertie to deliuer his minde from these furious passions? Many in obtayning worldly riches, haue not seene the end of their miseries, but onely the change. Neither wonder I hereat. The fault is not in the riches, but in the minde it selfe. That which made pouertie seeme tedious vnto vs, will make our riches burthensome likewise. Euen as it skilleth not whether you place a sicke man in a wooden or a golden bed; for whether soeuer you shall carrie him he beareth his sickenesse with him: so it matters not whether a sicke minde be in riches or in pouertie; for his mischiefe followeth him. We haue no need of fortune to liue securely: for whatsoeuer is necessarie she will giue, although she be displeased. For feare she finde vs vnprepared, let pouertie be familiar with vs: we shall be more securely rich, if we know how easie a thing it is to be poore. Begin to accustome thy selfe to pouertie.

Behold my guest to set thy wealth at nought,
Resembling God in nature and in thought.

There is no man more worthy of God then hee that hath contemned riches. And therefore I hinder thee not from the possession of goods, but this would I effect, that thou shouldest possesse them without feare; which thou shalt attain vnto by this one meanes, if thou hopest that thou likewise shalt liue well without them, and beholdest them as things that are transitorie. Let him passe who

followeth not thee, but ſomething that is in thee. For this cauſe onely is pouertie to be beloued, becauſe it diſcouereth by whom thou art eſteemed: it is a great matter not to be corrupted with the fellowſhip of riches. Great is that man who is poore in his riches. No man is borne rich. Whoſoeuer entereth into this world is commanded to content himſelfe with breade and milk. Kingdomes come not to ſecke vs ſo farre. Nature requireth bread and water. Hée that hath theſe is not poore; and if he boundeth his deſires in theſe, hee ſhall contend with *Iupiter* in felicitie: felicitie is a diſquiet thing; ſhe tormenteth her ſelfe, ſhe diſtempereth the braine in more then one ſort. She prouoketh ſome to braue it, ſome to counterfeit grauity, ſome ſhe maketh proude, other ſome ſhe humbleth. If thou wilt know how little cuill there is in pouertie, compare the countenance of a poore and rich man, one with the other: the poore man laugheth more often, and more heartily, he is ſhaken with no care, he is aboue the tempeſts of this world. His care paſſeth ouer like a ſlight cloud: their mirth (who are called fortunes minions) is fained: their grieuous and intollerable pride, although not openly is inwardly their torment, and ſo much the more grieuous, becauſe that ſometimes they haue not libertie to be publiquely miſerable. But amongſt thoſe diſguſts that torment and ſwell vp their hearts, they are inforced to counterfeit their happineſſe: riches, honours, powers, and ſuch like, which draw vs from the right, which in mens opinion are precious, but in effect vilde. We know not how to praiſe thoſe things, whereof we ought not to determine according to common report, but according to the nature of the things themſelues. Theſe things haue nothing magnificent in them, that may allure our mindes vnto them, except this, that wee are accuſtomed to admire them. For they are not praiſed becauſe they are to be deſired, but becauſe they are deſired. This precedent cauſe haue riches: they change the minde, they breede pride and arrogancie, they draw on enuie, they ſo farre eſtrange the mind that the fame of the mony delighteth vs, although it be harmful vnto vs. All good things ought to be without fault, they are pure, they neyther corrupt nor ſolicite the minde, yet they extoll and delight mens minds, but without any pride. Thoſe things that are good make men confident,
riches make men audacious. Thoſe things that are
good, giue vs greatneſſe of minde,
riches inſolencie.

OTHER

OTHER COLLECTIONS.

Of the remedies of caſualties.

ALthough thou art fully poſſeſſed with all the flowers of Poeſie, yet debated and reſolued I with my ſelfe at length to dedicate this little worke vnto thee, concerning caſuall remedies, which the precedent times ſpeake not of, poſteritie ſhall reſpect. From whence therefore ſhall we firſt take our beginning? If thou thinkeſt it fit from death. What, from the laſt? Yea, from the greateſt. Hereat mankinde doth moſt eſpecially tremble; neyther without cauſe in thy iudgement do they ſo. All other feares leaue ſome place after them, death cutteth off all things. Other things torment vs, but death deuoureth all things. The iſſue of al that which we feare and are affrighted at, after they haue long time followed vs and attended vs, haue their period in this: yea, euen thoſe who thinke they feare nothing, yet notwithſtanding are affraid of death. All other things which we feare may finde ſome redreſſe or ſolace. So therefore form and conforme thy ſelfe, that if any man threaten thee openly with death, thou mayeſt delude all his threats and ſlight feares.

Thou ſhalt die: this is mans nature, and not his puniſhment. Thou ſhalt die: vpon this condition entered I the world, that I muſt leaue it. Thou ſhalt die: it is the law of Nations to reſtore that which thou haſt borrowed. Thou ſhalt die: life is but a pilgrimage, when thou haſt trauailed long thou muſt returne home. Thou ſhalt die: I thought thou wouldeſt tell me ſome newes; to this end I came into the world, this I doe, euery day conducteth me thereunto. Nature when I was borne forthwith prefixed me this limit: why ſhould I be diſpleaſed herewith? I am ſworne to obey her. Thou ſhalt die; it is a fooliſh thing to feare that which thou canſt not auoyde. He eſcapeth not death that deferreth it. Thou ſhalt die: neyther the firſt nor the laſt; many haue gone before me, and all ſhall follow me. Thou ſhalt die: this is the end of all that I ought to doe; what olde man would not be glad to be exempted from ſeruice? Whither the world paſſeth thither ſhall I paſſe. To this end are all things created. That which began muſt haue an end. Thou ſhalt die; nothing is grieuous that happeneth once. I know that I muſt pay that which I owe. I haue contracted with a creditor that will not looſe his debt. Thou ſhalt die: there can be no better newes, or more happie threat to mortall men.

But thou ſhalt be beheaded; what care I whether I die by the ſtroake, or by the ſtab? But thou ſhalt haue many ſtroakes, and thou ſhalt ſee diuers ſwords vnſheathed

vnsheathed against thee. What matters it how many the wounds be, there can no more but one be mortall.

Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. The way to death is in euery place. I am readie to pay that which I owe. Let the creditor see to it, where he will arrest me. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. There is no earth that is strange to him that dieth. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. Sleepe is no more grieuous abroad then it is at home. Thou shalt die in a strange countrie. This is to returne into a mans countrie without prouision.

But thou shalt die yong. It is the best that may befall a man to die before he wisheth it. This is the only thing that concerneth the yong, as well as the old. We are neither cited according to our reuenewes or yeares, The same necessity of destiny constraineth both yong and old. It is best for a man to die, when he hath a desire to liue. Thou shalt die yong. Whosoeuer commeth to the last period of his destinie, dieth old. For it skilleth not what the age of man is, but what his terme is. Thou shalt die yong. It may be that Fortune retireth mee from some great mishap, and if from nought else, at least wise from old age. Thou shalt die yong. It skilleth not how many yeares I haue, but how many I haue receiued. If I cannot liue longer, this is mine old age.

Thou shalt lie vnburied. What other thing shall I answere thee, but that of *Virgils*.

Slight is the losse of sepulture.

If I feele nothing, I need not care whether my bodie be burned or no, and if I be sensible, euery sepulture is a torment.

Heauen couers him that hath no pointed tombe.

What matters it whether fire or wilde beasts consume me, or the earth which is the sepulture of all things? This to him that hath no sense, is nothing, and to him that hath feeling a burthen. Thou shalt bee vnburied. But thou shalt bee burned, but then drowned, but then imprisoned, and locked in a tombe, but thou shalt rot, and be embowelled and sowed vp, or cast into the hollow of a stone, which shall consume and drie thee by little and little. There is no sepulture, we are not buried, but cast out. Thou shalt not be buried. Why art thou afraid amiddest thy most securitie. This place is out of feare and danger. We are indebted much vnto life, to death nothing. Sepulture was not inuented for the dead sake, but for the liuing, to the end that our bodies, which in sight and smell are most loathsome, should be hidden from our eyes: some the earth ouerwhelmeth, some the flame consumeth, some are shut vp in stone, that will returne nothing but bones. We spare not the dead, but our owne eyes.

I am sicke. The time is now come wherein I must make proofe of my vertue. A confident man not onely discouereth himselfe vpon the sea, and in the battell, but vertue approueth her selfe euen in the bed. I am sicke. This cannot continue for an age. Either I shall leaue mine Ague, or mine Ague will leaue me. We cannot be alwayes together. The question is betwixt me and sicknesse, and either he shall be conquered, or I ouercome.

Men speake euill of thee. But euill men. It would moue me, if *Marcus Cato*, if *Lelius* the wise-man: if the other *Cato*, if the two *Scipioes* spake these things. In this time it is a matter praise-worthie to displease the wicked. That sentence can haue no authoritie, where hee that is condemned doth condemne. Men speake

speake euill of thee. It would moue me, if they did it vpon iudgement, but now they doe it vpon infamie. They speake not of me, but of themselues. Men speake euill of thee, they doe it therefore because they cannot speake well. Not because I deserue it, but because they are accustomed vnto it. For there are some dogs of that nature, that they barke rather vpon custome then curstnesse.

Thou shalt be banished: thou art deceiued: when I haue done all that I may, I cannot passe out of my countrey. All men haue one countrey, and out of this no man may wander. Thou shalt be banished, I am not forbidden my countrey, but the place. Into whatsoeuer countrey I come, I come into mine owne. I can be banished into no place, for it is my countrey. Thou shalt not be in thy countrey. That is thy countrey wheresoeuer I liue well. But to liue well is in the man, and not in the place: In his power it is what his fortune shall be. For if he be wise, he trauelleth; if a foole, he is banished. Thou shalt be banished: thou sayest thus. Thou shalt be a citizen in another Citie.

Sorrow is at hand; if it be slight, let vs endure it, patience is an easie thing to support. If it be grieuous, the glorie is the greater. Let paine extort cries, so he expresse not secrets. A man cannot resist paine, neither paine reason. Paine is a tedious thing, nay rather thou art effeminate. Few men could endure paine. Let vs be one of the few. We are weake by nature. Defame not Nature, she created vs strong and valiant. Let vs flie paine. And why? Knowest thou not that he followeth those that flie from him?

Pouertie is grieuous vnto me, nay, thou vnto pouertie. The error is not in pouertie, but in the poore man. She is readie, ioyfull, and assured. I am poore. In opinion, but not in truth. Thou art poore, because thou thinkest thy selfe so. I am poore. The birds want nothing. Tame beastes liue their time, wilde beasts find food in their solitude.

I am not powerfull; be glad, thou shalt not be impotent. I may receiue an iniurie. Be glad, thou canst not doe any. He hath great store of money. Iudgest thou him to be a man, it is his meanes? Who enuieth a treasurie or full coffers. And this man, whom thou supposest to be master of this money, is but the bag that shutteth it vp. He hath much. Whether is he couetous or prodigall: if couetous, he hath nothing: if prodigall, he shall haue nothing. This man, whom thou supposest to be happie, is often sad, doth often sigh. Many accompany him. Flies follow after hony; Wolues after carion; Ants after wheate. This troope followeth their prey, and not the man. I haue lost my money. It may be it would haue lost thee. I haue lost my money, but thou hadest it. I haue lost my money. Thou shalt be no more in so great danger. I haue lost my money. how happie art thou, if thou hast lost thy couetousnesse with the same. But if thee remaine with thee, yet art thou happie in some sort; because thou hast neither wood nor oyle to cast into so horrible a fire. I haue lost my money. And thy money hath lost and spoiled an infinite number of men. Thou shalt be now more light to walke on thy way, and more assured in thy house. Thou shalt neither haue nor feare an heire. Fortune hath disburthened thee, if thou conceiuest the same, and setled thee in a more secure place. Thinkest thou it to be thy wrong? It is thy remedie. Thou weepest, thou wailest, thou criest, as if thou wert vndone, because thy riches haue beene taken from thee. It is thine owne fault that this losse doth torment and touch thee so neere. If thou hadst possessed them as things that might perish, thou wouldest not torment thy selfe thus. I haue lost my money, another had lost it before, to the end thou shouldest haue it.

I haue loſt my ſight. Night and obſcuritie haue bin pleaſures. I haue loſt my ſight. From how many deſires art thou exempted? How many things ſhalt thou want, which rather then thou ſhouldeſt ſee, thou thy ſelfe wouldeſt pluck out thine eyes. Knoweſt thou not that bodily blindnes is a part of innocence? The eye diſcouereth vnto one man an adultery, to another inceſt, to this man a houſe which he deſireth, to that man a towne, in briefe all ſorts of miſchiefes. Vndoubtedly, the eyes are the ſtings of vices, and the guides of wickednes.

I haue loſt my children. Thou art a foole to bewaile the death of thoſe that are mortall. Is this a nouelti, or a thing to be wondered at? Is there any houſe exempt from this accident? Calleſt thou a tree miſerable, whoſe fruit falleth to the ground whileſt his branches mount aloft. Thy child is thy fruit. No man is exempt from theſe ſtroakes, vntimely funeralls are led as well out of the Artificers ſhop, as the Kings Pallace. Deſtinie and age haue not the ſame order. A man departeth not out of the world in the ſame ſort as he entered. But why art thou vexed? What hath happened contrarie to thy hope? Thoſe that ought to die are dead. Yet could I haue wiſhed that they might haue liued. But no man promiſed thee thus much. My children are dead. They had them who had greater right vnto them then thou? They were onely lent thee. Fortune left thee them to bring them vp, thee hath retained them, and hath taken away nothing but her owne.

I haue ſuffered ſhipwracke. Bethinke thee not what thou haſt loſt, but what thou haſt eſcaped. I came naked to the ſhoare. But thou gotteſt to land. I haue loſt all: but thou mighteſt haue beene drowned with the reſt.

I fell into the hands of theeues. But another man hath met with detractors, another with theeues, another with coſeners. The way is full of dangers. Complain not thou that thou haſt met with them, rather reioice that thou art whole and in ſafetie. I haue grieuous enemies. Euen as thou ſeekeſt out meanes to defence thy ſelfe againſt the furie of ſauage beaſts, and the venome of ſerpents; ſo ſee thou fortifie thy ſelfe with ſome ſuccours againſt thine enemies, by meanes whereof thou mayeſt repulſe them or repreſſe them, or which is more aſſured and better, make thy ſelfe gracious in their eyes.

I haue loſt a friend. It is true then that thou hadſt one. I haue loſt a friend. Seeke out another in ſome part where thou mayeſt finde him. Seeke amongſt the Liberall Sciences, amongſt thoſe occupations that are iuſt and honeſt, in the ſhops of Artificers. This treaſure is not ſought out at the table. Seeke out ſome one that cares not for good cheere, but is frugall. I haue loſt my friend. Show thy ſelfe to be a braue fellow, if thou haſt but loſt one, bluſh; if an only friend: why truſteſt thou to one anchor in ſo great a tempeſt.

I haue loſt a good wife. Didſt thou finde her good, or make her good? If thou foundeſt her by chance, thou mayeſt hope to light vpon the like. If thou madeſt her good, hope well: the patterne is loſt, but the craftesmaſter *is* liuing. I haue loſt a good wife. What allowedſt thou in her? Her chaſtitie? How many women are there foũd, that hauing maintained their honor a long time, haue loſt it at laſt? Was it her modeſty: how many haue bin numbred in the ranke of moſt honeſt matrons, that afterwards were ſcoulds and railers? Wert thou delighted in her loyaltie? How many of the beſt wiues haue we ſeene proue noughts, of the moſt diligent, the moſt diſſolute. The minds of all vnskilfull perſons, eſpecially women, is ſubiect to inconſtancy. If thou hadſt a good wife, thou couldeſt not maintaine that ſhe would alwayes remaine in that eſtate. There is not any thing ſo inconſtant and vnaſſured as the will of women. We know the diuorces of

of ancient matrimonies, and the brawles of married couples, more hatefull then diuorces. How many are there that hauing affectionately loued their wiues in their youth, haue forſaken them in their age? How oftentimes haue we laughed at the diuorces of old and married folkes? How manies noted loue, hath beene changed into more notable hatred? But this was both good, and would haue continued good had ſhe liued. Death is the cauſe that thou mayeſt boldly maintaine this. I haue loſt a good wife, if thou ſeekeſt none but a good wife, thou ſhalt finde her. Prouided that thou ſtudie not about the antiquitie of her race, nor on her worldly poſſeſſion, which men priſe now adaies more then Nobilitie. Bewtie annexed to theſe, will make head-long time againſt thee, but thou ſhalt not haue ſo much labour to gouerne a mind that is puffed vp with any vanitie. A woman that is too proud of her ſelfe, will make ſmall reckoning of her husband. Marrie with a maid, or that is well brought vp, and not tainted with her mothers vices. A maid that beareth not her fathers and mothers bequeſt at her eares, that is, not loaden with Rings and Iewels, nor cloathed in ſuch apparell, as coſt more then ſhe brought vnto her marriage. Nor that cauſeth her ſelfe to be drawne in her Coach thorow the Citie, and to behold the people as boldly, and on both ſides, as would her husband. Nor ſuch an one for whom thine houſe will ſeeme too little to containe her cariage and equipage: Thou ſhalt worke that mayden according to thy minde, which hath not as yet beene corrupted by thoſe diſſolutions that are in requeſt. I haue loſt a vertuous wife. Art thou not aſhamed to weepe, and to call thy loſſe intollerable? But wel, thou muſt know this, if thou bewaileſt thy wife or no. In remembring thy ſelfe that thou art a husband, remember alſo that thou art a man. I haue loſt a good wife. A man cannot recouer a good mother or a good ſiſter, but a woman is an acceſſarie good, and is not reckoned amongſt thoſe which euery one cannot meete with but once in his life time. I haue loſt a good wife. I can name thee many men, that hauing bewailed a good wife, haue met a ſecond farre better then the firſt.

Death, baniſhment, paines, ſorrowes, are no puniſhments, but tributes which we muſt pay vnto this life. Deſtinie ſendeth no man out of this world, without giuing him ſome ſtroake. Happie is he that eſteemeth himſelfe ſuch, and not he who is eſteemed ſuch by others. But conſider that this happines is rare in this world. It hath neere vnto it miſerie, and borroweth ſomething of it.

The end of SENECAES *Workes.*

A Table vvherein SENECAES Paradoxes and other Stoicall vanities are set downe, to the end that such as are of weakest iudgement and apprehension, may both know, and be more circumspect in iudging of them.

1 IT is a thanks-giuing for a benefit when a man receiueth it with a good will.

2 The vertuous child doth more good vnto his father, then hee hath receiued from him.

3 Of the names of God, and if so many presents as hee bestoweth on vs, should bee as many names as a man might bestow vpon him.

4 Thou art not to thinke that there are but seuen wandering starres, and that the rest are fixed.

5 The wicked and the foolish man is not exempt from any vice.

6 Of the power of God.

7 That sometimes wee ought not to recompence the good turne which we haue receiued.

8 The wise-man satisfieth the rich man for the gold and siluer he offereth him by one refusall.

9 Whether a man may giue vnto himselfe, and requite himselfe.

10 That no man is good, wicked, or vngratefull.

11 All men are vngratefull.

12 If a wise-man may receiue a benefit, and pleasure from another man, considering that he is Lord of all things.

13 Of diuers sorts of benefits.

14 Of the resemblance and difference betwixt God and good Men.

15 If Iupiter would fixe his eyes vpon the earth, I thinke that he might not see any thing more faire, then Cato was at such time as he slue himselfe.

16 Of fatall destinie.

17 One and the same necessitie enchaineth both Gods and Men.

18 Death is in the power and will of a man to kill himselfe, and to depart out of this world when hee thinketh fit, without expecting the good will and pleasure of God.

19 The rich man cannot be rich except he be poore.

20 Remedies against diuers accidents of this life.

21 Our infirmities may bee healed, and nature which hath created vs to tend vnto good, aideth vs when wee desire her to become better.

22 Why mournest thou? on which side soeuer thou turnest thy selfe, there is the end of thine euills.

23 Mercie or compassion is an imperfection of the soule of affections.

24 If a wise-man pardoneth.

25 Of happy Life, and of perfect Vertue.

26 Wherein consisteth the soueraigne good.

27 The praise of that Epicure who cut his owne throat.

28 That a wise-man ought not to intermeddle with affaires of estate.

29 Of an imperfect and perfect wise-man.

30 Death is neither good nor euill, for that may bee either good or euill which is some-

something, but that which is nothing, and reduceth all things to nothing, neyther subiecteth vs to good or to euill.

31 *Of the purgation of the soule aboue vs, where she maketh a little stay to cleanse her selfe from the spots that remaine in her.*

32 *Of the end of the world, and of the resolution of soules into their auncient elements.*

33 *Of the creator of all things, and of the immutable succession of things that are enchained the one within the other.*

34 *Death is not a punishment, but the ordinance of nature.*

35 Iupiter *after the consummation of the world, all the gods being deriued into one, and nature reposing her selfe a little, shall content himselfe with himselfe, and shall gouerne his thoughts.*

36 *It is a great misery to be constrained to liue, it is no constraint to be constrained to liue; there is no man that may be hindered from forsaking this life.*

37 *Dying we are worse then we were when we were borne.*

38 *Of two sorts of Wise-men.*

39 *God dwelleth in euery good man, but we know not what God he is.*

40 *Thinkest thou for the present what I call a good man? He which is imperfectly: for the other which is perfectly wise appeareth not but by chance one time in fiue yeares, as the Phanix and we ought not to be abashed, if the generation of great things requireth a great distance.*

41 *Of the source of disorder which is in the soule.*

42 *The short life of a Wise-man hath as much extent for him as the long life of God. There is likewise something wherein a wise-man matcheth before God, which is that God is wise by the benefite of nature, and not by intention and diligence.*

43 *We deceiue our selues to thinke that life followeth death, when as death had gon before, and life followeth it.*

44 *If the soule of a man being hidden vnder the ruines of a Tower or Mountain, cannot be deliuered from the bodie, nor finde issue, but spreadeth it selfe incontinently thorow all the members, because she hath no free issue.*

45 *If by reason of continuall paine it be lawfull for a man to murther himselfe.*

46 *Of perfect vertue in this life.*

47 *Of the equalitie of vertues, and wherein lieth their difference.*

48 *Of reason and the soueraigne good.*

49 *Of the behauiour of a wise-man in death.*

50 *If it lie in our owne power to dispose of our liues as we please.*

51 *Of the Stoicks wise man.*

52 Iupiter *can doe no more then a wise-man.*

53 *Three sorts of Philosopers.*

54 *Stoicall inductions to perswade a man to murther himselfe.*

55 *The estate of the soule before it entereth into the bodie, and after it hath left it.*

56 *That no man but a wise-man can requite a good turne which is receiued.*

57 *If a wise-man be without passions or no?*

58 *Of happy life and the chiefest good.*

59 *A happie man is perfectly happy.*

60 *Of the golden age and the first men.*

61 *Of the inuention of artes and occupations.*

62 *That the firmity and felicitie of a wise-man (imagined perfect in this present life) is in himselfe.*

63 *The soueraigne good is in this life, and cannot receiue increase.*

64 *This world wherein we are contayned, is one, is God, whose members and companions we are.*

65 *A dead man is no more.*

66 *That which we call good is a body.*

67 *Vertues and other things, yea, those accidents which are without subiect and forme, are animals and bodies.*

68 *If it be better to haue moderate affection, or to haue none at all.*

69 *Wisedome is a good thing, to be wise is not.*

70 *Nothing seemeth more dishonest then*

then to wish for death. It is in thine owne power to die when thou wilt.

71 *God is the soule of the world: it is all that which thou seest, and all that which thou seeest not.*

72 *Of the vniuersall deluge by water which shall ruine the world.*

73 *Of the end of the world by an vniuersall deluge.*

74 *If the heauen turneth and the earth standeth still, or if the heauen is immoueable, and the earth turneth. If the heauen falleth continually, vnperceiued because it falleth into that which is infinite.*

75 *Of Comets.*

76 *The nourishment of the flesh is a sauage life and beastly.*

77 *There is nothing honest but that which is good.*

78 *Vertue is sufficient for her selfe, to liue well and happily.*

79 *Sinnes are equall, and vertuous actions likewise.*

80 *All imprudent men are mad.*

81 *All wise-men are exempt and free: contrariwise, all imprudent men are vicious and slaues.*

82 *No one but a wise-man is rich.*

83 *The summe of certaine dangerous Paradoxes of the Stoickes.*

AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS CONTANED IN THE WHOLE Workes of LVCIVS ANNÆVS SENECA *the Philosopher.*

A

Abstinence, why the Pythagorists abstained frō eating of flesh. *Fol.*444.

Accidents, which are extreame and past remedie, shake those men that are most constant and assured. 380

Accidents of the burning of the Citie of Lions to ashes in *Senecaes* time, *ibid.* Why such *accidents* shake a constant heart. 381. Remedies against such *accidents*, because there is nothing firme in this world, *ibid.* Witnesse the perpetual inconstancy of all affaires. *ibid.*

Accusers of other men, wherin they shew themselues vniust. 613

Achilles, how he behaued himselfe towards King *Priam*. 548

Action and *Contemplation* ioyned together. 354

Actions, different in a wise man and another man. *ibid.*

Actions of the soule ought to bee carefully considered, to the end they may be well gouerned. 463

Acts, whereto they ought to be intended. 354

Admonitions ought to bee reapubled for our profite. 394. What *admonition* is profitable. 397

Aduantage of men ouer beasts. 493

Aduantage of beasts ouer men, in regard of corruptible goods. 302

Aduersity maketh triall of mans courage. 280. If it be to be wished for, *ibid.* How aduersities are to be desired. 281. Some Stoicks opinions hereupon, *ibid.* The contrary opinion of the Author, *ibid.* How it may be good. 294

Aduertisements for Princes. 280

Aduertisements ought to be wholsome, which affect our eares. 241

Adulteries of these times prophesied of. 10

Adulteries described, would God not practised. 50

Æneas saued his father. 62

Æschines his gift to *Socrates*. 9

Æsops licorish dish. 205

Ætnaes secrets. 221

Affaires of this world, how they ought to be managed. 659. He that will retire himselfe apart from the affaires of this world, must despise the vaine and imaginary commodities of the same. 201. Vanity of the world that deferreth affaires till to morrow. 235

Affection of *Seneca* towards his wife 432. How farre it ought to extend toward our dearest friends. *ibid.*

Affections, how they are impugned by the Stoickes. 607

Affections and diuers occupations, doe

doe abridge life 614. A disputе written in fauour of the Stoicks, who gouerned their affections contrary to the Sect of the Epicures, who confused and confounded them 421. Opinion of the Stoickes as touching affections 466. That it is impossible to keepe a measure in affections 467. Why we cannot command our affections. *ibid.*

Afflictions are honorable, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for vertuous men 492. They are turned to good, *ibid.* They do as it were inclose humane greatnesse, 503. They are not to be called euill. 508

Afflictions that are foreseene, are but slight: afflictions which affect other men ought to instruct vs how to digest our owne moderately: afflictions fortifie the minde, and make it resolute against aduersities, 182. Against those that increase their euill, by augmenting the same by new grieuing. *ibid.*

Age: no age exempt from choler. 285

Agrippa ennobled his Father. 59

Aiax vntimely death through choler. 591

Ayre, esteemed for an element or simple bodie 779, 780, 781.

His diuers Regions. 782

Why it is moueable. *ibid.*

The three Meteors thereof; with diuers opinions touching the nature of the same. *ibid.*

Ayre in his lowest Region is most darkesome and lesse pure; and that it hath something vitall in it: that ayre which is inflamed through corruption of the ayre, cannot subsist. *ibid.*

Alexander the great; how he entertained the offer of the Corinthians. 13

He giueth more & otherwise then he ought. 27

His entertainement by *Diogenes.* 96

His ambition discouered. 143

His couragious and wise behauior. *ibid.*

Alexander and *Pompey*, authors of ambition. 399

Alexander a poore man. 476

His disgrace through his cruelty. 691

He killeth his deerest friend *Clitus.* 565

All things bad to the bad. 102

Almans, why easily ouercome. 537

Why they seeme generous. *ibid.*

Ambition ought to be carefully auoyded. 557

Exclaymed against. 646

It shortneth life. 674

The most miserable passion of all other. 581

It must be auoyded: Auarice must not be consulted. 201

Ambition wittily described 399. dissuaded, 413. Ambitious slaues, 29. Ambitious outrages are auoyded by meanes, 185 Her assaults are repulsed by the vse of Philosophie, *ibid.* Ambitious medicines. 400

Amitie is not extinguished, although the testimony of the same differ. 8

Into what vicious extremities they fall, that know not well what true Amity is. 166

Amity faithfull and fayned. 174

How wee ought to vse the same. 179

False friendship. *ibid.*

True Amity. 222.

See Friendship.

Anger killeth those for whom it shall become sorrow. 554

How it is to be represt. 556

Anthonie. 104

Antigonus, how he acquit himselfe from a subtile beggar. 27

He reuerenceth his father. 62.

Is graced himselfe by his sonne *ib.*

A Prince of maruailous courtesie. 568

Apicius

Apicius dranke poison. 745

Apothegmes of diuers noble personages 21, 27, 32, 34, 52, 54, 132, 136, 141, 142, 146, 148, 506, 522, 561 577, 590, 643, 649, 650, 651, 653, 338

Apprehension, how we may know the vanity or verity of a reprehension 182

Apprehension of death, with the remedies against it. 317

Apprehension of death, which is not measurable, censured. 479

Arcesilaus a gratious benefactor. 22

A great drinker. 858

Archelaus receiueth gifts from bad men. 32

A Prince of little wit. 97

Arguments of the Stoickes, to proue that vertue onely sufficeth to liue well and happily. 350

Aristons choice in a young man. 223

Aristotle refuted as touching Anger 515

Approuing Anger in some sort he is reproued. 554

Armodius and *Aristogiton*, why they were both sirnamed Tyrants. 150

Artizans, how they ought to be requited. 124

They and their tooles. 375

Arts, wherein they differ from Philosophie. 402

Asinius Pollio, how hee recreated himselfe. 653

He would not disturbe his supper with any businesse. *ibid.*

Assurances midst all the tempests of this world. 416

Astiages a furious and cruell Prince. 563

Attalus. 203

Auarice trode vpon by Anger. 550

Detested. 58

The euils that proceede from it. 147, 148

Is the cause of terrible confusions. 575

Dissuaded. 572

And described. 379

Inueighed against. 464

Not willing to doe any man good without sureties. 49

Augustus miserable for want of counsaile. 173

An affable Prince. 569

Approueth himself prudent, courteous, and iust. 579

Is an example to Princes, to vse affabilitie and courtesie. 569

His moderation. 595

A courageous Prince, and constant in aduersitie. 676

His strange and prosperous clemencie. 590

B

Baba a foole much noted. 188

Babil. See prate.

Babil and lies, enemies to honourable men. 242

Babillus excellent in all sorts of Sciences. 88

Bacchus, 70. why sirnamed *Liber.* 653

Berosus interpreted *Belus.* 68

Bata a City. 243

Banishment is necessary, and not euill. 215

Banished men are not miserable. *ibid.*

Banishment cannot take our true priuiledges from vs, *ibid.* The examinations against it, disproued, *ibid.* It is no iniury to be banished by an euill man, *ibid.* Whether it be necessary to liue and die in the place where a man is borne, *ibid.* Whether it be a shame to be buried out of a mans countrey, *ibid.* How it ought to be considered, *ibid.* Diuers consolations in banishment, *ibid.* Notable considerations to lenifie the rigour thereof, *ibid.* The commodities of banishment. *ibid.*

Banquets immoderate. 683
Barbil a dainty dith among the Romans. 357. The diuers colors it hath in dying, *ib.* A Barbil of foure pound weight and an halfe, presented to *Tiberius*, solde by him and bought by *P. Octauius* for 200. crowns. 407
Barrus a great man about *Nero*. 604
B. Bassus. 366
Bassus Aufidius. 215. His confidence, discoursing constantly of death. 217.
Bath of *Scipio*. 356
Bath of Libertines, *ibid.*
Bathes. 654, 615
Bathes warmed without fire, *ibid.*
Bath, auncient and darksome. 356.
Beautie. 683
Bellienus. 366
Bellona. 593
Bellophorontes. 465
Benacus, a Riuer. 68
Benefits incorporate things. 7. Benefit, what it is, *ibid.* Benefits endure, although the things that are giuen perish, *ibid.* Benefits are giuen too late by him that expecteth to be entreated, *ibid.* Benefits proudly giuen are odious. 24. Benefits gratiously receiued, are in a kinde satisfied. 32. Benefits are neuer so great, but malice may blame them. 34. The action of a Benefit, and that which is giuen by the action is called a Benefit. 39. Benefites haue no reference to fortune. 66. How Benefits should be bestowed. 17. How receiued. 29. Benefit dependeth on the will of him that giueth. 125. Benefit wherein it consisteth. 7. Benefits compared to a ball. 28. A Benefit is a bond. 138. Benefits ought not to be repented. 90. Benefit is not subiect to any Law. 116. Benefits are not due, except they be voluntarily giuen. 107. Benefit for gain or profit is vsury or exaction. 73. Benefits of two sortes. 122. Benefites of God, infinitly more great than those of men. 67. Benefittes of parents toward their children. 128. Benefites should not be vulgar or common. 12. Benefits are not equall, and why. 46.
Bion. 145, 443, 611.
Bocchus, a King, 648
Bœotia hath two Riuers that infect flockes. *ibid.*
Bond-men may doe their Master a good turne. 51
Bountie. 81, 473, 474
Brutus and his death. 341. his book of vertue. 407

C

Cæcilius an vsurer. 472
Cæcinna an eloquent man. *ibid.*
Cælius an Orator. 559
Cæsars could not mourne. 720
Cæsar reproued for suffering his feete to bee kissed. 24. His siege at Corfinum. 54 inflamed with vaine-glory. 399. Hee burneth the letters found with *Pompey*. 542. His passage into England. 720. His patient taking the death of his daughter, *ibid.* His clemency. 56. His ambition reproued. 400
Caligula called *Iupiter* in a combat. 525. a great mocker. 669. His impudencie. 670
Calons against *Vatimius*. 394
Caluisius his vndecent happinesse. 211
Cambyses furious. 355. addicted to wine. 562. His souldiers are destroyed with sand. 790
Camillus sent into exile. 105
Campania, her delights destroyed *Hannibal*. 224. 637, 313
Candalia. 218
Canius Iulius in his death. 650
Canna. 530
Capitol. 719
Carthage. 591
Cassander besieged the Gaules. 812
Catiline enemy to *Cicero*. 677, 104, 105
Cato a defender of libertie. 186. 341 359. 245. 651. 228. 475. is spit vpon. 186 his temperance. 437
Celestiall bodies alwayes in motion. 732. celestiall things. 365
Censure. 235
Censures of *Cato Vticensis*. 186.
Centaures. 258
Chaldæans. 792
Chamelion. 766
Charge equall to force. 200
Charibdis. 722, 218, 234. The nature and description thereof 320
Charitie the marke of a generous mind. 49. It maketh other mens prosite her owne. 121
Charondas a Law-maker. 374
Chelidon Cleopatra's wanton Minion. 360.
Chimæra. 455
Chrysippus taxed. 5. and why. 6. his similitude of a ball. 28
Crystall, how it is made. 821
Cicero, his Epistles to *Atticus* are memorable with him. 198. His setled and sweet stile, 228. Hee mocked at the Lyrick Poets, 241. Hee painteth out the life of *Clodius*, 413. is compared with *Asinius Pollio*, 423. He composed the bookes of the Commonwealth 446. The ordinary subiect of his Epistles, 472. His discouerie of *Catilines* conspiracie, 727. The mishaps presaging his death, 676. His death. 651
Circles and crownes about the Sun and Moone, 760. in what Region of the ayre, *ibid.* in what time, *ibid.* & 761
Circumstances of gifts. 27
Claudius Quadrigarius. 53
Cleanthes, 119. His excellent verses 441
Clemencie of *Nero*. 592
Cneius Pompeius. 104
Comets, 775. 886. two sorts of them 888. not caused by winde, 889. nor by stormes, *ibid.* 890. Their qualitie iudged of, 891. not made of diuers stars, 893. Their difference, 895. two appeared vnder *Claudius* and *Nero*, 896. How they differ from starres, 897. their presages, 900. their vse, 901
Comparison betwixt the beauty of a Father and his sonne. 59
Conscience to be respected. 232
Consideration in giuing. 48
Consolation against casualtie. 860
Constancie maketh worldly casualty nothing. 803
Contemplation of celestiall things surpasseth the wealth of the rich, 756
Contemplation of diuine things an argument of Diuinity. 757
Conuersation a great light to good manners. 170
Cossus a graue man, but addicted to good fellowship. 346
Couetousnesse consenteth not that a man should be thankefull. 35
Counsaile how it is to be found, 290
Cowardise described. 81
Crocodiles fight with Dolphines, 836. Their properties. *ibid.*
Cruelty followeth drunkennesse. 347
Curiositie in study condemned. 141

D

Dancers reprehended. 374
Darius his crueltie. 565
Dead not to be lamented. 697
Dead in opinion doe indeede liue. 698
Death better then life to the bad. 154
Death the hauen, life the storme. 286
Death despised by *Cannius*. 650
Death commodious. 226
Definitions of an happy life. 613
Delay and doubting, loath some in Benefits. 17
Deluge of the world described, 823 whence it proceeded. 825
Demaratus faithfull counsaile. 132, 283
Demetrius contemneth Kingly bounty, 148. His sluenly allusion, 383. richer then *Pompey*, 643. not poor enough. 623

Demetrius the King, ouer-come by *Stilpo*. 660
Dentatus would rather die than liue. 640
Description of an angrie man, 555. Of a wise-man, 608. Of a vertuous man. 660
Desire of learning, how it should be gouerned. 442
Destinie, what it is according to the *Stoiques*. 793
Didymus wrote foure thousand bookes. 368.
Difference betwixt a wise-man and a foole, 175. Betwixt the students in Philosophie, 295. Betwixt a Proficient and Master in wisedome, 296. Between Philosophie and other Sciences, 755. Betweene Naturall and Morall Philosophie, *ibid.* Betwixt fulguration and lightning. 785
Difficulties of vocation, to be quietly endured. 645
Dignitie attended with care. 698
Diodorus; a selfe-murtherer. 623
Diogenes; richer than *Alexander*. 95
Dionysius, preferred before diuers Kings. 593
Diuorced women, most pleasing to some. 9
Domitius. 54
Dragons, made tame. 547
Drunkennesse of this Age, prophecied of, 10 It is a voluntarie madnesse, 346. The description thereof. 347
Drusilla, sister to *Caligula*. 705
Drusus his hot nature. 677.

E

Eavinus; *Seneca's* Darling. 344
Earth; why it trembleth & yawneth. 863
Earthquake, of strange nature, in Campania, 859. The naturall causes of earthquakes. 862
Eclipses of the Sunne; how to bee discouered. 771
Effects of Mercie. 591
Eloquence, spent in vaine. 696
Eminent vocations ought to bee courageous. 625
Ending of a Prince, ought to be like his beginning. 592
Enemies, made of *Augustus* his Guard. 591
England, or *Britaine*. 701
Enuie, is the propertie of a discontented man; to giue thankes, the propertie of him that is well pleased, 47. It is fled by obscuritie. 437
Epicurus his opinion of God, 77. The difference betweene him, and the Epicures of this time, 193. His encouragement to *Idomeneus*, 198. His happinesse in tortures and death 387
Erixo whipt his sonne to death. 597
Errour of a future deluge. 828
Estimation of folly may bee entertayned by a wise-man. 291
Eternitie; noteasily attayned. 909
Eunuchs in *Anthonies* time tooke tribute of *Rome*. 105
Examples in Plaies; causes of much mischiefe. 171
Exemption from businesses, prayed for by *Augustus*. 676
Exercise of minde lenifieth sorrow. 697
Exhortation to contemne death 208
Exile taketh not some priuiledges from vs. 741.

F

Fabianus stile; what it was. 422
Fabius Verrucosus calleth disgracefull courtesie, grauelly bread. 21
Fabricius his contempt of wealth. 478
Falling fire. 760
Fate, of *Stoiques* described. 791
Feare is without Loue. 77
Felicitie of this world, a disquiet thing. 914
Fidus

Fidus Cornelius wept at a scosse. 669
Fire, how it may issue from water, 788. It hath somewhat vitall in it. 847
Fishes, that are pestilent. 817
Fish-pooles, of strange fashion. 815
Flatterers alone about *Augustus*. 133
Flatterie counterfeiteth friendship, 234. Is discouered by wholsome Precepts, 263. It betrayeth secrets, 438. How it is to bee entertayned, 832. Vsed by *Seneca*. 692. 830
Flight to *Cæsars* statue, saued bondmen. 597.
Fluxe, and refluxe of the Sea; when it is greatest. 826
Follie; euen in teares. 418
Fooles; their difference from a wise man. 629
Fortitude defined, 39. What it is. 282
Fortune; not to be wandred from by Princes. 589
Fountaines, hauing fluxe and refluxe. 815
Friendship admitted, must bee trusted, 165. 166. A friend to himselfe, is a friend to all. 170
Frugalitie in *Seneca*, 358. Frugalitie of the ancient Romans. 744
Fruits of Abstinence, 445. Fruits of Mercie. 591
Furnius. 34.

G

Gallio; *Seneca* his brother. 831
Gifts of Kings, may bee equalled by poore men, 8. Gifts from God are to be repayed, 699. The giuer, not the gift, accepted by God, 8. Gifts of great men are slow, but their iniuries are sudden. 20
God, to be marched after, 621. His blessing to man: Mans vngratefulnes, and foolish exceptions, 37. His benefits to Mankinde, 68. His names according to *Seneca*. 69
God the chiefest, is peace of conscience, 637. *Good* of the *Stoiques*, 781. *Good*, is not to liue; but to liue well. 286
Good deedes are to bee done euery way, 4. They would bee seene, 5. Good bookes comfort, 700. Good counsaile of *Athalus*, 455. Good men will not be enforced to doe euill, 222
Good thoughts, a great purchase, 624. And are the beginning of good workes. 825
Goods of this world, not truely goods, 738. Not reiected by a wise man, 628. Nor loued by vertuous men, 746. Good vses of goods. 627
Gouernours, elected by goodnesse. 374
Griefe profiteth none, 692. Is lessened by complaint, 693. It ought not to be taken for inevitable things. 894
Habituated or vsed.

H

Hail; how it is made, 839. How it differeth from Snow, *ibid.* None in winter. *ibid.*
Haire kept long, in former time. 403
Hannibal his blondie minde. 776.
Happinesse of contemplation. 956
Harpagus careth his owne sonne. 564
Harpaste, *Seneca's* wiues foole. 242
Heat in Augustus in his youth. 495
Heathenish resolutions in death. 388
Heauen, common to Gods and men, 736. 784
Hecaton.
Helius comforted. 737. Ought not to be sad for her sonne. 755
Hercules, burned aliue, 652. One of the ancient wise-men, 857.
Herennius Modus displeaseth *Caligula*, by calling him *Cæsar*. 670
Hereick vertues of *Helvia* sister. 753
Hesiodus. 5
Hipocrates Aphorisme; why it is falsifyed.

falsified. 404
Hippias killed his neereſt friends. 531
Homer challenged by ſundry Sects of Philoſophers. 364
Honeſty praiſed. 65
Honours are cares. 263
Horatius Cocles his valour. 478
Hoſtius an impure villaine. 774
How a man ought to behaue himſelfe in receiuing a benefit from a bad man. 32
How a man ſhould diſcourſe. 229
How to liue in retirement. 284
How a man may gouerne himſelfe well. 913

I

Idleneſſe abhorred. 172
Ieſting, how to be auoyded. 669
Ignominy of pouerty, not to be cared for. 747
Ignorance of things is euill. 219
Ilands new made. 788
Ilands floting. 820
Imperfections not long concealed. 585
Impiety it is, not to reuerence & loue our parents: and not to acknowledge them is madneſſe. 42
Infelicities fruitleſſe effects. 223
Ingratitude the greateſt euill, 10. euery where reproued, no where puniſhed. 44
Ingratefull is he that denieth a good turne. 41
Iniury, what it meaneth, 668. Of what nature it is to a wiſe-man. 663
Inſatiableneſſe of deſire. 747
Inſinuations of *Seneca*. 701
Interpretation of things ſpoken by another. 668
Inuectiues againſt Intemperance. 744
Iphicrates his anſwere of parentage. 670
Iuba. 191
Iudgment corrupted by *Clodius*. 413
Iudgement of mens ſtiles. 423
Iulius Graecinus his merry cenſure of *Auſtens*. 204

K

Kinge abuſed, 134. Their ſafetie the ſafety of all. 586
Kings and Tyrants; how they differ, 593. The miſerie of cruell Kings. 584
Kings like to fathers, 585. They obtaine no glory by cruelty. 557
Kings ouer Bees. 598
Kingly riches ſpent vpon bookes. 644
Knowledge of a mans fault is the beginning of his health. 213

L

Lamproies fed with men. 537
Lasciuious loue not to be entertayned. 467
Lawyers impertinent ſubtilties. 116
Learned men honor Noble-men by their writings. 198
Leonidas his valiant encouragement. 343
Leſſening of griefe. 693
Leſſons for Play-haunters. 170
Libertie what it is. 244
Lie, well giuen, 266. wiſely diſcouered. 323
Life to be hazarded for Charitie. 10
Life is no good thing, but to liue well. 58
Life compared to a Citie ſacked. 157
Life not to be priſed. 646
Lightnings, their effects, 791. foretell future things, *ibid.* Their diuers names 795. ſaid to be darted by *Iupiter*, 797. 798. Why they appeare at once, 802. How made. 773. 783
Lions made gentle. 4
Liuia ſoone finiſhed mourning for *Druſus*, 711. her wiſdome. 590
Liuing againſt Nature. 486
Logitans bitterly fooliſh. 241
Loue betwixt Prince and ſubiect, the maintenance of the eſtate. 586
Lucius Cynna pardoned by *Auguſtus*. 590
Lucius Piſo a good drinker, but a diligent Officer. 346
Lucius Sylla his bloudy minde. 593
Lyons the Citie burned. 381
Lyſimachus killed a Lion, 565. is caſt to Lions. 601

M

Magnanimity is to contemne baſe things. 303
Mamereus a filthy fellow. 84
Man continually euill, 10. His ineſtimable good, is to be his owne, 307. Being free from aduerſitie is moſt miſerable. 503
Manes ranne away from *Diogenes*. 643
Marcellinus a merrie Greeke. 215
Marcellus, ſonne to *Octauia*. 711
Marcia comforted for the death of her ſonne. 709
Marcus Allius receiued a gift and no gift. 21
Marriage after refuſall. 49
Marke Anthonie ſolemnized his brothers funerals, with the Maſſacre of twenty Legions, 704. defeated by *Auguſtus*. 590
Marullus. 418
Mathematickes perfect not the mind. 367
Matter of writing reſerued for poſteritie. 269
Maximus, Senecas friend. 358
Medes permit no action againſt ingratitude. 44
Mediocritie alwayes content. 745
Men cannot flie neceſſities: they may ouercom them, 225. they follow honeſt things then, when they can doe nought elſe, 307. When men grew learned, good men ceaſed, 403. Men ſwell for ſuperfluities. 312
Mercie, her fruits. 591. praiſed in *Auguſtus*. 592
Metellus endured baniſhment conſtantly. 204
Meteors of fire. 758
A fierie Meteor, called a Goate. 758
Fiery Meteors, called *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. 759
Meteors of diuers ſortes. 772
Metrodorus, of what deſert he was. 245
His propheſie of himſelfe and *Epicurus*. 322
Metronactes a Philoſopher, his death. 389
Mildeneſſe defined. 605
Minde giueth value to things. 7
A minde that is pure entertaineth God. 360
Mindyrides the moſt idle of men. 542
Miſeries of a pleaſure. 142
Miſerie of ſeruants. 237
Mithridates King of Armenia, among the Souldiers of *Caligula*. 648
Mecenas delicacie, 459. could not ſleepe. 593
Mortification in heathen men. 372
Multitude of bookes ſhew varietie: but wiſedome is gathered from few. 234
The multitude is not to be followed. 612
Mutability whence it is. 739
Mutius thruſt his hand into the flame. 204

N

Nature is not without God. 50
It teacheth not ſorrow. 714
Is contented with a little. 737
Naughtineſſe hatefull to euery man. 76
Neceſſary things preferred before the

the best. 49
Neighbours, to be relieued. 627
Nero, loth to shed bloud, 605. His power described, 583. His milde gouernement at the first, 584. His milde speech. 605
New-yeares-gifts in vse amongst the Romans. 679
Night-Owles described. 487
Nilus, why it encreaseth in Sommer, 833. His Cataracts, 834. His Originall sought for. 866
Nobilitie appeareth in the minde. 233
No man dyeth too soone: 727
No man more estranged from life, than other. 728
No man knoweth his destinie. *ibid.*
Nomentanus, an Epicure. 618
Nothing may hurt that which is eternall. 255
Noueltie the ignorant mans euill. 312.

O

Obiections about the Raine-bow. 765
Obiections against Philosophers answered. 607
Obiections against *Zeno*, *Plato*, and others. 613
Occupations vnnecessarie, to be auoided. 648
Ocean, created with the world. 818
Octauia, her mourning for *Marcellus*, 711. Sister to *Augustus*. 703
Offences, not so much repressed by crueltie, as by clemencie. 600
One man cannot endure all earthly miseries. 647
One death discharged many sorrowes. 726
Opinion should rather follow, than leade vs. 139
Opinion of *Seneca* concerning death. 747
Oration of *Augustus* to *Cynna*. 591
Orators in Rome censured. 229
Other mens goods must be restored 154
Others haue felt that, which wee feele. 692
Others, not to be sorrowed for. 694

P

Pacuuius his Epicurean remembrance of death. 181
Paine, is but opinion. 318
Parelies. 770.771
Parents wish our wealth to others harme: wit is mans best possession. 220
Parricides punishment. 596
Parsimonie defined. 39
Patrimonie, that is great, requireth great liberalitie. 5
Paulus, saued by his slaue. 55
Peace of cõscience, the chiefest good 617
Pestilent aire. 879
Phalaris, a Tyrant. 606
Philip his iustice vpon ingratitude. 89
Philosophers, are good subiects. 297
Philosophers beg; Cookes flourish. 404
Philosophie; what it promiseth. 168
It maketh men noble. 233
Her fruits. 373
Is to bee perfected in future times. 899
Phisick; what it was at first. 403
Pisistratus would not bee made angrie. 581
Pithagoras: his transmigration of soules. 444
Pithon. 344
Plato. 124
His frugalitie lengthned his life. 360
Being angrie, he would not punish his seruant. 562
Pleasure; how it agreeth with vertue. 620
Pleasures of bodie make not happie. 614
Pleasures of bodie and soule, not to be confounded. 615
Poets; their vanitie. 5
Policie, in redemanding benefits. 110
Poore men free from care. 745
Posidonius his worthie lesson, 720. His foure kindes of Arts. 366
Praise of pleasure, is pernicious. 619
Pretences of vaine men. 296
Priam, entertayned by *Achilles*. 548
Princes, most adorned by clemencie. 585
Profit beginneth at a mans selfe. 11
Prognostiques of the Rainbow 767
Prophecies of the increase of learning. 198
Punishment none so hatefull, as publique hatred. 80.

Q

Quaking of the earth, caused by winde, 868. 870. Diuided into three sorts. 875
Quaking of the earth by succession. *ibid.* By inclination, 876. How farre it may extend, *ibid.* In Ægypt, 878. It hath depriued some of sense, 880. It causeth contempt of death. 881
Questions about benefits, and their vse. 337
A question, whether a wise man pardoneth. 608
Quiet enduring the difficulties of a mans vocation. 645
Quietnesse perswaded. 581
Quietus est; not to bee gotten by Receiuers: 588

R

Raine wetteth not aboue ten foot deepe. 810
Raine-bow: her cause, forme, and appearing at night, 762. Her colours, 763. 784. Why greater than the Sunne, 767. Her colour, *ibid.* Her appearing in halfe a circle. 763
Reading with discretion, 164. Nourisheth the wit. 348
Remedies against death, 915. Against violent death, *ibid.* Against death in a strange countrie 914. Against death in yong yeares, *ibid.* Against want of buriall, *ibid.* Against banishment, 915. Against sorrow, powertie, and casualties, *ibid.* Against blindnesse, losse of children, and shipwrack, 916. Against losse of a good wife. 917
Restitution, thought necessarie. 155
Reuengefull men leade a miserable life. 438
Rhinocolura, whence named. 567
Riches; and their effects. 914
Rithes of a King, spent vpon books, 644
How to bee gotten easily and suddenly. 475.
Rich men are poore for the most part of their liues. 746
Riuers; why sometimes dryed vp, 812.
Their causes. 813
Their increase in sommer. 821
Their purgation. 822
Vnder the ground. 853
Rods like the Raine-bow. 770
Romans tongue excellent, 348.
Their intemperate bathing. 356
Romulus dyed, during the Eclipse of the Sunne. 446
Rufus; saued by his slaues counsaile. 55
Rutilius. 105.204.

S

Satellius Quadratus, a smell-feast, flatterer, or iester. 211
Scipio saued his father. 60.
His loue to his Countrie. 355
Scoffing; how to be auoided. 669

the best. 49
Neighbours, to be relieued. 627
Nero, loth to shed bloud, 605. His power described, 583. His milde gouernement at the first, 584. His milde speech. 605
New-yeares-gifts in vse amongst the Romans. 679
Night-Owles described. 487
Nilus, why it encreaseth in Sommer, 833. His Cataracts, 834. His Originall sought for. 866
Nobilitie appeareth in the minde. 233
No man dyeth too soone. 727
No man more estranged from life, than other. 728
No man knoweth his destinie. *ibid.*
Nomentanus, an Epicure. 618
Nothing may hurt that which is eternall. 255
Noueltie the ignorant mans euill. 312.

O

Obiections about the Raine-bow. 765
Obiections against Philosophers answered. 607
Obiections against *Zeno*, *Plato*, and others. 613
Occupations vnnecessarie, to be auoided. 648
Ocean, created with the world. 818
Octavia, her mourning for *Marcellus*, 711. Sister to *Augustus*. 703
Offences, not so much repressed by crueltie, as by clemencie. 600
One man cannot endure all earthly miseries. 647
One death discharged many sorrowes. 726
Opinion should rather follow, than leade vs. 139
Opinion of *Seneca* concerning death. 747
Oration of *Augustus* to *Cynna*. 591
Orators in Rome censured. 229
Other mens goods must be restored 154
Others haue felt that, which wee feele. 692
Others, not to be sorrowed for. 694

P

Pacuuius his Epicurean remembrance of death. 181
Paine, is but opinion. 318
Parelies. 770. 771
Parents wish our wealth to others harme: wit is mans best possession. 220
Parricides punishment. 596
Parsimonie defined. 39
Patrimonie, that is great, requireth great liberalitie. 5
Paulus, saued by his slaue. 55
Peace of cõscience, the chiefest good 617
Pestilent aire. 879
Phalaris, a Tyrant. 606
Philip his iustice vpon ingratitude. 89
Philosophers, are good subiects. 297
Philosophers beg; Cookes flourish. 404
Philosophie; what it promiseth. 168
It maketh men noble. 333
Her fruits. 373
Is to bee perfected in future times. 899
Phisick; what it was at first. 403
Pisistratus would not bee made angrie. 581
Pithagoras; his transmigration of soules. 444
Pithon. 344
Plato. 124
His frugalitie lengthned his life. 260
Being angrie, he would not punish his seruant. 562
Pleasure; how it agreeth with vertue. 620
Bleasures of bodie make not happie. 614
Pleasures of bodie and soule, not to be confounded. 615
Poets; their vanitie. 5
Policie, in redemanding benefits. 110
Poore men free from care. 745
Posidonius his worthie lesson, 720. His foure kindes of Arts. 366
Praise of pleasure, is pernicious. 619
Pretences of vaine men. 296
Priam, entertayned by *Achilles*. 548
Princes, most adorned by clemencie. 585
Profit beginneth at a mans selfe. 11
Prognostiques of the Rainbow 767
Prophecies of the increase of learning. 198
Punishment none so hatefull, as publique hatred. 50.

Q

Quaking of the earth, caused by winde, 868. 870. Diuided into three sorts. 875
Quaking of the earth by succession. *ibid.* By inclination, 876. How farre it may extend, *ibid.* In Ægypt, 878. It hath depriued some of sense, 880. It causeth contempt of death. 881
Questions about benefits, and their vse. 337
A question, whether a wise man pardoneth. 608
Quiet enduring the difficultes of a mans vocation. 645
Quietnesse perswaded. 581
Quietus est; not to bee gotten by Receiuers. 588

R

Raine wetteth not aboue ten foot deepe. 810
Raine-bow: her cause, forme, and appearing at night, 762. Her colours, 763. 764. Why greater than the Sunne, 767. Her colour, *ibid.* Her appearing in halfe a circle. 763
Reading with discretion, 164. Nourisheth the wit. 348
Remedies against death, 915. Against violent death, *ibid.* Against death in a strange countrie, 914. Against death in yong yeares, *ibid.* Against want of burial, *ibid.* Against banishment, 915. Against sorrow, pouertie, and casualties, *ibid.* Against blindnesse, losse of children, and shipwrack, 916. Against losse of a good wife. 917
Restitution; thought necessarie. 155
Reuengefull men leade a miserable life. 438
Rhinocolura, whence named. 567
Riches; and their effects. 914
Rithes of a King, spent vpon books, 644
How to bee gotten easily and suddenly. 475.
Rich men are poore for the most part of their liues. 746
Riuers; why sometimes dryed vp, 812.
Their causes. 813
Their increase in sommer. 821
Their purgation. 822
Vnder the ground. 853
Rods like the Raine-bow. 770
Romans tongue excellent, 348.
Their intemperate bathing. 356
Romulus dyed, during the Eclipse of the Sunne. 446
Rufus; saued by his slaues counsaile. 55
Rutilius. 105. 204.

S

Satellius Quadratus, a smell-feast, flatterer, or iester. 211
Scipio saued his father. 60.
His loue to his Countrie. 355
Scoffing; how to be auoided. 669

Scribonia, Druſus wiues Aunt. 287
Seales better truſted than ſoules. 49
Seianus as dangerouſly friended as offended, 250. his ſudden fall. 648
Seneca, his dyet and manner of liuing. 345
His loue to his wife. 433
Being old, he wrote of Philoſophy 805
Drowned in vices. 613
Senecio's ſudden death. 424
Serapions headlong and hudling diſcourſe. 227
Seruants how they ought to be vſed and eſteemed. 236
Seruile imitation is condemned. 221
Sextius his excellency. 269
Shamefull it is for a wiſe-man to be wiſe by his note-booke. 221
Sicilian young men. 62
Sickeneſſe, how it ſhould be tolerated. 319
Singularitie not to be affected. 168
Slaues are not tyed to any inſolent action. 52
Caſt aliue to Fiſhes. 579
Sluggiſhneſſe reproued. 489
Snow, where it is made. 841
Why it is ſoft. 843
Abuſed in meates and drinkes. 844
Societies forces. 76
Socrates refuſed the courteſies of King *Archelaus*. 96, 97.
His conſcience. 436
His modeſt diſcouery of want. 156 204
His iudgement of trauell. 433
His ſcoffe vpon one that ſtruck him 561
Solitude a liuing mans graue without ſtudie. 340
Sonnes, whether they may giue benefits to their Parents. 56
Sophiſters taxed. 239
Sophroniſcus, Socrates his father. 59
Sotion, Senecaes Maſter. 240
He made *Seneca* halfe a Pythagoriſt. 444
Statiſts inſtructed. 85
Stilpo vanquiſhed *Demetrius*. 660.
His anſwer to *Demetrius*, 176. His conſolation in miſerie. *ibid.*
Stoiques attribute to euery one a *Genius*. 450
Submiſſion of *Auguſtus*. 595
Supernaturall Philoſophy of the Stoickes. 758

T

TAming of Elephants. 4
Tapers, carryed in funerals. *ibid.*
Teleſphorus, cruelly handled by *Lyſimachus*. 565
Temperance, a great vertue. 208
Thankefulneſſe towards Gods and Men. 106
That is neuer ſaid too much, that is neuer learned too much. 211
The cauſe of broken ſleepes. 253
Theaters are filled; Philoſophers Schooles emptie. 308
Theodorus his anſwer to a Tyrant. 650
Thought maketh vnhappineſſe. 807
Three ſorts of Proficients in vertue. 306
Thunders, 760, 785, 786, 787. Their diuerſitie, 789. their cauſes, 801. their definition. 802
Tiberius Cæſar his reliefe to prodigalls, 21, 55. His pollicie, 112. His gouernement commended. 585
Timagenes ſaying of Rome. 382
Time will not be ours, except we be our owne. 295
Titus Arius his condemning of his ſonne. 595
Titus Manlius his worthy care of his father. 63
Torment, how much the more it is, ſo much the more glorious is it. 502
Trauaile, the effects and vſes thereof, 213. limited. 285
Treaſures, not ſecure if ſtrictly examined. 588
Triuiall ſubtileties are condemned. 260. Triuiall proofes, to make the ſoule a bodie. 439
Truſtie friends, a remedie againſt a troubled minde. 642
Tullius Cimber a boone companion. 345.
A babler. *ibid.*
Tullius Marcellinus his reſolution. 313
Two ſorts of vngratefull men. 81

V

VAine and Stoicall Arguments, to maintaine violent death. 288
Valerius Aſiaticus abuſed by *Caligula*. 670
Vanity of flattering praiſe, 263. Vanitie of trauaile. 434.
Vanity worthily deſcribed. 757
Vanity in apparrell. 903
Variety of learning maketh not men good. 364
Varro the beſt learned amongſt the Romans. 741
Vatinius eſcaped ſcoffing. 669
Verity and vertue are the ſame, ſaith *Socrates*. 292
Verſe more effectually affects than Proſe. 443
Vertue, Time, Abilitie, and Fortune are requiſite to requite a benefite, 42. Vertues directions are to be deſired, 283. Vertue alwayes happy, 304. How Vertue agreeth with pleaſure, 620. It maketh good vſe of riches. 626
Vices are all in all men, but not equally apparant. 82.
Vices kiſſe vs, thatthey may kill vs. 245
Vice, like to vertue. 478
Viciſſitude of all things. 224
Vngratefull Citizens, 104. Vngratefull Common-weales, *ibid.* Vngrateful men, how to be borne withall. 156
Voyce, how to be gouerned. 188
Voleſus his bloudy minde. 431
Voluptuous perſons not wiſe. 618
Vſurie one hundred for one hundred. 472

W

WAnt of a graue is no miſerie. 389
Water and its originall. 808, 809.
Why naturally warme. 819
Way to riches. 268
What maketh men vngratefull. 34
What indifferent things be. 341
When a man is in health. 296
Who willingly hath receiued a benefit, hath reſtored the ſame. 37
Who is a Gentleman. 233
Why Phyſicke was leſſe vſed in auncient time. 403
Why a wiſe-man is patient. 667
Wicked men may be concealed, but not ſecured. 438
They haue no true pleaſures. 618
Will is the Miſtreſſe of action. 120
Will for the deede. 94
Winde, what it is. 845
Whereof it is compoſed. 846
Made in diuers ſorts. 847
Whence it proceedeth. 848
Violent in the Spring. 849
How it breaketh from the cloudes. 851
How it breaketh out of the earth. *ibid.*
His diſtinctions, and their names. 853
There be twelue principall. 854
His Temple, built by *Auguſtus*. *ibid.*
Wine diſcouereth ſecrets. 346
Wiſedome, what it is really. 364
Though but little, yet is it more worth than much ſuperfluous knowledge. 141
A wiſe-man couereth nothing. 143
Wiſe-mens manner of life. 268
What a wiſe-man is. 293
A wiſe-mans vprightnes in reſpect of benefits. 338
A wiſe-man is a Tutor of mankind 371
A wiſe-man hath different actions. 354
A wiſe-man deſcribed. 608

Womens shameleſſe exceſſe, 147. How long to mourne for their huſbands, 268. As great ſurfetters, as men; and therefore goutie and bald, with men. 404

Women couragiouſly bearing loſſe of children. 721

World; the parts and matter thereof. 778

Worldly affaires are trifles. 757

Wrath; a womaniſh qualitie, 587. Is defined, 529. 531. Being often exerciſed, it is changed into crueltie, 530. It is a great furie, *ibid.* It is a vice, admitted by our owne will, 528. Not decent in a King. 587.

X

Xantippe powred foule water on the head of *Socrates*. 670

Xenocrates his opinion of a bleſſed man, 352. His opinion of a wiſe man. *ibid.*

Xerxes his crueltie, 565. He would fetter the Sea. 659.

Y

Youth of *Auguſtus* deſcribed, 592. A yong man ſlaine for being too fine, 548. A yong man choſen according to *Ariſto*. 223

Yeares, well imployed, attaine wiſedome, 285. The firſt yeare of *Nero*, the bookes of Clemencie written. 585

Z

Zeno, conſtant in promiſes to his loſſe, 90. His collection, 341. His argument, why a good man will not be drunke, 345. His vſe of a great loſſe. 650

FINIS.

Faults eſcaped in the Printing.

Page 4. line 22. for exhorteth reade exterteth. p. 4. l. 27. for expalliat r. expatiate. p. 5. l. 17. for ne Virgins r. Veſtals. p. 10. l. 3 for depart out of this life r. end. p. 13. l. 22. for yong r. mad. p. 33. l. 26. for laſt r. firſt. p. 62. l. 33. for preſerue r performe p. 70. l. 42. for loue r. vſe. p. 93. l. 40 for preſerued r. preſerued. p. 94. l. 23. for Captaine r. captiue. p. 102. l. 17. put out, it is of the Stoickes doctrine. p. 104. l. 17 for Conſuler r. Conſulate. p. 107. l. 17. for thou diddſt not fall r. thou falleſt downe. p. 107. l. 17. for thou diddſt not r. thou diddſt. p. 110. l. 39. for Sucve r Sucroua. p. 134. l. 6. for hate r. heare. p. 148. l. 31. for care r eaſe. p. 182. l. 48. for triumphing r. trampling. p. 184. l. 3 for Ceuta r. Cicuta. p. 195. l. 32. for procreation r. procuration p. 200. l. 17. for and ſuch counſaile r. and ſuch counſaile is giuen. p. 206. l. 13. for if I can r. if I cannot. p. 221. l. 21 for noſe gay r. elegancies. p. 240. l. 30 for admiſsion r. admonition. p. 249. l. 11. for deſtituted r. deſtinated. p. 249. l. 13 for ſickeneſſes ſhort breathing or Aſthma. p. 249. l. 36 for white r. whereas. p. 321. l. 44. for ſlaue. p. 287. l. 14 for abſence r. abſtinence. p. 304. l. 37. for laſt r. loſt p. 313. l. 45. for deſt r. digeſt. p. 403. l. 40. for ſubuatories r. ſaluatories p. 417. l. 37. for art r. aſt. p. 423. l. 40. for alate r. elate p. 435. l. 41. for louer. Lord p. 443. l. 23. for vices r. verſes. p. 444. l. 20. for eye. ſore r. Oyſters. p. 450. l. 32. for reſigned r. aſsigned. p. 456. l. 48 for ſhe is r. ſhe is not. p. 457. l. 43. for Lucillius r. Caecilianus. p. 485 l. 26. for priued r. praued. p. 505. l. 38. for fateneth r. faſteneth p. 515. l. 33 for vnines r. reynes. p. 516. l. 1 for ful r. force. p. 549. l. 4 for mercies r. merits. p. 578. l. 5. for repaired r. prepared.

LONDON,
Printed by WILLIAM STANSBY.
Anno Domini,
1614.

Liber Mottini Gady